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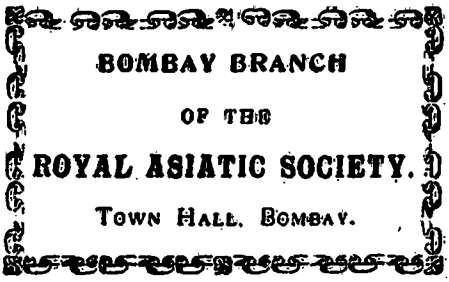

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THE PENTATEUCH

AND BOOK OF JOSHUA

CRITICALLY EXAMINED

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BY THE RIGHT REV.

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

BISHOP OF NATAL.

'We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.'—*St. Paul*, 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

'Not to exceed, and not to fall short of, facts,—not to add, and not to take away,—to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—are the grand, the vital, maxims of Inductive Science, of English Law, and, let us add, of Christian Faith.'—*Quarterly Review* on 'Essays and Reviews,' *Oct.* 1861, p. 369.

PART III.

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PREFACE.

In this Third Part of my work I had intended, as I said in Part II, to 'enter into a close examination of the book of Genesis, and seek to assign the different parts of it, with such degree of probability as the case admits of, to their respective authors.' I had also stated that in Part III we should have to 'consider at length' the questions affecting the origin of the book of Deuteronomy, 'in order to be able to detect the passages due to its author in the books of Genesis, Exodus, &c.' I have found it necessary, however, in this Part to confine myself to the latter portion of my proposed undertaking, in order that I might do the work required more thoroughly, and place the evidence, in as clear and complete a form as possible, before the eyes of my readers. It seemed of the more importance to do this, and to confine attention for the present to this particular point, inasmuch as the evidence in this case is so very distinct and decisive, that, if I carry my readers with me here, I shall have, in effect, accomplished my main object in these criticisms, and cleared the way, at all events, for an intelligent and unbiassed examination of the whole question.

I will here state briefly the course of argument which has been followed, and the results which have been arrived at, in

this portion of my enquiry. I have, as I believe, brought out into view distinctly the following facts.

(1) There are plain signs that the book of Deuteronomy was not written by the same author or authors, by whom the main portion of the rest of the Pentateuch was composed; that is to say—

(i) There is a marked difference in style and tone between the language of Deuteronomy and that of the other four books of the Pentateuch;

(ii) There are various expressions, which are habitually used in the other four books, but which are never once used by the Deuteronomist;

(iii) *There are more than thirty others, which were evidently familiar to the Deuteronomist*, as he uses each of them on the average *eight* times in the course of the book, *not one of which is used even once in the other four books;*

(iv) It cannot be believed that Moses, in the short interval of a few weeks at most, between the last act recorded in Numbers and the first in Deuteronomy, should have so completely changed—not only his style and tone, but—his very forms of expression, as these facts would imply, if we suppose him to have written the whole Pentateuch;

(v) Hence the above facts prove,—as it seems, beyond a doubt,—that, whatever portion of the other four books may be ascribed to Moses, he cannot have composed the book of Deuteronomy;

(vi) And, of course, the same holds good of any other writer or writers, who may have composed the main portion of those books.

(2) There are plain signs also that the writer of Deuteronomy very probably lived about the age of Josiah and Jeremiah:—

(i) There are some expressions in Deuteronomy, which are only found in Jeremiah and the latest writings of the Bible;

(ii) Almost all the peculiar words and phrases of the Deuteronomist are found also in Jeremiah;

(iii) The history, as recorded in the Second Book of Kings, makes it highly probable that the book of Deuteronomy was first brought to light in the reign of Josiah.

(3) A close examination of the contents of the book itself confirms very strongly the above conclusions:—

(i) There are distinct references to the other books of the Pentateuch as already existing;

(ii) There are numerous and palpable contradictions to the data of those books,

such as would be likely to be introduced by one writing in later days from a very different point of view;

(iii) In particular, there are remarkable modifications of some of the older laws, which cannot be conceived to have been made by *Moses*, addressing the people only a few months after those same older laws were promulgated (as is supposed) by *Jehovah Himself*;

(iv) These modifications correspond to the altered circumstances of much later times than those, in which the earlier portions of the Pentateuch (as we believe) were written;

(v) There are distinct 'signs of time,' which fix the composition of the book in an age subsequent to the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, in the days of Hezekiah;

(vi) There are special reasons for believing that it was not composed till *the early part of Josiah's reign*, at which time *Jeremiah* lived, and had been already called to the Prophetic office.

It will be seen, throughout the whole of our enquiry, that the evidence is constantly *pointing* to Jeremiah, as, *possibly*, the writer of Deuteronomy. But I must reserve for Part IV the full discussion of the arguments for, or against, this supposition. For my present purpose it is sufficient if it appears,—as I believe it will to most readers, who will allow themselves to weigh the facts brought forward calmly and solemnly, as in the Presence of the God of Truth, and setting aside, as far as possible, all prejudgment of the case,—that Deuteronomy was very probably written by some great Prophet, in the latter times of the Jewish monarchy, *about* the early part of Josiah's reign,—a *general* conclusion, in which the greatest critics* are almost *unanimously* agreed, however they may differ in fixing the exact date of its composition. If the above point is substantiated, I repeat once more, the main object of my work is gained. The *details* of my criticisms may be confirmed or

* The reader will find the opinions of the most eminent critics on this point stated in Dr. DAVIDSON'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, i.379–385,— a work which, together with those of Dr. KALISCH on 'Genesis' and 'Exodus,' should be in the hands of every English reader, who wishes to engage himself thoroughly in the study of these questions.

rejected on further examination: but the traditional view, which regards the whole Pentateuch as written by Moses, will be shown to be untenable.

If this point be established, it will be unnecessary for me to discuss at length the numerous 'Replies,' which have appeared in answer to Part I of my work. There are some, such as those by the Rev. W. H. HOARE, the Rev. W. HOUGHTON, the Rev. E. GRESWELL, A LAYMAN (*Skeffington*), and others, which, from their general fairness and their tone of courtesy and Christian feeling, demand, and have received, my respectful attention. It is obvious, however, that, *if* the arguments produced in this Part shall appear to be valid, the objections to my reasonings in Part I may, for the most part, be dismissed at once, as merely ingenious attempts, — like the 'cycles' and 'epicycles' of the old Ptolemaic system of Astronomy,—to build up a theory, which has no real foundation in fact, and which falls at last by the weight of its own cumbrous additions, and must be swept away together with them. In short, it will then be plain that the contradictions, which I have noticed, are *real* contradictions, such as might *à priori* be expected to appear in a composite work like this; and the cause of religious truth will be relieved from the necessity of inventing a variety of processes of 'reconciliation,' often in direct contradiction with one another, which scarcely, I imagine, satisfy altogether the mind of the 'reconciler,' and still less that of the general reader. Otherwise, it would be perfectly easy for me to place my finger at once upon the weak places in the arguments, generally, of each of the above writers.*

* Thus in an editorial note of the *Edinburgh Review*, No.240,*p.*505, 'The Layman's' work, above-mentioned, is commended as 'effectually disposing of the

And this is, in effect, the conclusion of no less an authority than Dean MILMAN, who says, in his recently published work, *Hist. of the Jews*, Pref.*p*.xxxii, that 'all further enquiry has confirmed him in the view,' which he announced 'above thirty years ago,' *viz.* —

> Maintain the numbers [of the story of the Exodus] as they stand, I see no way, without one vast continuous miracle, out of the difficulties, contradictions, improbabilities, impossibilities. Reduce them, and all becomes credible, consistent, and harmonious.

A *reduction* of the numbers will make, no doubt, *an* Exodus possible and, as I have said elsewhere, perfectly conceivable. But, as is shown in (190–9), no reduction will make the story of *the* Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, consistent and possible. One set of difficulties may be got rid of in this way, but only to introduce another equally formidable.

greater part of Dr. COLENSO's objections.' It is sufficient to say that one of my principal difficulties is 'effectually disposed of,' *p*.31, by assuming that Jacob went down to Egypt with 'a thousand or more' followers, who were all reckoned as his children, and as the progenitors of the two or three millions, who came out of Egypt,— and this, although we read, D.x.22, 'thy fathers went down into Egypt with *threescore and ten* persons'—and although it is equally plain that ten asses, G.xlii.26,27, could scarcely have brought up corn enough from Egypt to support a thousand servants, besides Jacob's own children and grandchildren, for twelve months in a time of famine. So another series of overwhelming difficulties is 'disposed of,' *p*.152–3, by assuming that 'the Priests formed originally *five* households, of which Aaron, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, Eleazar, and Ithamar, were the heads,'— that each of these five families consisted of about *forty* souls, including 'a considerable number of *servants*, married and unmarried,' *p*.68, and that *all* the males of proper age among these 200 souls, servants and all, were reckoned as 'sons of Aaron,' or 'Priests'!! Let any reader turn to L.viii,ix,x, upon this point— especially x.12,16. On *p*.61, again, 'another objection, which Bishop COLENSO urges with great force, and which, if established, would be fatal to the entire argument,' is 'disposed of' by the assertion that the 'firstborns' of *man* were *not* to be 'openers of the womb,' though it is distinctly laid down in E.xiii.2, 'Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, among man and among beast, it is mine.' In short, the book, though ably and pleasantly written, will be found to be full of fallacies, such as those above instanced.

But, if it be really true, as the Bishop of OXFORD has said, that 'much harm has been done among the young by my book,' and that 'it is doing an amount of evil which it is difficult to estimate,'—and if it be also true, as the same Prelate has written, that my arguments are 'but the repetition of old and often-answered cavils,'—it would surely be most desirable,—rather, I should say, it would be felt to be imperatively necessary,—for the Bishops, who condemn me, to put forth a 'Reply,' such as to themselves appeared to be sufficient and satisfactory,—such as might be guaranteed in their name by the authority of the Primate. If this were done, I should be bound by the sense of honour, as well as compelled by the love of truth, to consider seriously the arguments adduced in such a document. I should justly be condemned and disgraced, in the presence of my fellow-countrymen, if I did not do this, and either admit that I am wrong, or point out the defective reasonings of the 'Reply.'

As, however, Dr. M'CAUL's 'Examination' has been commended by the *Quarterly Reviewer*, No. 226, at *p.*425, as having 'effectually torn my book to pieces,' and at *p.*446, as 'the most complete of all the [Replies] which have appeared,'—as, further, it has been adopted by the Christian Knowledge Society, and thus will be issued with some sort of Church authority,—I have thought right to make a few 'Notes' upon it (see *Adv.*), which will enable the general reader to appreciate its true value; and I suppose that the Christian Knowledge Society will deem it right to request Dr. M'CAUL to correct some, at least, of his more conspicuous errors, *e.g.* 43,44,50,51,53,65,66, &c., before they circulate the work as the only answer which the traditionary party in the Church can give to my criticisms.

Dr. M'CAUL has thought it necessary in several passages of his book to speak with contempt of my knowledge of Hebrew. How far he is qualified by his own mastery of the language to pass such censure upon others, I leave my readers to infer from some of the above 'Notes,' *e.g.* 1,6,14,28,28*,55. I do not profess to have the profound knowledge of the Hebrew language possessed by Dr. DAVIDSON or Dr. KALISCH. Nor, indeed, is such scholarship needed for my purposes, as I have very rarely occasion to enter upon nice textual and verbal criticism, and, when I have, I am glad to fall back upon the learned works of our own countrymen above named, or of the great Hebraists of the Continent, such as EWALD, HITZIG, HUPFELD, and KNOBEL. But having begun the study of Hebrew as a schoolboy, and continued it at intervals from that time to this, during a space of thirty-five years, I have sufficient confidence in my acquaintance with the language, to be satisfied that I am not likely to fall into any serious error,*

* I have already corrected *two* errata in my work, one in each Part, neither of them of any consequence to the argument, and both arising from inadvertence on my part, in following the translation of the E.V., without referring to the original. In Part I,*p.*24, I have commented on KURTZ's expression 'little ones,' which is that also of the E.V., in G.xlvi.5, without noticing that in the original the word used here is not *kĕtannim*, but *taph*, which is derived, indeed, from a verb meaning to 'trip, mince, &c. in walking,' and, therefore, means *properly* 'little children,' but is also used for 'women and children' or 'family,' generally, or for 'children' of all ages, as in the text in question. Again in PartII,*p.*344, I have quoted the name *Eli*, as compounded with *El*, forgetting at the moment that in the original it is עֵלִי, *Heli*, not אֵלִי, *Eli*.

Dr. M'CAUL, indeed, has suggested, in two or three places, corrections, as he considers, of the rendering of the English Version, which rendering I have generally adopted without alteration, whenever it was not necessary for me to translate with more strict accuracy; as *e. g.* in comparing the similarity of expression in two passages, which may be strong in the Hebrew, but may not be so apparent in the E.V., from the fact of our translators having used not unfrequently different English words or phrases, to express the same Hebrew expression. But I see no sufficient reason in these instances for abandoning the usual translation.

and certainly, I trust, not into errors so considerable as those into which Dr. M'CAUL's zeal has betrayed him. Dr. M'CAUL, however, has adopted this mode of argument, and very many have been found only too ready to take up and swell the cry, by some of whom attempts, it seems, have been made to determine the Hebrew scholar, who is assumed to have been the principal writer of my Second Part. One party in the Church has fixed upon Dr. DAVIDSON; and, when he has disclaimed having had any part in my work, the opposite party has indicted the Rev. J. P. GELL, as having had 'complicity' with my critical labours, and having, in fact, composed a great portion of Part II.

In justice to Mr. GELL I think it right to state the real facts of the case. For the criticisms of every kind, in each of my three Parts, I am in my own person wholly responsible; such as they are, whether good or bad, they are my own,—except, of course, what I owe to the published works of the great modern Biblical critics. Nevertheless, having found by experience, in the case of Part I, that my work would be subjected to a very hostile—not to say, ungenerous—criticism, which would spare no blemish, and extend no mercy to the most trivial fault, would convert into a crime any little inadvertence of expression, and speak even of a misprint as a 'blunder,' I have submitted the revised proofs of the last two Parts to the further revision of some of my friends, and, among others, to that of Mr. GELL, with the request that they would notice any defects, which might have escaped my own attention, without committing themselves in any way to my conclusions.*

* I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks especially to THOMAS SCOTT Esq., of Ramsgate, for the great labour which he has kindly bestowed in verifying the numerous references of Parts II and III.

Scarcely any 'Reply' has been made, as yet, to the more important critical arguments adduced in the latter portion of my Second Part. Bishop OLLIVANT has, indeed, addressed to his clergy a 'Second Letter' with reference to it. But, though formerly a Professor of Hebrew literature,—and, as I believe, the only English Bishop, who has distinguished himself in such studies,—he distinctly says, *p.*26,—

The task of examining *seriatim* the Bishop's minute criticisms *I must leave to others.*

On one point, however, of these 'minute criticisms' Bishop OLLIVANT does furnish a reply, and the reader will find it quoted in (543), and will be able to judge for himself how far it is satisfactory.

The Rev. W. H. HOARE has also undertaken to make a reply to my reasonings in Part II. But he, too, says, *p.*127,—

The only omission of which I shall be conscious is, the not having gone into the critical history [? 'discussion'] of the Psalms, the Book of Judges, and the Books of Samuel. As it would not help my argument to have done so, and as these are points which turn purely on criticism, *I must leave them to others.**

---

* Mr. HOARE does, however, make a few remarks on one or two of the chief points in my criticism.

(i) He considers, *p.*119, that '*Aaron* or *Eleazar* may fairly contest with Samuel the honours of the *Elohist*, and *Moses* with 'the promising young men of Samuel's time' the honours of the Jehovist;' and with manly sincerity he admits also as follows:—1. 'The general idea of dividing the documents in the manner that has been indicated, [*i. e.* into *Elohistic* and *Jehovistic* portions,] has, I believe, been shown to be based on more than mere critical conjecture, [*i.e.* (I presume) on *certain evidence*;] while the particular application of it, which I have ventured to suggest, [viz. that *Aaron* was the Elohist, and *Moses* the Jehovist,] has the additional advantage that it maintains, intact and inviolate, the canonical authority of Holy Scripture.' The *Quarterly Reviewer*, *p.*444, characteristically '*regrets* that Mr. HOARE, whose answer to the First Part of Bishop COLENSO's book is very able, 'has yielded to the clamour (!) about the Elohist and Jehovist, and suggests that the former might mean Aaron and the latter Moses,'—regrets, in short, that Mr. HOARE has felt, and has had the courage to acknowledge, the power of the Truth, so far as to admit the existence of more than one author.'

I need hardly say that the critical discussion of the Psalms,* &c., which fills the latter half of my second volume, is that portion of my book, as far as it has yet been published, which appears to me of most importance, and with respect to which I have said in my Preface to Part II, *p.*viii, and now repeat, with express reference also to the matter here laid before the reader in Part III,—

It was, perhaps, my knowledge of the overwhelming amount and weight of this evidence, and of much more of the same kind to be produced hereafter, which led me to express myself in the First Part with an assured confidence in the certainty of my conclusions, which some of my Reviewers have condemned, as scarcely warranted, in their opinion, by the premisses, even if they were admitted to be true.

Up to the present time none of my Episcopal Brethren, who

(ii) He thinks, *p.*129–132, that the names, Judah, Japheth, Jobab, — nay, Sarah (!), Shelah (!), Shiloh (!),—are all compounded with the name Jehovah,—a suggestion which I must leave to the judgments of Hebrew scholars, my own conclusion being that Mr. HOARE has (like the 'Two Working Men' also, in their 'Answer' to Part II) fallen amidst Rabbinical subtilties, which may manage to detect such names, where a scholar, like HENGSTENBERG, with all his zeal, is unable to find them (483).

(iii) Mr. HOARE asks, *p.*102, why I do not quote Is.lxiii.10–12, as a passage written '*before* the Captivity,' in which Moses is named? I answer, Because the above passage was written by the '*later* Isaiah,' who lived *after* the Captivity, as is plain from the language in *v.*18, 'The people of Thy holiness have *possessed it but a little while*; our adversaries have *trodden down Thy Sanctuary.*'

* Since this Preface was in type, Prof. HAROLD BROWNE'S '*Five Lectures*' have appeared, upon '*The Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms.*' I find nothing in these 'Lectures' requiring me to modify any of my previous conclusions. Prof. BROWNE'S treatment of the Psalms is too *general* and *superficial* to meet the requirements of the case. He *asserts*, on general grounds, that certain Psalms are David's; but he does not go through a searching, minute examination of them, so as to *prove* that they are, most probably, David's Psalms, or Psalms of the Davidic age. And, until he does this, his arguments can have no weight against the conclusions to be drawn from such Psalms as Ps.li. Ps.lx, and, especially, Ps.lxviii, which I have *proved*, as I believe,—the last and most important, at all events,—to be, in all probability, David's. I shall be ready to abandon at once any part of my constructive theory, as soon as it is plainly shown that my criticism is unsound.

have condemned me, except Bishop OLLIVANT, have taken any notice of these criticisms, except that some have pronounced them, generally, as being 'rash and feeble,' 'unfounded, false, and childish.' *

I said in my last preface, *p.*xvii: —

I am naturally anxious to see what the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England will say upon the subject of my book, and how they will act in the present emergency.

Since then I have been answered, and, I confess, in a way which has disappointed my expectations. For opposition and censure I had prepared myself,—for being misjudged even by many good men, whom I esteem, and for being misrepresented by others, who care only for the triumph of a popular opinion, and not for the Truth. I knew from the first that these were the only conditions, on which such a work as this could be conducted, coming, as it does, in direct antagonism with many strong and dear prepossessions, and not a few deep-rooted prejudices. But I had confidence in the power of Truth that it would in the end prevail; and that confidence has been sufficiently justified. To the many correspondents, lay and clerical, who from all parts of the country have written to cheer me with their sympathy, and strengthen me in the resolve to carry on and, if God will, complete my labour, I would here express my heartfelt thanks. It is a source of great comfort to know that so many earnest and devout minds are watching with deep interest the conflict, and

* In the single short letter of one of my Episcopal Brethren, forbidding me to minister in his diocese, the following expressions appear, applied either to myself or my work:—'unfounded,' 'false,' 'childish,' 'heretical,' 'blasphemous,' 'abominable,' 'unhappy,' 'blind,' 'daring,' 'ignorant self-sufficiency,' 'instrument of Satan,' 'poor Bishop COLENSO.'

rejoicing in the progress and triumph of the Truth. Great service also has been rendered to the cause of 'free enquiry' by that portion of the Public Press, which, often without expressing agreement with my views, has yet insisted on a *fair field* being allowed for the discussion of these important questions, and for *time* being given to test the truth of my arguments.

But I have, I confess, been disappointed in the course which has been adopted by the great body of my Episcopal Brethren. I had no reason to suppose that I should receive from *all* of them expressions of sympathy, or encouraging help in my work; from *some* I could only expect condemnation; and, while dissenting from their judgment, I should yet have respected the religious feelings, however (as it seemed to me) mistaken, which to their own minds justified their censures. But I did not imagine that so many of the Bishops of England, with the Bishop of OXFORD at their head, would have absolutely ignored the existence of such a science as Biblical criticism, and its undoubted and undeniable results, in its application to the earlier Hebrew Scriptures. I believed that there were men of science and scholars among them, who, being acquainted generally with these results, would be aware of their reality and importance, and who would feel it to be impossible, in this age of enquiry, any longer to bar out their admission, as facts to be taken account of, like any other facts of science, by the more intelligent minds of the Church of England. I had hoped that their influence would have prevailed to check the hasty judgment of others, less informed than themselves on these matters; and that, if my Episcopal Brethren, generally, did not think it expedient to hold out to me a brotherly right

hand of fellowship,—if they condemned me as going too far in my conclusions, or as reasoning too confidently on insufficient premisses,—they would, at least, have recognised that my arguments were not altogether without some real foundation, and ought to be judged upon their merits,—ought to be considered, and, if need be, checked and corrected, not merely thrown aside with contemptuous language, as unfounded and ridiculous. I could not have believed, for instance, that the Bishop of OXFORD would have ventured to say that my 'speculations, so rash and feeble in themselves,' are—

'in all essential points but the repetition of old and often-answered cavils against the Word of God;'—

and still less that His Grace, the Primate of all England, would have pronounced with the high authority of his office, that my objections 'are for the most part puerile and trite,'—

'so puerile, that an intelligent youth, who read his Bible with care, could draw the fitting answers from the Bible itself,—so trite, that they have been again and again refuted, two hundred years ago by Archbishop USHER, one of the most learned analysts [? 'annalists'] of this or of any country, more recently by Bishop WATSON and others.'

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat what the Public Press has already said in reply to such assertions as the above, *viz.* that many of the criticisms in these volumes have *never* been answered, and that the writings of Archbishop USHER and Bishop WATSON will throw no light whatever upon the most important questions which are here discussed. As well might we refer to books of the last century for a refutation of the objections, which are raised to the historical truth of some portions of the book of Genesis, by recent discoveries in geological science. But, on behalf of those, who regard the Bible with a true reverence, as a Divinely-given Teacher, which God in His Providence has 'caused to be written for our learning,'

but which He wills us to read with intelligent discrimination of its contents, not with a blind unreasoning idolatry of the mere letter, I respectfully protest against the language which the Archbishop of CANTERBURY has, apparently, applied to all those, who read my books with interest, by summing them up under three categories, as either 'ignorant,' or 'half-informed,' or else 'rejoicing in anything which can free them from the troublesome restraints of religion.' The object of my whole work is to bind the consciences of men more imperatively than ever by the law of true Religion, which is the law of life and happiness. But, inasmuch as multitudes have already broken loose from the restraints of that traditional religious teaching, which they know to be contradicted by some of the most familiar results of modern Science, now made the common heritage of every educated English child, I believe that I have only done my duty, as a Minister of the National Church, in endeavouring to reestablish a permanent union between the teachings of Religion and Science, and to heal effectively that breach between them, which otherwise will assuredly widen day by day, with infinite injury to the Church itself, and to the whole community.

And here I think it desirable to correct three mistakes, which (as I gather from the letters addressed to their Clergy by several of the Bishops) have been entertained by many with respect to my work.

(i) It has been stated that I *deny the Inspiration of the Bible.*

I reply that I have nowhere denied it, nor have even considered at all the question of Scripture Inspiration. I have left that subject wholly untouched: it is no part of my present plan to discuss it. Doubtless, the plain results of criticism,

such as those set forth in these volumes, must indirectly affect the views which may be taken of Inspiration, and must certainly, if seen to be true results, conflict entirely with the traditional view of the Divine Infallibility of Scripture. But it is no part of my present *object* to prove even this. I have only had in view 'to examine critically the Pentateuch and book of Joshua,' with the special purpose of determining, as far as possible, the age and authorship of the different books.

(ii) Again, it has been said that *I wish to prove the Pentateuch* —and in fact, the whole Bible—*to be untrue.*

Nothing can be further from my wish or purpose than this. Rather, I desire to know what *is* true in the Pentateuch history, and in the Bible generally. I wish to know, if possible, in what age, by what persons, under what circumstances, the different portions of the Bible were written, that I may be able to judge for myself, and help others to judge, of the amount of credibility to be attached to the different narratives. If I had found reason to believe that Moses really wrote the account of the Exodus, describing what he had himself personally said, and done, and witnessed, I should have felt bound to believe his statements, as those of a devout, God-fearing, man; and then, whatever miraculous accounts they might have contained, such statements would, assuredly, not have involved the contradictions, which appear upon a close inspection of the present Pentateuch. But the process of critical enquiry, so far from eliciting *proofs* and *confirmations* of the Mosaic origin of these books, leads quite to the opposite conclusion. *All the arguments, drawn from an examination of the Pentateuch, point in one direction.* It is well to observe this. There is literally *nothing* in these books distinctly indicative of Mosaic authorship.

The whole force of the argument for that authorship rests upon tradition, and may be referred back to the opinion of persons, who lived nearly a thousand years after the date assigned to Moses. It is not a question of *balanced internal evidence*, but a case where there is a *host* of indications, all tending to show diversity of authorship and late date, and *none* discoverable, by all the ingenuity yet brought to bear upon the subject, which tends decidedly the other way; and the supporters of the traditional view will be found to be constantly occupied,—not in producing 'internal evidence' to show that Moses *did* write the Pentateuch, but—in trying to account for the existence, on the assumption of his authorship, of so much internal evidence of the contrary. In short, the strength of the resistance to the critical conclusion lies in the feeling, that we do not *like* to think that those books could have grown up in the way, which the 'internal evidence' clearly indicates,—the way in which, be it observed, the religious books of all other nations are known to have been formed.

As soon, then, as I began to examine the question closely, it was impossible long to resist the conviction, that the notion of these books having been actually composed by Moses was a mere popular prejudice, without foundation in matter of fact. And, my eyes being once opened to this, I could not but perceive a multitude of 'difficulties, contradictions, improbabilities, impossibilities,' (to use again the words of Dean Milman,) involved in the story as it now lies before us, which were due to the complex nature of the work, and caused by the amalgamation into one story of different writings, by different authors, in different ages. Having examined carefully in detail the proofs of this compound authorship, and arrived at definite

and certain views myself upon some questions, *e.g.* as regards the later origin, generally, of the 'Law and Polity of Moses,' and, in particular, as regards 'the age and authorship of Deuteronomy,' I have felt it to be my duty to lay the facts of the case before the English reader. And, in order to do this, I thought it best to set forth, in the first instance, some of the most remarkable of the above contradictions, as likely to fasten upon his mind, and arouse in him the desire and determination to be satisfied, as far as possible, upon the point at issue, and bring to the further consideration of the more important, and yet more difficult, portions of my work, that eager, close, attention, which was needed to produce entire conviction. I believe that I have succeeded in this to some extent; though I must confess that I have been surprised at the amount of ingenuity, which, even in an age like this, can still be expended in framing all kinds of possible or impossible ways of escape from the most overwhelming difficulties. But the plan, which I have followed in Part I, has been misunderstood by many to imply that the whole object of my work—at least, its main object—was *to prove the unhistorical character of the Pentateuch*, and so destroy the authority of the Bible.

(iii) Further, it has been stated, by more than one of my Episcopal Brethren, that I have charged the Clergy generally with *dishonesty*, in concealing their views about the Deluge, and using the Baptismal Form of Prayer without believing in it. I reply that I have never charged any with 'dishonesty' in this respect; and, if I thought that my words justly allowed of such a construction being placed on them, I should express my regret that I have made use of language that was capable of being so misconstrued. Nor did I *volunteer* to

make any reference at all in this matter to the Clergy. In what I said, I acted strictly in self-defence. I was accused of being 'dishonest' myself, in retaining my clerical office, while disbelieving many or most of the details of the story of the Exodus, —*directly*, by many of the Clergy, and *indirectly* by one, for whose high character, as a lover of truth and fair-dealing, and for whose conduct under present circumstances, I have the most profound esteem. The Bishop of LONDON had stated, in his Charge to his Clergy, that our National Church was based upon the principle of 'free enquiry,'—that to enquire was the *right* of an English Clergyman in all cases, and frequently his *duty*,—but that,—

'if such enquiry led to *doubt*, and if the doubt ended in disbelief of the Church's doctrines, of course he would resign his office as one of the Church's authorised teachers.'

I might have replied to such an observation that WYCLIF did not retire from his sacred office, though disbelieving the doctrines of the Church of which he was a Minister, and that CRANMER, RIDLEY, and LATIMER, and other Bishops, though consecrated as Bishops of the Roman Church, and bound by the solemn vows of their ordination in that Church, did not *resign* their sees as soon as they became *Protestant* Bishops, and the National Church by the National Will had become Protestant also, nor afterwards, when by the same Will the Church ceased to be Protestant, and once more became Romanised.

But, I felt that, in the present instance, there was far less reason for urging upon me such a course as a plain duty, inasmuch as very many of the Clergy, I believed, and certainly not a few of my Episcopal Brethren, did *not* accept the story of the Noachian Deluge as literally and historically true, and yet justified themselves in retaining their offices in the Church.

If my conduct was 'dishonest,' so, too, was theirs; for my 'dishonesty,' surely, could not consist in openly professing that which others secretly held. If *they* were 'honest' in the course which they were pursuing—and I expressed no doubt whatever of this—I felt that it was unfair and ungenerous to charge upon me, as a crime, the very same proceeding as their own—the same exactly in principle, though differing, it may be, in degree. I admit fully that any of the Clergy who *do* 'unfeignedly believe'—as some, I presume, do—in the literal historical truth of the story of the Flood as told in G.vi,vii,viii, have a right to bring the charge against me of not believing what they deem essential to a true faith in the authority of the Bible. And, if there are *not*, as I said in my former Preface, 'multitudes of the more intelligent Clergy,' who, on geological or other grounds, have come to disbelieve in that narrative as a true piece of history, then I am wrong in my assumption, and owe my Clerical Brethren an apology for ascribing such disbelief to them.

But as to those, be they many or few in number, who do not believe in the literal truth of the Noachian Deluge, I did not impute to them 'dishonesty' in holding those opinions, and yet retaining their clerical office. On the contrary, I assigned certain reasons, which, I thought, would satisfy different classes of minds, and enable them still with a clear conscience to use the Form of Prayer which referred to that narrative. Being persuaded, however, that in this age of advancing Science such Clergymen *are* many, and believing also that the Laity have rarely heard from the pulpit any reference to the account of Noah's Flood, as being otherwise than literally and historically true, I am obliged to conclude that, by some cause or other, such Clergymen *have* been prevented from speaking to their people

the plain truth upon this point. And I believe that they have been impeded by the restraints, real or supposed, of those stringent obligations, which the Church of England at the present time enforces on her Clergy at Ordination.

Here, also, I desire to say a few words more plainly in explanation of my present position, with reference to the assumptions made by some of my Episcopal Brethren, in their recent letters of inhibition. His Grace the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, in a letter dated March 31, addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese, has stated that I 'have refused to resign the See of Natal, though I cannot deny that I am unable to exercise the most important functions of that office.'

I presume His Grace to refer, in these words, to the reply which I gave to a letter addressed to me by the great majority of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England. In that reply, I did not think it necessary to contradict formally the three assumptions which had been made by my Episcopal Brethren, considering that anyone acquainted with my books would be aware that they were not correct statements of the facts of the case; and feeling also that an answer at full length was the less needed, as the letter of the Bishops appeared in the *Times* almost as soon as it had reached my hands,—before I had had time to reply to it,—from which circumstance I could only infer that it was intended rather for the *public* than for myself, though expressing 'deep brotherly anxiety' for me. As, however, the Archbishop and several of the Bishops have again referred to this subject, I think it due to myself to notice this charge; and I do it also with a view to those of the Clergy and Laity, who agree with me in believing that the right and duty of free enquiry to its fullest extent is the very foundation on

which—not true Religion only, but — our Protestant National Church is based, and that an honest and fearless statement of the Truth, as the result of such enquiry, is the only condition of its permanent existence, and the only ground of hope for its continuance, from age to age, in healthy and vigorous action, amidst the rapid advances of modern Science.

The letter of my Episcopal Brethren contained, as I have said, three assumptions, which are expressly or virtually negatived by the plain words of my books.

(i) 'We understand you to say that you do not now believe that which you voluntarily professed to believe, as the indispensable condition of your being entrusted with your present office.'

Ans. When I was ordained Deacon and Priest, I professed to 'believe unfeignedly all the Canonical Scriptures.' I have said that I *then* understood those words in their most obvious and natural sense,—the sense in which some of the Bishops, and many of the Clergy, at this very time receive them,—as implying that those Scriptures were, in matters of historical fact, as well as in statements of moral and religious truth, divinely and infallibly true. I have said also that I had ceased to believe this, and that I was pained to find my convictions contradicting, as I conceived, the words of the Ordination Service, until it was declared, on the highest legal authority of the Church of England, that my former view—I may say, the popular view—of the meaning of those words was mistaken, and that they must be held to mean no more than a simple expression of a *bonâ fide* belief that 'the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation,' and that 'to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty.' I have stated distinctly, Part I, *p.*xxxiii, and I here repeat, that 'I am not conscious of having said anything which contravenes this decision.'

(ii) 'We understand you to say that you have entertained, and have not abandoned, the conviction, that you could not use the Ordination Service, inasmuch as in it you must require from others a solemn declaration that they 'unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,' which, with the evidence now before you, it is impossible wholly to believe in.

Ans. I cannot but suppose that His Grace, and others of my Episcopal Brethren who subscribed the above words, could not have been aware that they are directly set aside by my own language on *p.*xii of Part I, where, after showing that at one time I felt the impossibility of demanding from a candidate for Orders *such* a confession of belief in the Holy Scriptures as I then considered—and as many still consider—to be required by the formula of the Ordination Service, I have added

(since reading in England the judgment of Dr. LUSHINGTON) the following note: —

'This was written before the recent decision of the Court of Arches, by which, of course, the above conclusion is *materially affected*.'

It would now be possible for me to require such a declaration from a candidate for Orders, provided that I had first fully explained to him, and to the Congregation, *in what sense the Church intends such a declaration to be made.*

(iii) 'We understand you further to intimate that those who think with you are precluded from using the Baptismal Service, and consequently (as we must infer) other offices of the Prayer Book, unless they omit all such passages as assume the truth of the Mosaic History.'

Ans. This assumption, again, is contradicted by my own language already referred to, Part II, *p.*xxii, where I have said that many Clergymen, who do not believe in the historical truth of the Noachian Deluge, will yet be able to justify themselves in one of two ways, in using still such a Form of Prayer. If it is perfectly understood that a Minister is at full liberty to explain to his people freely his opinion respecting the Biblical account of the Deluge, the unhistorical character of the Mosaic story, or the age and authorship of Deuteronomy,—(and this appears likewise to be decided in the affirmative by the same legal judgment,)—I apprehend that many, who have an intelligent acquaintance with the results of modern criticism, may still be content to read the allusions in the Liturgy. But I felt also that there might be others, of more scrupulous conscience, who would not be satisfied with this mode of meeting the difficulty, and to whom I could give no other advice than that which I have given, viz. to *omit* such expressions, and take the consequences of such omission.* I consider, however, that such passages ought no longer to be retained, as of absolute obligation, in our Prayer Book; and I hold it to be my duty, as a Bishop of the National Church, to labour for their removal—or, at least, for the liberty being granted of omitting them—as soon as possible.

This, then, is what I meant when I contradicted publicly the

* I need hardly say that it is satisfactory to me to find that, in giving such advice as the above, I am supported by the practice of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who stated in his place in the House of Lords, on Monday, June 1, 1863, that 'he had been consulted frequently' by clergymen, who had conscientious scruples against using certain words of the Burial Service in particular cases, in which, however, by the *law* and by their ordination *vows* they were required to use them,—'and he had said this, that *nothing would induce him to pronounce these words*' in such cases—'*he would stand the risk of all the penalties of the law rather than do so.*'

assumption of my Episcopal Brethren, that with my present views I cannot use the language of the Baptismal and Ordination Services. I *can* use that language—provided that I claim it as my right, as a Minister of the National Church, and lay it upon myself as a duty, to explain freely and fully to my people in what sense I use it. And what are others doing in this respect? How does my conduct differ essentially, in respect of honest adherence to the principles of the Church of England, from theirs? The Bishop of OXFORD was the *first* to issue a letter of inhibition, after my reply to the address of the Archbishops and Bishops. Not, then, in his personal capacity, but as a representative of those, who have followed him in adopting this extraordinary mode of public Church censure,—upon the mere judgment of each individual Bishop, without any hearing or trial of the accused,—I would ask the Bishop of OXFORD before my fellow-countrymen, Does *he*, a Fellow of the Royal and other Scientific Societies, believe unfeignedly in the literal historical truth of the account of the Creation, the Noachian Deluge, or the numbers of the Exodus? If the Bishop will say that he *does* 'unfeignedly believe' in all these matters, as related in the Pentateuch, of course, I have nothing more to say as regards this part of my argument. But, if he does not, then how, I repeat, does his present conduct differ essentially from mine? *He* has some way of explaining these matters, which satisfies his own mind, as I have. And the only difference is this, that I think it to be my duty, and shall make it my practice, to tell my people plainly, on such points, what I believe, and what I know to be true; and the Bishop of OXFORD has not yet, as far as I am aware, thought it necessary to say what he really thinks upon any one of these subjects.

In fact, judging from their published documents, it is very difficult to say what many of those, who have so severely condemned me, do really believe themselves with respect to the narratives of the Pentateuch. They have expressed themselves, indeed, in the strongest terms, as resting their hopes of eternity upon the 'Word of God.' But *that*, I trust, I do, as truly and entirely as they. There is a sense also in which I am quite ready to speak of the Bible as the 'Word of God,'—just as we call a Church the 'House of God,' without meaning, therefore, to say that the plan or material of the building is Divine, or that God meets with us there exclusively. But I prefer the language of the First Homily, '*In it* (Holy Scripture) *is contained the true Word of God;*' and I agree fully with the language of Dean MILMAN, who says, *Hist. of the Jews*, Pref.*p.*xi:—

> The moral and religious truth, *and this alone*, I apprehend, is the 'Word of God' contained in the Sacred Writings. I know no passage in which this emphatic term is applied to any sentence or saying, which does not convey or enforce such truth.

On this account I am unwilling to make use of the expression 'The Bible *is* the Word of God,'—though in the sense of the words above explained I *can* use it,—because it is so likely to mislead the uneducated, and induce them to attach a superstitious reverence to the mere text of Scripture. But, when my Brethren use the expression 'Word of God,' the question arises, What do *they* mean? Their language at one time seems to imply that they attach a Divine Infallibility to every line and letter of the mere text of the Bible, so that,—

> 'the very foundations of our faith, the very basis of our hopes, the very nearest and dearest of our consolations, are taken from us, when one line of that Sacred Book, on which we base everything, is declared to be unfaithful or untrustworthy.'

But, when the writer of the above words is pressed for an

answer, as to a statement of the Bible being true on one particular point of natural history, he immediately, while maintaining his position in words, abandons it in point of fact, and retreats behind the assertion that—

'every line of Scripture will amply bear the pressure of any test applied to it, *if viewed with relation to the subject it really refers to, the state, mentally and morally, of those to whom it was addressed, and the effect it was intended to convey*'—

an assertion, which, whatever may be its precise meaning, at all events allows of the recognition of the results of my own critical enquiries. The other inhibiting Bishops, as I have said, with the single exception of the Bishop of LLANDAFF, have contented themselves with simply condemning my book.*

'But what do my Episcopal Brethren mean by this proceeding? Do they really suppose that, by the obstructions of Church censures and anathemas, or the mere exercise of authority, they can bar out the entrance of that light of Critical Science, which God Himself has given us, as one of the special blessings bestowed upon us by His Goodness in this day? May it not be that the Science of Biblical Criticism is as needful to our true

* The venerable Bishop of EXETER has surprised me, as much as any of my Brethren, by the course which he has taken. In a letter to his Clergy, he has very justly condemned the practice of 'prejudging matters which must be the subject of Judicial consideration before our Archbishop,' and *not* 'adhering' to the very proper 'resolution of a meeting of the Bishops,' viz. 'to avoid any extra-judicial declaration' on this subject. And his language bears with special force upon those who may be called to sit hereafter as judges, but who, by distinct expression of their sentiments beforehand, in public official documents, have surely gone far to 'endanger the impartiality and purity of the tribunal of justice.' In a further address to his Clergy the Bishop of EXETER is reported to have said that he 'has not read the book which has occasioned so much alarm,' and 'cannot, therefore, speak of its real contents,' and that, 'not having examined the book, he will not condemn it.' Yet he '*is thankful that it has called forth so strong a feeling of indignation against me*,' and he, too, 'inhibits' me from ministering in his diocese.

progress and highest happiness as any other of the Sciences—as Geology, Astronomy, Chemistry, Natural History, &c.—all which have been aroused into new life in this very age, and many of which—like that of which the most recent results are exhibited in the works of DAVIDSON, KALISCH, &c., and in the Parts already published of this work—were almost wholly unknown to our forefathers? May it not be true that each one of these Sciences is as truly intended by the Wisdom and Grace of God for the present stage of human development, as any other of the sisterhood,—that we cannot despise or refuse the help of any one of them, without 'rejecting the counsel of God against ourselves,'—that, 'if this work be of God, we cannot overthrow it, lest haply we be found fighting against God'? In short, may it not be true that this light of Criticism may be but one of the many-coloured rays of modern Science, which come to us all from the 'Father of Lights,' in this our own age of wonderful Illumination, and which are meant to blend together into the pure, white, Light of Truth, that Light which our spirits need, and which His Wisdom and His Love at this time impart to us?

Must we, then, English Christians, live on, as men did in former ages, under strict ecclesiastical restraints, as if there was a 'dark chamber' in the house, into which we have once looked, but have shut to the door, and dare not look again, lest we should see something to frighten us out of our 'hopes for eternity,' and cause us the loss of 'all our nearest and dearest consolations'? How much better to open wide the door, and let in the blessed light and air of day, into every part of our spiritual dwelling! That light, indeed, may show us that the stories of the six days' Creation, the Noachian Deluge, the

slaughter of 68,000 Midianitish women and children, are no longer to be spoken of as historical facts. We may perceive that it is no longer possible to confound the early legends of the Hebrew people, and statements contrary to reason and the facts of nature, or condemned by our moral sense, and by the Voice which witnesses for God within us, with the Eternal 'Word of God.' But we shall find in the Pentateuch, notwithstanding, precious things without number, of which little or no use is made at present in the instruction of the people,—unquestionable facts of ancient history, mixed up, no doubt, with much of uncertain or unreal tradition,—and, above all, rich lessons of spiritual Truth, by which our souls may be cheered and strengthened for the work of life. What a day of regenerated life will it be for the Church of England, when these things shall be spoken of, plainly and freely, in every pulpit of the land,—when the Bible shall be opened, and the story of its origin explained, and the real value of its histories discussed, as the records of living men, like ourselves, written down by living men,—with the reverence due to a Book so venerable, and endeared to the inmost heart of every Christian, but yet without fear of treading with irreligious feet upon holy ground,—rather, with the deepest and most sincere conviction that we can only thus serve God acceptably, and discharge our duty before Him, as Christian men and Ministers, by such free enquiry after Truth, and such free utterance of it!

But another cry has been raised against my work, and, indeed, the loudest and most terrible of all, the cry of 'Heresy!' 'Blasphemy!' To my utter amazement, the two Archbishops have swelled this cry,—not to speak of the language used by others

of my Episcopal brethren, as that of the Bishop of CHICHESTER, already quoted. The Archbishop of CANTERBURY has spoken of my works as 'derogatory to the person, the attributes, and the work, of our Divine Redeemer,' and as 'charging Him, who knew what was in man, with ignorance and imposture.' And, in like manner, the Archbishop of YORK reproaches me with 'having imputed to the Lord of glory ignorance of holy things,' and 'having described our Lord as a blind guide, quoting, for the very Word of Life, the baseless fables of men.'

I say that I have been amazed at such language being used by these eminent Prelates; because I could not have believed that persons so high in office and judicial position would, in statements like these, have branded me publicly, before the whole Church, with charges of 'heresy' and 'blasphemy,' for the expressions which I have used in my books on *this* point. Whatever they might have thought of the soundness of my criticism, or however they might have differed from my views of Inspiration, yet I could not have imagined that they would either have been unaware of the fact, that, in using such expressions with respect to 'our Lord's ignorance as the Son of Man,' I was perfectly justified by the practice of the most eminent theologians, both ancient and modern; or that, being aware of this, they would have allowed me to be covered with reproach and censure on this account,—nay, with their own hands would have flung some of the hardest stones against me. So assured, however, did I feel of the soundness of my views on this point, and that here, at all events, I had the authority of the Church itself on my side, that I did not care to defend myself at length from such charges in my former volumes. But, as some remarks had been made upon the subject, with reference

to what I said in my Preface to Part I, I was content to repeat my words, and refer in support of them to the language of an eminent professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Dr. HEY. I thought that, of course, the Bishops and Doctors of the Church,—more especially those who, like Archbishop THOMSON and Bishop ELLICOTT, have gained a reputation for theological learning, or who, like Dean ALFORD and Prof. BROWNE, (as will be seen below,) have expressed the very same view in substance as my own,—would protect me, at all events, from such accusations. Otherwise, I should have produced further evidence in my Second Part, to justify my use of the language so much condemned. In support of my position, I now produce it, in the contents of the following communication, which has been sent to me by a clergyman, unknown to me personally at present, though well-known as the writer of various zoological papers in scientific journals, and the chief contributor on the Natural History of the Bible to the second volume of Dr. SMITH'S *Dictionary*. I will only add that I am deeply sensible of the courage and sincerity which he has shown, amidst the violent excitement of these times, in thus coming forward, unsolicited, to bear this testimony in the service of the Truth.

MY LORD,

If there is one passage in your recently published work on the Pentateuch, which more than another has subjected you to very severe condemnation, it is that which contains the following statement, (Part II, *p.*xvii):—

'This only I repeat once more. The recognition of the gradual growth of JESUS, as the Son of Man, in human knowledge and science of all kinds, such as that which concerns the question of the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, is perfectly compatible with—rather, is absolutely required by—the most orthodox faith in His Divinity, as the Eternal Son of God.'

Very hard words, my Lord, have been uttered against you for maintaining this

so-called 'heretical' opinion. We are told, for instance, in a widely-diffused publication, (Dr. M'CAUL's '*Examination*' of your difficulties in Part I, *p.*215, *People's Edition*,) that you 'rob Christ of His Deity, by denying His Omniscience.'

The doctrine, which is embodied in the paragraph quoted above from your book, has lately been occupying my close attention; and, as the result of my investigations, I shall show—

(i) That it is expressly taught by our Lord Himself;

(ii) That it has the sanction of very many eminent Biblical writers, both ancient and modern;

(iii) That it is implied in the language of the formularies of our Church.

(i) Speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem or of the end of the World, our Lord says, 'Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son*, but the Father,' Mark xiii.32.

(ii) This verse appears to have attracted the especial attention of the Patristic Theologians, in their disputes, first, with the Arians, and, subsequently, with a sect called the Agnoetæ, so named because they taught from this passage that 'Christ, as Man, was ignorant of some things, just as we say that He suffered grief,' *ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἠγνόει που Χριστὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ πονέσαι λέγομεν αὐτόν.* But it is evident that the error of the Agnoetæ did not consist simply in maintaining this doctrine, because EULOGIUS,* Bishop of Alexandria, who wrote against them, was compelled to admit with GREGORY NAZ.† that Christ 'knows, indeed, as God, but is ignorant as Man,' *γιγνώσκει μὲν ὡς Θεὸς, ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος.* But, whatever was the particular heresy of the Agnoetæ, it is certain that the doctrine, which is embodied in the foregoing formula, though so severely censured, has the undoubted sanction of many of the early Fathers.

LEONTIUS *de Sectis, act. ult.* (I quote from the *Critici Sacri*, not having the works of this author at hand,) writes as follows:—

'One must know that most of the Fathers—indeed, almost all—appear to say that He (CHRIST) was ignorant of some things; for, if He is said to be in all respects of the same substance with us (*ὁμοούσιος*), and we are ignorant of some things, it is manifest that He also was ignorant, and the Scripture says of Him that He increased in age and wisdom.'

St. AMBROSE, *De Fide*, 5, cap.xviii, §221, though he was somewhat afraid of holding the doctrine himself, yet admits that it was held by many, when he says:—

'There are many, however, not quite so timid as I am,—for I had rather fear deep things, than be wise about them,—there are many, I say, relying on what is

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* PHOTII *Myriobiblion*, ed. Hoeschelius, Rothomagi, 1653, *p.*881.

† *Oratio trigesima-sexta*, ed. Paris. 1609, *p.*588.

written, 'And Jesus progressed in wisdom, &c.,' who say confidently that, according to His Divine Nature, indeed, He could not have been ignorant of those things which are future, but that, according to His assumption of our condition, He said before His crucifixion that He was ignorant as the Son of Man. . . . He seems, therefore, to be ignorant in the same nature in which He progresses. . . . This, however, let others say, &c.'

GREGORY NAZ. *Or.*xxxvi(xxx).15, writes:—

'To whom can it be a matter of doubt that He has a knowledge of that hour, indeed, as God, but is ignorant of *it*, as Man? . . . For, inasmuch as the name 'Son' is used in this passage absolutely, and without being referred to any one, and it is not added, *whose* Son, on that account a handle is hence afforded to us (*hinc nobis ansa porrigitur*) of so considering the matter as to interpret this ignorance in the most pious sense, ascribing it to His Humanity, not to His Divinity.'

THEODORET *ad IV Cyr. Anathem.* says:

'The ignorance, then, does not belong to God the Word, but to the form of the servant, which knew at that time such things as the indwelling Divinity revealed.'

ATHANASIUS, *Disc. II against Arianism*, (PUSEY'S translation; *Library of the Fathers*,) ch.xxviii, writes as follows:—

'Why, though He knew, He said 'no, not the Son knows,' this, I think, none of the faithful is ignorant, *viz.* that He made this, as those other declarations, *as Man*, by reason of the flesh. For this, as before, is not the Word's deficiency, but of that human nature, whose property it is to be ignorant. . . Not then, when the heaven was made by Him, nor when He was with the Father Himself, the Word 'disposing all things,' nor before He became Man, did He say it, but when 'the Word became flesh.' On this account it is reasonable to ascribe to His Manhood everything which, after He became Man, He speaks humanly. . . .

'Certainly, when He says in the Gospel, concerning Himself, in His human character, 'Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son,' it is plain that He knows also the hour of the end of all things as the Word, though, *as Man, He is ignorant of it*, for ignorance is proper to man, and especially ignorance of these things. Moreover, this is proper to the Saviour's love of man; for, since He was made man, He is not ashamed because of the flesh which is ignorant, to say 'I know not,' that He may show that, knowing as God, *He is but ignorant according to the flesh.* And, therefore, He said not, 'no, not the Son *of God* knows,' lest the Godhead should seem ignorant, but simply, 'no, not the Son,' that the ignorance might be *the Son's, as born among men.* . . .

'*For, as on becoming man He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as Man, He knows not.*'

Upon the above Dr. PUSEY notes as follows, after stating what he considers to b the 'doctrine of the Church' on this point: —

'However, this view of the sacred subject was received by the Church after S ATHANASIUS's day; and it cannot be denied that he and others of the most emine Fathers use language, which *primâ facie* is inconsistent with it. They certainl seem to impute ignorance to our Lord as Man, as ATHANASIUS in this passage.'

And Dr. PUSEY quotes St. CYRIL, *Trin. pp.*623–4, 'Why blush they at the co ditions of the manhood, and determine to find fault with what especially befits th economy of the flesh?' and he says, 'THEODORET expresses the same opinion ver strongly.' He adds also in a note on *p.*464, 'It is a *question to be decided*, wheth our Lord . . . . spoke of a *real* ignorance, or of an 'economical' or *professe* ignorance.' He produces several of the Fathers in support of this latter view. B he quotes also THEODORET as 'very severe on the principle of 'economy':—'If H knew the day and, wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what a *blasphem* is the result! Truth tells an untruth!'

CYRIL of Alexandria, Ed. *Migne*, Tom.75,*p.*367, says:—

'We ought not, on account of this expression, to accuse the *Word of God*, an rashly to impute any ignorance to Him. But we should rather admire His lo towards man, who did not refuse, out of His love towards us, to bring Himse down to so great humiliation, as to bear all things that are ours, one of which als is *ignorance*.'

And again CYRIL says, *Thes. p.*221:—

'*Just as Christ took this upon Himself in common with men, to hunger, thirs and suffer the other things which are spoken about Him, exactly in the same way there is nothing to offend any one, if He be said, as Man, to have been ignorant also in common with men.*'

CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom.* cxvii, says:—

'He is ignorant, then, according to His human nature, who knows all things according to the power of His Divinity.'

AUGUSTINE writes on this point, *Opera.* vol.xii, *Fides Rufini Syri*, &c.:—

'Although no one, as far as I am aware, has charged it as a crime upon Origen, that he has attributed to Christ ignorance of the last day, yet I have little doubt that this form of anathema was produced by Rufinus with special reference to him, although undeservedly and by a suspicious—if I may so say—calumny. There are, then, two parts of the form of anathema: one refers to Christ, as the Word; the other refers to Him as Man. The former alleges that to the Word the day of judgment was known, a point which the Arians denied; the latter admits that to the Man it was unknown, on which point the Fathers of old held various opinions. For, while they all in common contended with the Arians, yet some maintained that Christ, as Man, was really ignorant of the last day, and therefore were wont

to use the distinction that Christ knew the day of judgment in His divine character (θεϊκῶς), but in His fleshly nature (σαρκικῶς) knew it not. This opinion was entertained by some of the Fathers, even of great name in the Church, EUSTATHIUS of Antioch, (as quoted by FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS,) ATHANASIUS, BASIL, GREGORY NAZ., CYRIL of Alexandria, THEODORET, HILARY, AMBROSE, FULGENTIUS, and others not a few.'

AUGUSTINE himself, however, and the Theologians of his day, interpret the expression, 'neither the Son,' to denote, not that Christ, even as Man, was actually ignorant of the day of judgment, but that he was unwilling to communicate it, an explanation plainly untenable, as Archbishop TILLOTSON has shown in his Sermon cxxix, on the text in question, from which I extract the following:—

'But this is not only hid from the angels, but, which is yet more, from the Son Himself. *Of that day and hour knows none, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son.* This seems strange indeed that the Son of God, who came from the bosom of His Father, and therefore is more likely than any to know His secrets, —that He, *whom God had ordained to be the Judge of the world,* into whose hands He had committed that great trust and authority—should not be acquainted with the time of this judgment. . . . This seems incredible but that He Himself hath told us so. . . . Some, and those of no small account, have understood these words, as if our Saviour only intended to put off His disciples from a more particular enquiry about the matter; not that He was ignorant of the day of judgment, but that He did not know it, so as to reveal it to them,—which is by no means to be admitted; not only because it looks too like the equivocation of the Jesuits, but likewise because the same may be said of *the angels,* since it is not otherwise denied of the angels, that they know this time, than it is of the Son. Others say that His human nature was not ignorant of the day of judgment, but that it did not know this of itself, but by virtue of its union with the Divine nature. But our Saviour absolutely says that *the Son* did not know it. And, therefore, others more reasonably have distinguished between His human nature and His Divine; and, though as God He could not be ignorant of anything, yet *His human understanding did not know it.* . . . If this be not admitted, how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, Luke ii.52, 'that Jesus grew in wisdom, &c.'? . . . For, if the human nature of Christ did necessarily know all things by virtue of its union with the Divinity, He could not then, as Man, be said to *grow in wisdom.* And this, I think, may be sufficient for the clearing of this difficulty.'

HAMMOND, on Mark xiii.32, writes:—

'But for the doctrine of those which . . . only affirm that, though as God He knew all, yet as Man He was ignorant of some things, just in the same manner as He was passible and subject to all human infirmities which had not sin in them, and that this is His own express affirmation that *the Son of Man knew not that day and hour,* this sure *is so far from heresy that* . . . *it is the unanimous assertion*

of all the Fathers, to which neither the Council of Chalcedon nor any other hath taught anything contrary.' Hammond presses the matter too far when he says 'it is the *unanimous* assertion.'

LIGHTFOOT, *Exercit. on* Mark xiii.32, writes:—

'To say that the Second Person in the Trinity knows not something, is blasphemous; to say so of the *Messias*, is not so, who, nevertheless, was the same with the Second Person in the Trinity.'

CALVIN says on Luke ii.40:—'Certainly, when the Apostle teaches that (JESUS) was like to us in all things, sin excepted, without doubt he comprehends this also that His soul was subjected to ignorance. . . . Although the Person of God and Man was one, yet it does not follow that anything, that was proper to the Divine nature, was given to the human nature. . . . In fine, unless anyone pleases to deny that Christ was made a true man, let us not be ashamed also to confess that He voluntarily took upon Himself all things, which cannot be separated from human nature. The objection, however, is foolishly made that ignorance, as being the punishment of sin, does not comport with Christ; for the same would have to be said also with respect to death. . . . But, when Luke says that He was strengthened in spirit, and filled with wisdom, he signifies that whatever wisdom belongs to men, and daily accrues to them, flows from that one only fountain, viz. the Spirit of God.'

But I need not multiply quotations. GROTIUS, CLARIUS, J. CAPPELLUS, the elder ROSENMÜLLER, D'OYLY and MANT, WHITBY, BENGEL, all maintain the doctrine.

Bishop HORNE writes, *Disc. LVI*, iii. *p.* 208:—

'He [the Son] had also a Soul, endued with the same faculties as ours. His understanding was capable of learning and improvement; for, *as Man, He was ignorant of some things* which He might know, and He 'grew,' it is said, 'in *Wisdom* as well as Stature.''

The late Archbishop of CANTERBURY, though he does not seem to like the opinion, that Christ as Man was ignorant of some things, does not charge the advocates of it with heresy. He writes on Mark xiii.32:—

'It is said that in the same way as confessedly, when He came in our nature, He divested Himself of immortality which He possessed as God, so He might also divest Himself of knowledge. This is hard to understand. It would be strange, however, if there were not difficulties in a case so mysterious as the Union of the Divine and Human nature in the person of Christ.'

WATERLAND, ii. *p.* 162, (*Oxf. Ed.* 1856,) writes as follows:—

'As it may be truly said of the *body* of man that it is not *immortal*, though the soul be, so it may be truly said that the *Son of Man* was *not knowing*, though the *Son of God* knew everything. . . He denies the knowledge of the day of

judgment, but in respect of His *human nature*; in which respect also He is said to have 'increased in wisdom,' Luke ii.52, the Divine *Logos* having with the human nature assumed the *ignorance* and other *infirmities* proper to it.'

Dean ALFORD writes on Mark xiii.32:—

'This is one of those things, which the Father hath 'put in His own power,' Acts i.7, and with which *the Son*, in His Mediatorial Office, is not acquainted. We must not deal unfaithfully with a plain and solemn assertion of our Lord,—(and what can be more so than οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, in which by the οὐδέ He is *not below*, but *above*, the angels?)—by such evasions as 'He does not know it so as to *reveal* it to us,' WORDSW. ('non ita sciebat ut tunc discipulis indicaret,' AUG. *de Trin.* xii.3). Of such a sense there is not a hint in the context: nay, it is altogether alien from it.'

So the same author writes on Matt. xxiv.3:—

'Another weighty matter for the understanding of this prophecy is that any obscurity or concealment concerning the *time* of the Lord's Second Coming must be attributed to the right cause, which we know from His own mouth to be, that the Divine Speaker Himself in His humiliation 'did not know the day and the hour.' All, that He had heard of the Father He made known unto His disciples, John xv.15; but that, which the Father 'kept in His own power,' Acts i.7, He did not in His abased humanity know.'

Prof. HAROLD BROWNE writes, *Art.* i. *p.* 96:—

'That He (Jesus) had a perfect human soul appears from His 'increasing in wisdom,' Luke ii.52, *from the possibility of His being ignorant*, Mark xiii.32, which could not be true of Him considered only in His *Divine* nature.'

(iii) Lastly, this doctrine, lately so violently impugned, but so generally acknowledged hitherto, is implied in the language of our Church's formularies. A few words will suffice. The 15th Article teaches that 'Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us *in all things*, sin *only* except.' In the Athanasian Creed we acknowledge Christ to be 'perfect God and *perfect Man*.' How can we possibly receive this doctrine with regard to His human nature, if we deny to that nature one of the most essential attributes of humanity?

Thus, my Lord, you have been judged a heretic for promulgating a doctrine, which is expressly taught by our Lord Himself and by the Evangelist St. Luke, which is implied in the formularies of the Church of England, and is sanctioned by many of the most learned and devout writers, both ancient and modern. It is a pity that those, who have so severely condemned you for publishing this and such like *puerilities which an intelligent youth can answer*, have not taken more trouble to enquire whether 'these things are so,' or not.

And now, my Lord, with respect to the general character of your recent publica-

tions on the Pentateuch, I feel it my positive *duty*, at whatever cost, to say a few plain and honest words. I have diligently, conscientiously, and prayerfully, studied the whole question at issue for the last six months, and am compelled to admit the *general truth* of your arguments, though differing in some particulars. You are aware that I published a pamphlet in reply to your Part I; I have withdrawn that reply from circulation. Before the appearance of your Book, however, I was quite certain that the *Bible* and *Science* were opposed to each other. Four years' examination of almost every word in the Bible relating to its Natural History has convinced me that, in many essential points, the Biblical and Natural records are, to use the words of the learned and candid KALISCH, 'utterly and irreconcilably at variance.' The more I examine the whole question for myself, the more certain I become that in the Bible 'legend is mixed up with history, poetic imaginings with prosaic narrative, that no miraculous power has been exerted to preserve it from omissions, interpolations, and corruptions of the text,' and that the Bible 'is, therefore, not infallible in the sense in which the popular creed assumes it to be.' *

We acknowledge, my Lord, — notwithstanding a large admixture of the human, and therefore fallible, element in the Bible, — that in that Book there *is* a *jewel* of heavenly lustre and of priceless value. Why are we to suppose that this *jewel* shines less brilliantly, or loses one iota of its value, because the gold of its *setting* has a considerable per-centage of alloy? Why will men refuse to drink of the 'water of life' because it is offered to them in an earthen vessel?

Your Lordship is at liberty to make any use you please of this letter.

I remain, my Lord, your faithful and obedient servant,

PRESTON RECTORY, WELLINGTON, SALOP: *May* 20, 1863. W. HOUGHTON.

But, it is said, 'the same spirit of enquiry will be carried into the writings of the New Testament.' I answer, undoubtedly it will, and must be; and, if there is any part of the Church's teaching, depending on the New Testament, which will not bear the test of Truth, we shall, of course, as servants of the God of Truth, be bound to reject that also. Is there, then, a 'dark chamber' here too, which we are afraid to examine, — into which we dare not suffer the light of day to enter? Is

* See the very admirable and opportune Sermon preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Rev. W. G. Clark, M.A., 'On the Duty of Members of the English Church in the present Controversies.' Macmillan & Co.

this the security on which we hold our 'hopes for eternity,' our 'nearest and dearest consolations,' that we must not venture to apply to the records, on which we build our faith, an honest and searching criticism, such as we should certainly bring to the examination of documents of far less vital consequence? Let not me, or those who think with me, be blamed for this suggestion. It is not mine, and I have no dread of, such enquiries; I know that they will only tend still more to advance God's Glory, and our eternal welfare, through the progress of His Truth among men. Let those be blamed who have put forth this argument, for the purpose of keeping men still bound, hand and foot, in the swaddling-clothes of old traditions, and checking all examination like this into the historical truth of the Pentateuch, instead of recognising at once, in the face of the Church, the results of modern criticism, as established facts, and doing their part to harmonise them with those doctrinal teachings, which they deem to be part of the sum and substance of Christianity. *One* important difficulty, upon which we have soon stumbled in the very outset of these enquiries, I have done my best to remove; and for so doing I have been reproached as a 'heretic' and 'blasphemer.' But other difficulties will, no doubt, arise, and, indeed, have already been raised, not merely by the progress of criticism, but by recent discoveries in geological and other sciences, which must tend to modify materially some of those traditional views, which have been hitherto maintained on the assumption of the historical truth of the early portions of the Pentateuch. I believe that I am doing the best service to the cause of true Religion by showing that we are *not* obliged to receive as the Infallible 'Word of God' these statements, which conflict

with the certain conclusions of Science, and by asserting that the 'Word of God' is wholly independent of the amount of credence which we give to these ancient narratives. Very striking and important are these words of Dean MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*, vi.*p*.633, quoted by me in Part I (184), but little noticed by those, who have been so severe against me :—

As it is my own confident belief that the words of Christ, and His words alone, (the primal, indefeasible, truths of Christianity,) shall not pass away, so I cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more full and comprehensive and balanced, sense of those words, than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world. *As all else is transient and mutable, these only eternal and universal*, assuredly, whatever light may be thrown on the mental constitution of man, even on the constitution of nature, and the laws which govern the world, will be concentrated so as to give a more penetrating vision of those undying truths.

And I commend to the consideration of those of my Right Reverend Brethren, who have so strongly condemned me, these other words of the same eminent writer, in his work just published, *Hist. of the Jews*, *p*.xxxiv.:—

If on such subjects [as those here discussed] some solid ground be not found, on which highly educated, reflective, reading, reasoning, men may find firm footing, I can foresee nothing but a wide—a widening—I fear, an irreparable—breach between the thought and the religion of England. A comprehensive, all-embracing, Catholic, Christianity, which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it, may defy the world. Obstinate adherence to things antiquated, and irreconcilable with advancing knowledge and thought, may repel and for ever,—how *many*, I know not,—how *far*, I know still less. *Avertat omen Deus*!

That portion of the work, however, which concerns the New Testament, I leave at present to others. The Bishops and Doctors of our Church are many, and I am but one. Several of them are learned in matters specially connected with the criticism of the N.T., with the early records of the history of the Church, and of the origin, progress, and development of dog-

matic teaching within her pale. I must confine myself, — for the present, at least,— to the special work which I have here undertaken, and in which my Brethren have left me hitherto to labour alone, *viz.* that of setting before the Laity and Clergy of the National Church, to the best of my power, the most certain conclusions of modern critical science as to the age and authorship of the different parts of the Pentateuch.

*** Since the above Preface was written, the Report of the Committee of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, appointed to examine Parts I and II of my work, has been presented, and endorsed by a vote of ten Bishops of the Province, at the earnest instance of the Bishop of OXFORD, but in opposition to the judgment of two of the most eminent and learned Bishops of the English Bench, the Bishops of LONDON and St. DAVID'S.

I rejoiced at the appointment of that Committee. For the furtherance of the Truth I desired nothing more than that my investigations and conclusions should be brought under review by such a body of English Clergymen, distinguished, most of them, by high ecclesiastical position, and many of them by eminent literary and theological attainments. It is true that Archdeacon DENISON, who moved for the Committee, and has acted as its chairman,—who expressed the wish to 'avoid the appearance of approaching to intemperance in thought or language,' and who, therefore, in his preliminary address to the Convocation, confined himself to speaking of me merely as 'a sacrilegious person,' one ready to 'damage the Bible by misrepresentation, to tear out its leaves, mutilate it, and desecrate what is left,' adding, 'I am going to say, if any man asserts such things as are asserted in this book, ANATHEMA ESTO! Let him be put away!'—took for granted that many members of Convocation had not read the First Part of my work, and desired, apparently, that they should not read either Part for themselves, but simply accept the report of his Committee; for he said, 'I *have no doubt*,—at all events, I *hope*,—that there are many here, who have not read the First Part, and I am sure that there are many, who have not read the Second Part,' of the book, on which he was about to call them in due time to pass some kind of judgment.

However, I presume that, at all events, those gentlemen, who have been engaged on this Committee, *have* felt it to be their duty to read my two Parts, and have endeavoured to divest themselves, as much as possible, of all prejudices, and to deliver 'a just and true verdict according to the evidence,' as in God's sight. I regret, indeed, that some of the most distinguished members of the Committee have taken no part at all in its proceedings, including two professors of Divinity in the

University of Cambridge, and others, from whose learning and honesty of purpose I expected much advantage for the cause of Truth. Nevertheless, I accept the Report, as exhibiting the result of nine days' searching enquiry into the contents of my books, by fourteen clergymen, many of them eminent for piety and learning, who also, however strongly animated by the desire to bear witness to the Truth, and do nothing by partiality, yet had, many or most of them, spoken severely beforehand in censure of my books, and would not, therefore, be likely to spare any traces of 'heresy,' which might fairly be detected in them.

I observe, then, that the Committee has not reported that my criticisms are *unfounded* or my critical conclusions *false*. They do not impeach the scientific *truth*, but only the *orthodoxy*, of my reasonings; they leave to 'individuals' the business of replying to my books; and they say 'the work of a Synod of the Church is of a different kind.' As Archd. BICKERSTETH observed, 'They have simply taken expressions from the book, and placed them side by side with the Bible, and expressions from the Formularies and Articles.' To me it is of little consequence, comparatively, whether my conclusions are deemed to be orthodox or not, provided only that they are *true*. If so, they *are* 'orthodox' in the best sense—the only right sense—of the word, in the only one which is recognised by the whole *spirit* of our National Church, based, as it surely is, upon the Truth, and not on authority.

But the Committee of Convocation has reported that, 'bearing in mind that it is not their province to pronounce definitely what are, or are not, opinions heretical, they content themselves with submitting that *three* propositions, being the main propositions of the book, involve errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of Faith in the Bible as the Word of God.' They then 'proceed to cite from the book a further proposition,' which they evidently mean to characterise as 'heretical' and 'blasphemous.'

These four points, however, sum up the crimes, of which I am supposed to be guilty. Never, I presume, was any book subjected to the ordeal of a more searching scrutiny. And it may be safely concluded that such scrutiny has brought forth fully, into the strongest light, *all* the offences, with which, in the opinion of these eminent divines, my books can justly be charged.

I need hardly say, that I am glad to find that my offences are so few, and that upon the first three points complained of I am in substantial agreement with one of the most learned and distinguished members of Convocation itself, Dean MILMAN of St. Paul's, and upon the fourth with two others, who attended all the meetings of this very Committee, Prof. HAROLD BROWNE and Dean ALFORD of Canterbury. Some passages from these authors have been already quoted in this Preface: but, under the circumstances of the case, it may be well to produce the most important of them again, and to contrast them with the charges made against me.

(i) I have said that '*The Bible is not itself God's Word*,' it being, however, added

by me that 'assuredly God's Word will be heard in the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it.'

Dean MILMAN says, *Hist. of the Jews*, p.xi: —

'The moral and religious truth, and *this alone*, I apprehend, is the 'Word of God' contained in the Sacred Writings.'

(ii) I have said that '*Not Moses, but Samuel, and other persons of a later age, composed the Pentateuch.*'

Dean MILMAN says, *ibid.* p.xxvii: —

'There are two theories, between which range all the conclusions of what may be called the critical school: —

'*First*, that the Pentateuch in its present form is of *very late* date, the reign of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Josiah, or even subsequent to these;

'*Secondly*, that the Pentateuch, even in its present form, is of very high antiquity, as high as the time of Moses, but that *it has undergone many interpolations, some additions, and much modification*, extending to the language, *in successive ages.*

'If I am to choose, I am most decidedly for the *second.*'

(iii) I have said that '*The story of the Pentateuch, with respect to some, at least, of the chief portions of the narrative, cannot be regarded as historically true.*'

Dean MILMAN says, *ibid.* p.xxxii: —

'Maintain the numbers [of the Pentateuch] as they stand, I see no way, without one vast continuous miracle, out of the difficulties, contradictions, improbabilities, impossibilities.'

The judgment of one such learned and devout historian, who gives the above results as the conclusions of thirty years' careful study of these questions, will weigh more, I imagine, with most intelligent and candid readers, than the mere denunciations of others, who have never thoroughly examined the subject, and are not really aware of its difficulties.

With respect to the *fourth* point, my words are reported as follows: —

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, having taken our nature fully, and having voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, and, among others, into that which makes our growth in all ordinary knowledge gradual and limited, . . . at what period of His life upon earth is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him, *as the Son of Man*, supernaturally, full and accurate information, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain *Divine* knowledge on this matter, more than upon other matters of ordinary science or history?'

And the Report goes on to say: —

'Your Committee observe upon this proposition that it questions our Blessed Lord's Divine knowledge, as witnessed in Scripture by the Holy Ghost.'

I think that, when my readers take account of the passages, which have been already quoted on this point in this Preface,—among which will be found the words of Prof. BROWNE and Dean ALFORD,—they will be surprised at the above statement. They will be surprised also to find that neither the Bishop of OXFORD, nor any one of the Bishops who voted with him, uttered one syllable to imply that he was aware of any such passages existing, or expressed a brotherly hope that on this particular point, at all events, I might not be altogether so guilty as some have supposed. It is, I repeat, an amazing fact, that so many Bishops, Doctors, and Divines should have adopted this Report, without one single voice breaking the dead silence, to intimate that there was ever the slightest doubt in the Church upon this question,—still less, to give utterance to the simple truth, that here, at least, I am supported by the consentient opinion of very many of the greatest Divines, both ancient and modern.

Above all, I cannot but regret that Dean ALFORD and Prof. BROWNE did not protest against such a clause being inserted, however much it might be desired by others of the Committee. I cannot but regret that the former, at all events, did not feel this to be a time for acting in the spirit of his own brave words, some of which I shall here take the liberty of quoting, as they bear directly upon the circumstances of the present time, and will, I trust, be the means of cheering and comforting others, as they have cheered and comforted me, in coming forward to bear witness to the truth in these matters, as God has granted them the power to see it.

'Speak thou the Truth. Let others fence,
And trim their words for pay;
In pleasant sunshine of pretence
Let others bask their day.

Guard thou the Fact: though clouds of night
Down on thy watch-tower stoop;
Though thou shouldst see thine heart's delight
Borne from thee by their swoop.

Face thou the wind. Though safer seem
In shelter to abide,
We were not made to sit and dream;
The safe must first be tried.'

Macmillan's Magazine, for April, 1863.

J. W. NATAL.

23 SUSSEX PLACE, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.
June 3, 1863.

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NOS CERTÈ, ÆTERNO VERITATIS AMORE DEVICTI, VIARUM INCERTIS ET ARDUIS ET SOLITUDINIBUS NOS COMMISIMUS; ET, DIVINO AUXILIO FRETI ET INNIXI, MENTEM NOSTRAM ET CONTRÀ OPINIONUM VIOLENTIAS ET QUASI INSTRUCTAS ACIES, ET CONTRA PROPRIAS ET INTERNAS HÆSITATIONES ET SCRUPULOS, ET CONTRÀ RERUM CALIGINES ET NUBES ET UNDEQUÂQUE VOLANTES PHANTASIAS, SUSTINUIMUS; UT TANDEM MAGIS FIDA ET SECURA INDICIA VIVENTIBUS ET POSTERIS COMPARARE POSSEMUS. . . . NON (INQUAM) ULLAM AUT VIM AUT INSIDIAS HOMINUM JUDICIIS FECIMUS AUT PARAMUS. VERUM EOS AD RES IPSAS ET RERUM FŒDERA ADDUCIMUS; UT IPSI VIDEANT QUID HABEANT, QUID ARGUANT, QUID ADDANT ATQUE IN COMMUNE CONFERANT. NOS AUTEM SI QUÂ IN RE VEL MALÈ CREDIDIMUS, VEL OBDORMIVIMUS ET MINÙS ATTENDIMUS, VEL DEFECIMUS IN VIÂ ET INQUISITIONEM ABRUPIMUS, NIHILOMINÙS IIS MODIS RES NUDAS ET APERTAS EXHIBEMUS, UT ERRORES NOSTRI, ANTEQUÀM SCIENTIÆ MASSAM ALTIÙS INFICIANT, NOTARI ET SEPARARI POSSINT, ATQUE ETIAM UT FACILIS ET EXPEDITA SIT LABORUM NOSTRORUM CONTINUATIO.—BACON. *Inst. Magn. Præf.*

WE, IN VERY DEED, OVERPOWERED BY THE ETERNAL LOVE OF TRUTH, HAVE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO UNCERTAIN, DIFFICULT, AND SOLITARY PATHS; AND, RELYING AND LEANING ON DIVINE HELP, HAVE MAINTAINED OUR VIEWS BOTH AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND, AS IT WERE, EMBATTLED FORCES OF OPINIONS, AND AGAINST OUR OWN INWARD HESITATIONS AND SCRUPLES, AND AGAINST THE DARKNESS OF THINGS AROUND US, THE CLOUDS, THE FANCIES FLITTING ON EVERY SIDE; THAT IN THE END WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS MORE TRUSTWORTHY AND RELIABLE EVIDENCES. . . . WE HAVE NOT (I SAY) ATTEMPTED TO CARRY MEN'S JUDGMENTS EITHER BY ASSAULT OR BY AMBUSCADE, NOR DO WE PROPOSE TO DO SO. BUT WE BRING THEM INTO THE PRESENCE OF FACTS THEMSELVES AND THE RELATIONS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN THEM; THAT THEY MAY SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT THEY POSSESS, WHAT THEY HAVE TO OBJECT TO, WHAT THEY CAN ADD AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMON STOCK. FOR OURSELVES, IF IN ANY POINT EITHER OUR BELIEF HAS BEEN ILL-FOUNDED, OR WE HAVE BEEN CAUGHT NAPPING AND INATTENTIVE, OR WE HAVE GROWN WEARY ON THE JOURNEY AND BROKEN OFF THE ENQUIRY, STILL WE EXHIBIT MATTERS IN THEIR SIMPLE NAKEDNESS IN SUCH A WAY, THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO NOTE OUR ERRORS AND PUT THEM ON ONE SIDE, BEFORE THEY CAN AFFECT CONSIDERABLY THE GREAT BODY OF SCIENCE, AND ALSO TO CONTINUE OUR LABOURS WITH EASE AND WITHOUT EMBARRASSMENT.

PART III.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEUTERONOMIST DISTINCT FROM THE OTHER WRITERS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

536. We shall next proceed to consider more closely the age and authorship of the book of Deuteronomy, upon which we have merely touched in Part II. We may now assume that we are no longer under the necessity of regarding this portion of the Pentateuch as being an actual authentic record, by Moses himself or by one of his contemporaries, of the last addresses of the great Hebrew lawgiver to his people. In fact, if it be true, as we believe, that the other parts of the Pentateuch are, generally, of far later date than the time of the Exodus, there can be no reason for supposing that this book forms an exception to the general rule. And, as we have seen some reason for concluding that the original Elohistic story has been very considerably enlarged in later days,—perhaps, by more than one author, in different ages,— it is, from the first, not improbable that the book of Deuteronomy also, which, as we shall presently see, differs remarkably from the rest, not only in its *style* and *tone*, but also in its very *language*, and verbal *forms of expression*, may have been added in a still later age.

537. There can be little doubt that this book is throughout the work of one and the same hand, with the exception of the last chapter, and, perhaps, one or two other sections, (such as

xxxii.48–52,) which will be pointed out hereafter. Otherwise, the book is complete in itself, and exhibits a perfect unity of style and subject. It consists almost entirely of addresses ascribed to Moses shortly before his death; *viz.*—

(i) An introductory discourse, i.6–iv.40, in which he is represented as recounting to the people, by way of encouragement and warning, a brief sketch of their past history, since their escape out of Egypt, which discourse, however, as we have seen (276, 277), is interrupted, here and there, with geographical and archæological notices, very ill-suited to such an occasion, and involves anachronisms (252), when reference is made to events of the previous weeks as to events of a bygone age, which betray at once the later time at which it was written;

(ii) The main body of the work, v.1–xxvi.19, a long and impressive address, urging upon the people, by reiterated arguments of the most earnest and affectionate kind, the duty and blessedness of obeying the Divine commands, and the danger of disobedience;

(iii) Additional addresses, xxvii.1–xxx.20, expressed in language of great eloquence, with powerful—almost, at times, appalling—energy, in which the people are warned, again and again, of the fearful consequences of departing from Jehovah;

(iv) The conclusion, xxxi.1–xxxiv.12, containing the 'Song' and last 'Blessing' of Moses, with the account of his death and burial 'in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' xxxiv.6.

538. No attentive reader of the Bible can have failed to remark the striking difference above referred to, which exists between the style and contents of Deuteronomy and those of the other books, generally, of the Pentateuch. Whereas *they* are occupied almost entirely with long details of legend or history, with circumstantial directions for the construction of

the Tabernacle and its vessels, or with multiplied repetitions of the minutiæ of the ceremonial Law, so that the writers only very occasionally break forth, from their usual plain, prosaic, style, into grand prophetical utterances, or soar into the higher regions of poetry, the book of Deuteronomy, on the contrary, almost from beginning to end, is one magnificent poem, or collection of poems, full of noble thoughts and glowing expressions, containing scarcely a single lengthy detail of a purely *historical, artistic,* or *ceremonial,* nature, but wholly devoted to enforcing, in tones of earnest and impassioned eloquence,—now with the most persuasive and touching tenderness; now with the most impressive and terrible denunciations,—the paramount duties of morality and religion.

539. Prof. RAWLINSON, indeed, writes, *Aids to Faith, p.*245 :—

Considered as a literary work, the Pentateuch is not the production of an advanced or refined, but of a simple and rude, age. Its characteristics are *plainness, inartificiality, absence of rhetorical ornament,* and occasional defective arrangement . . . *We look in vain through the Pentateuch* for the gnomic wisdom of Solomon, *the eloquent denunciations of Ezekiel or Jeremiah, or the lofty flights of Isaiah.*

But, surely, no one, after reading the glorious rhetoric of D.xxviii or D.xxxii, would hesitate for one moment to pronounce either of these passages to be one of the most 'eloquent denunciations,' and one of the most 'lofty flights' of prophetical, as well as poetical, imagination, to be found within the whole compass of sacred and profane literature. Most probably, Prof. RAWLINSON was not really thinking, when he wrote the above words, of these chapters, or of the book of Deuteronomy at all. His language, in fact, applies generally, with sufficient accuracy, to the other portions of the Pentateuch. And it is the marked contrast between the general plainness of style in these other books, and the spirit and energy, the fire of holy zeal, the warmth of imagination, which characterise everywhere the book of Deuteronomy, by which we are from the first, before instituting any closer en-

quiries, compelled strongly to the conviction that they cannot have had the same author or authors.

540. But it may, perhaps, be asked, 'Was not Moses himself capable of producing such a book as this?' At the close of his long life, after so many awful communings with God, being now, as it were, in the very hour of his own dissolution, with his bodily eye, indeed, undimmed, and his natural force unabated, D.xxxiv.7, but with his feet already standing on the verge of the eternal world, and his spirit's eyesight straining into the darkness that lay before him, is it wonderful that he should have felt the prophetical impulse seize him mightily, at such a time, with a power unknown before, and that he should have thus poured forth his dying utterances, of mingled laudation and reproof, encouragement and warning, blessing and cursing, in strains of unwonted force and eloquence? May not Moses, too, like Jacob of old, G.xlix.1–27, have gathered up the manifold and wonderful experiences of his life, in this last burst of grand, heart-stirring, oratory? No longer now occupied with the things of time,—the legends of hoar antiquity, the historical records of the events in the wilderness, the ritual of external worship, the requirements of the Camp and earthly Sanctuary,—may we not believe that he would wish to have his last hours occupied, as here, with the enforcement of eternal realities,—of that worship in spirit and in truth, of which these earthly things are but the symbols,—so as to leave lingering in the ears and in the hearts of his people the echo of those words, which sum up the whole substance of his previous teaching,—

'Hear, O Israel! Jehovah our God is One Jehovah; and thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might,' D.vi.4,5,—

words, which One greater than Moses declared to contain the essence of all the Law and the Prophets, only adding to them the new command of the Gospel, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' Matt.xxii.37–39?

541. This argument, might, indeed, have been employed, with some plausibility, to vindicate to Moses the composition of this book, if we had not already seen sufficiently that the story of the Exodus, generally, cannot be regarded as historically true, — if it were not also plain that the other books of the Pentateuch cannot possibly have been written by Moses, but must have been composed in a much later age than his, — if, lastly, there were not in the book of Deuteronomy itself abundant indications, as we have said, — not only in the general *tone* and *spirit* of the book, which have been already referred to, but also, as will now be shown, in its *language* and *subject-matter*, — which prove that we have here a very different author, and one of a very different age, from those concerned in writing the main portions of the other books of the Pentateuch.

542. We have already noticed (494–496) one instance of this in the fact that, whereas in the other books the Priests are *always* styled the 'sons of Aaron,' L.i.5,7,8,11,ii.2,iii.2,xiii.2, N.x.8, comp.L.xxi.21, and *never* the 'sons of Levi,'* yet in Deuteronomy, on the contrary, they are *always* called the 'sons of Levi' or 'Levites,' D.xvii.9,18,xviii.1,xxi.5,xxiv.8,xxvii.9,xxxi.9, comp.xviii.1,5,xxxiii.8–11, and *never* the 'sons of Aaron.' It is, as we have said, impossible to believe that any writer, whether Moses or any other, should have so suddenly changed his form of expression in such a case as this, in the very short interval of a few days or weeks at most, between the last act recorded in the book of Numbers and the first in Deuteronomy. And let it be observed that in D.xxvii.9, 'the Priests the Levites,' and in D.xxxi.9, 'the Priests the sons of Levi,' are not the Priests, who should be in future days, but the Priests then actually living or supposed to be living, Eleazar and Ithamar, the 'sons of Aaron.'

* In N.xxxv.2,4,6,7,8, the 'Priests' are *included* in the general expression 'Levites.' But nowhere in the first four books are the Priests by themselves spoken of as 'Levites,' or 'sons of Levi.' On the contrary, in N.xvi.7,8,10, the 'sons of Levi,' comp.*v.*40, and in N.xxxi.30,47, the 'Levites, which keep the charge of the Tabernacle of Jehovah,' are expressly distinguished from the 'Priests.'

543. Bp. OLLIVANT, however, writes, *Second Letter, &c., p.9*:—

When we find that the death of Aaron had been recorded in N.xxxiii.38, six months before one word of Deuteronomy was spoken, I think that we may well suppose, either that a sense of his own loss might have induced Moses to pass over his brother's name in silence (!), or that, Aaron being now no more, so that *his* feelings could not possibly be wounded by the change, the Lawgiver, remembering the jealousy of certain Levites, which had dictated the cry against himself and Aaron, 'Ye take too much upon you,' might deem it good policy, or even be directed by Jehovah Himself, to endeavour to extinguish a flame, suppressed, but perhaps not altogether extinguished, by henceforth adopting an appellation which referred rather to the common patriarchal ancestor of Priests and Levites, than to the family ancestor of Priests alone.

I leave the above to the consideration of my readers, merely observing that, though the death of Aaron is *referred to* in N.xxxiii.38, the *full account* of it is given in N.xx.22-29, *after* which we find the name of Aaron repeatedly mentioned — (by Moses, as is supposed)—in the narrative, and that in N.xxv.7,11, we have the expression, 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of *Aaron the Priest;*' so that, according to the history, neither the 'feelings' of Moses, nor his 'policy,' prevented his producing the name of 'Aaron the Priest,' within six months after his death,—in his writings at all events,—before the people.

544. Again, the Deuteronomist uses תּוֹרָה, *Torah*, 'Law,' invariably of the *whole* Law, i.5, iv.8,44, xvii.11,18,19, xxvii.3,8,26, xxviii.58,61, xxix.20(21),28(29), xxx.10, xxxi.9,11,12,24,26, xxxii.46, xxxiii.4,10; whereas in the other books the word is used most frequently,—indeed, almost always, (the exceptions being E.xiii.9, xvi.4, xxiv.12,)—of *particular* laws, E.xii.49, L.vi.9(2), 14(7),25(18), vii.1,7,11,37, xi.46, xii.7, xiii.59, xiv.2,32,54,57, xv.32, N.v.29,30, vi.13,21, xv.16,29, xix.2,14, xxxi.21.

Also the Deuteronomist confines all sacrifices to *one place*, 'which Jehovah would choose, to put His Name there,' xii.5,11, 13,14,18,21,26, xiv.23,24,25, xv.20, xvi.2,6,7,11,15,16, xvii.8,10, xviii.6, xxvi.2, xxxi.11; whereas the other books say nothing about this, but expressly imply the contrary,—

'In *all places*, where I record my Name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' E.xx.24.

545. Further, the Deuteronomist, though he strictly enjoins the observance of the other three Great Feasts and the Passover,* xvi.1–17, yet makes no mention whatever of the 'Feast of Trumpets,' L.xxiii.23–25, N.xxix.1–6, or the 'Day of Atonement,' L.xxiii.26–32, N.xxix.7–11, on each of which days it was expressly ordered that they should 'do no servile work,' that they should have 'a holy convocation,' and that they should 'offer an offering made by fire unto Jehovah,' just exactly as at the three Great Feasts, and on the latter of which they were 'to afflict their souls by a statute for ever,' and it is added—

'Whatsoever soul it be, that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from among his people; and whatsoever soul it be, that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will *I* (Jehovah) destroy from among his people.' L.xxiii.29,30.

Let it be borne in mind that the directions in N.xxix are supposed to have been laid down by Jehovah Himself only a few weeks previously to this address of Moses. Yet here, while making, as he is represented to be doing, a final summary of their duties, as to the observance of their annual sacred seasons, he omits all mention of these two important days, upon which the same stress is laid in L.xxiii as on the three Great Feasts, and for the neglect of one of which the punishment of death by the stroke of Divine judgment is threatened.

546. Again, there are a number of sentiments or statements, repeated again and again by the Deuteronomist, which occur, most of them very rarely, and many of them not at all, in any of the other books of the Pentateuch: *e.g.*—

(i) That Israel should possess the land of nations 'greater and mightier' than itself, iv.38, vii.1, ix.1, xi.23; comp. i.28, vii.17; and also G.xviii.18,N.xiv.12;

(ii) That Jehovah had 'led them forty years' through the wilderness, ii.7, viii.2, xxix.5; comp.i.31;

* The 'Passover' is evidently distinguished from the '*Feast* of Unleavened Bread,' (with which it was connected,) in L.xxiii.5,6, N.xxviii.16,17.

(iii) That there is only one God, iv.35,39, vi.4, xxxii.39; whereas in the other books this truth is not thus stated in plain terms, but rather the preeminent excellence of Jehovah, the God of Israel, above all other gods, is magnified;

(iv) That obedience will be blessed with long life, and the contrary, iv.1,40, v.16,33, vi.2, viii.1, xi.21, xvi.20, xxv.15, xxx.6,15–20, xxxii.47; comp. E.xx.12, N.xiv.23,xxxii.11;

(v) That the statutes, &c., which Moses had taught them, were those which Jehovah had 'commanded him to teach them,' that they might 'do them in the land which Jehovah gave them,' iv.5,14, v.31, vi.1, xii.1;

(vi) That Mount Sinai 'burned with fire,' and Jehovah spake 'out of the midst of the fire,' iv.11,12,15,33,36, v.4,5,22,23,24,25,26, ix.10,15, x.4, xviii.16, xxxiii.2; it is mentioned in E.xix.18 that Jehovah 'descended on the mount in fire,' and in E.xxiv.17 that 'the appearance of the glory of Jehovah was like devouring fire;' but it is added; 'He called unto Moses *out of the midst of the cloud*,' and not, as in Deuteronomy, '*out of the midst of the fire*.'

(vii) That Jehovah would 'inherit' Israel, iv.20, ix.26,29, xxxii.9; comp. E.xxxiv.9;

(viii) That they should not, when 'fat' and full with the good things of Canaan, 'corrupt themselves,' &c., iv.25,vi.10, &c., viii.10,&c., xi.15,&c., xxxi.20, xxxii.15,&c.;

(ix) That idolatry in every form is specially 'abomination to Jehovah,' iv.25, xi.16, xxvii.15, xxviii.36,64, xxix.17, xxx.17, xxxi.16,20, xxxii.16,17;

(x) That Jehovah is to be served with inward, spiritual worship, 'with all the heart, and with all the soul,' iv.29, vi.5, x.12, xi.13, xiii.4, xxvi.16, xxx.2,6,10;

(xi) That Jehovah had 'chastened' (instructed) them, as a father his child, iv.36, viii.5, xi.2;

(xii) That Jehovah 'would drive out,' iv.38, ix.4,5, xi.23, xviii.12, 'cast out,' vi.19, vii.1,22, ix.4, 'deliver,' vii.2,23, xxxi.5, 'destroy,' vii.23, viii.20, ix.3, xxxi.3, 'cut off,' xii.29, xix.1, the nations before Israel;

(xiii) That Jehovah had brought out Israel 'by temptations, signs, wonders, &c.' iv.34, vi.22, vii.19, xi.3, xxvi.8, xxix.2,3;

(xiv) That Israel should hear and observe to do Jehovah's commands, that 'it might be well with them,' and that they might be multiplied, &c., vi.3, vii.13, viii.1, xiii.17, xxviii.63, xxx.16;

(xv) That Israel should 'fear' Jehovah, vi.24, viii.6, xiv.23, xxviii.58;

(xvi) That Israel should 'smite,' vii.2, 'exterminate,' vii.2, xx.17, 'devour,' vii.16, 'destroy with a mighty destruction,' vii.23, 'drive out and destroy,' ix.3, 'leave nothing alive of,' xx.16, the nations of Canaan;

(xvii) That the nations of Canaan would be likely to turn the Israelites to idolatrous practices, vii.4, xii.31, xx.18;

(xviii) That Israel is 'holy unto Jehovah,' above all nations upon earth, vii.6, x.15, xiv.2,21, xxvi.19;

(xix) That Jehovah would 'bless' them, if obedient, with plentiful supplies of food and all earthly blessings, vii.12–15, xi.13–15, xxviii.1–14;

(xx) That no man should 'stand' before Israel, vii.24, xi.25, comp. ix.2;

(xxi) That Jehovah would 'go before' them, and lead them into the promised land, ix.3, xxxi.3.

(xxii) That great impression may be expected to be made by capital punishments, xiii.12, xvii.13, xix.20, xxi.21.

547. Besides the above, however, there is a mass of evidence of a similar kind, but still more satisfactory and convincing, from which it will appear that the language of Deuteronomy differs so remarkably from that of the other books of the Pentateuch, that it cannot be believed that so great a change, as is implied by this difference, can have passed over the mind of Moses, or any other writer, in the course of a few days or weeks. Thus we shall find several expressions, which occur frequently and familiarly throughout the other four books, but which never occur at all in Deuteronomy; and, on the other hand, we shall find numerous other words and turns of expression, which are used freely by the Deuteronomist, and were evidently favourites with him, but which never appear in the other four books of the Pentateuch.

548. *Expressions common throughout the first four books of the Pentateuch, but never employed by the Deuteronomist.*

(i) אֲחֻזָּה, *ăkhuzzah*, 'possession,' G.xvii.8, xxiii.4,9,20, xxxvi.43, xlvii.11, xlviii.4, xlix.30, l.13, L.xiv.34,34, xxv.10,13,24,25,27,28,32,33,33,34,41,45,46, xxvii.16,21, 22,24,28,N.xxvii.4,7, xxxii.5,22,29,32,xxxv.2,8,28,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy*, except xxxii.49, and this verse belongs to *v.*48–52, which is evidently a passage of the older narrative, (referring to the death of Moses, and corresponding to N.xx.22–29, where the death of Aaron is described in similar terms,) which has been retained in this place by the Deuteronomist.

Instead of אֲחֻזָּה, *ăkhuzzah*, the Deut. uses *always* יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕrushah*,* for 'possession,' ii.5,9,9,12,19,19, iii.20,—which word is never used in the first four books of the Pentateuch, though the verb יָרַשׁ, *yarash*, 'inherit,' occurs frequently, and the noun יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕreshah*, 'possession,' in N.xxiv.18.

* Strictly, of course, this should be written *yĕrushshah*; but I express the Hebrew in Italic characters merely for the convenience of the English reader, and it will be sufficient to represent approximately the *sound* of the original, denoting ש by a *Roman* h.

HENGSTENBERG observes on the above word אֲחֻזָּה as follows, i.408: —

'At a later period [than the time of Moses and the supposed age of the composition of the Pentateuch], it almost disappears from the living language. Except in the books written after [or during] the Captivity,—Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, [Ezekiel,]—which drew their phraseology less from actual life than from the earlier Scriptures, and principally from the Pentateuch, it occurs only in Ps.ii.8.'

(ii) אִישׁ אִישׁ, *ish ish*, 'every man,' lit. 'man, man,' E.xxxvi.4, L.xv.2, xvii.3,8,10, xviii.6, xx.2,9, xxii.4,18, xxiv.15, N.i.4, iv.19,49, v.12, ix.10,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

The Deut. uses *always* אִישׁ, *ish*, only, i.16,41, iii.20, xii.8, xvi.17, xviii.19, xix.11, 15,16, xxi.15,18,22, xxii.13,22,25,26,28, xxiii.10(11), xxiv.1,5,7,16.

(iii) גָּוַע, *gavah*, 'die,' G.vi.17, vii.21, xxv.8,17, xxxv.29, xlix.33, N.xvii.12,13, xx.3,29,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

(iv) מַטֶּה, *mattch*, 'tribe,' 96 times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

The Deut. uses *always* שֵׁבֶט, *shevet*, for 'tribe,' i.13,15,15,23, iii.13, v.23(20), x.8, xii.5,14, xvi.18, xviii.1,5, xxix.8(7),10(9),18(17),21(20), xxxi.28, xxxiii.5: thus the same expression 'half the *tribe* of Manasseh' in the same context is expressed by מַטֶּה in N.xxxiv.14, and by שֵׁבֶט in D.xxix.8(7), and so also in N.xxxii.33.

(v) בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, *behezem hayyom hazzeh*, (lit. 'in the bone of this day' =) 'on the selfsame day,' G.vii.13. xvii.23,26, E.xii.17,41,51, L.xxiii.14,21,28,29,30, —*nowhere in Deuteronomy*, except xxxii.48, as above (i).

(vi) 'gathered to his people' = die, G.xxv.8,17, xxxv.29, xlix.29,33, N.xx.24,26, xxvii.13,13, xxxi.2,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy*, except xxxii.50, as above (i).

(vii) 'That *soul* shall be cut off' from Israel, from his people, G.xvii.14, E.xii.15,19, xxx.33,38, xxxi.14, L.vii.20,21,25,27, xvii.4,9, xviii.29, xix.8, xx.17,18, xxii.3, xxiii.29, N.ix.13, xv.30, xix.13,20,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

The Deut. says *always* 'that *man* shall die' or 'shall be stoned with stones,' and 'thou shalt put away (lit. 'burn up') the evil from the midst of you,' xiii.5, xvii.7,12, xix.13,19, xxi.9,21, xxii.21,22,24, xxiv.7.

(viii) חֹק, *khok*, or חֻקָּה, *khukkah*, 'ordinance,' in the *singular*, E.xv.25, xxx.21, L.vi.11,15, vii.34, x.15, N. xviii.8,11,19,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

(ix) 'land of Canaan,' G. (35 times), E.vi.4, xvi.35, L.xiv.34, xviii.3, xxv.38, N.xiii.2,17, xxvi.19, xxxii.30,32, xxxiii.40,51, xxxiv.2,2,29, xxxv.10,14,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy*, except xxxii.49, a fragment of the older document, as above (i).

The Deut. uses twice the expression 'land of the Canaanites,' i.7, xi.30; but he generally employs some periphrasis, such as the 'land which Jehovah sware unto your fathers,' i.8,35, vi.10,18,23, viii.1, &c., the 'good land,' iii.25, iv.21,22, vi.18, viii.7,10, &c., the 'land which Jehovah giveth thee,' iv.1,21, v.31, &c., the 'land whither ye go over to possess it,' iv.5,14,26, vi.1, vii.1, &c., the 'land that floweth with milk and honey,' vi.3, xi.9, xxvi.15, &c.

(x) פַּר, *par*, 'bullock,' occurs 9 times in Exodus, 29 times in Leviticus, 52 times in Numbers,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

The Deut. uses *always* שׁוֹר, *shor*, for 'bullock,' v.14,21(18), xiv.4, xv.19, xvii.1, xviii.3, xxii.1,4,10, xxv.4, xxviii.31, xxxiii.17.

(xi) עַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב, *harvoth Moav*, '*plains* of Moab,' N.xxii.1, xxvi.3,63, xxxi.12, xxxiii.48,49,50, xxxv.1, xxxvi.13,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy*, except xxxiv.1,8, in the last chapter, which is generally allowed to be not due, or not wholly due, to the Deuteronomist.

The Deut. uses '*land* of Moab,' i.5, ii.9,xxix.1(xxviii.69), xxxii.*49, xxxiv.5,6.

(xii) עֵדָה, *hedah*, 'congregation,' 15 times in Exodus, 12 times in Leviticus, 83 times in Numbers,—*nowhere in Deuteronomy.*

The Deut. uses *always* קָהָל, *kahal*, 'assembly,' v.22(19),ix.10,x.4,xviii.16,xxiii. 1(2),2(3),2(3),3(4),3(4),8(9),xxxi.30.

(xiii) So אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *ohel mohed*, 'tent of the congregation,' occurs 34 times in Exodus, 43 times in Leviticus, 56 times in Numbers;

מִשְׁכָּן, *mishcan*, 'Tabernacle,' 56 times in Exodus, 3 times in Leviticus, (and once *metaphorically*, L.xxvi.11,) 38 times in Numbers;

עֵדוּת, *heduth*, 'Testimony,' 35 times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers;

קָרְבָּן, *korban*, 'offering,' 78 times in Leviticus and Numbers;

but not one of these expressions is used by the Deuteronomist, though the first occurs in D.xxxi.14,14, and אֹהֶל in *v.*15,15, a fragment of the older document (790).

549. It may, perhaps, be said, with respect to the instances last quoted, that the Deuteronomist did not use them, because he did not require them, not having occasion to mention the 'Tabernacle,' 'Testimony,' &c., in recording the addresses of Moses; though certainly it would be strange that such long addresses should have really been delivered, in the course of which so many matters of the past history of the people are referred to, without the Tabernacle having been once mentioned. But this cannot, at all events, be said of most of the other instances, where we have shown that the Deuteronomist *did* require to use expressions synonymous with those above quoted, which are used so freely in the earlier books, but where he did not use these latter formulæ. It is plain, therefore, that, if he has everywhere abstained from using them, it was because they were not familiar to his pen as they

* This expression, as will be shown (787), is a Deuteronomistic interpolation in the fragment of the older narrative, xxxii.48–52.

were to those of the other writers, and he fell, therefore, naturally into the employment of other more favourite forms of expression.

550. *Expressions used freely by the Deuteronomist, but never occurring in the first four books of the Pentateuch.*

(i) 'land of Moab,' i.5, ii.9, xxix.1(xxviii.69), xxxii.49, xxxiv.5,6.

(ii) הִנְחִיל, *hinkhil*, 'make to inherit,' i.38,iii.28,xii.10,xix.3,xxi.16,xxxi.7,xxxii.8; but נָחַל, *nakhal*, 'inherit,' is often used in the other books, as also in D.xix.14.

(iii) 'go in to possess,' 'come in, go in, go over, and possess,' i.8, iv.1,5,14,22,26, vi.1,18, vii.1, viii.1, ix.1,5, x.11, xi.8,8,10,11,29,31, xii.29, xvii.14, xxiii.20(21), xxvi.1, xxviii.21,63, xxx.16,18, xxxi.13, xxxii.47; comp. i.21,39, ix.4,23, xxx.5.

(iv) 'that they may learn to fear Jehovah,' &c., iv.10, xiv.23, xvii.19, xxxi.12,13.

(v) 'out of the midst of the fire,' iv.12,15,33,36, v.4,22,24,26, ix.10, x.4.

(vi) 'which Jehovah giveth thee for an inheritance,' &c. (used of the land of Canaan), iv.21,38, xv.4, xix.10, xx.16, xxi.23, xxiv.4, xxv.19, xxvi.1.

(vii) 'remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt,' v.15, xv.15, xvi.12, xxiv.18,22; comp. x.19.

(viii) כָּל־הַמִּצְוָה, *kol-hammitsvah*, 'all the commandment,' v.31(28), vi.25, viii.1, xi.8,22, xv.5, xix.9, xxvii.1, xxxi.5,—*nowhere else in the Bible;* but we find כָּל־מִצְוֹת, *kol-mitsvoth*, L.iv.2,13,22, v.17, N.xv.39, D.v.29(26), &c., כָּל־הַמִּצְוֹת, *kol-hammitsvoth*, N.xv.22.

(ix) 'words of this Law,' xvii.19, xxvii.3,8,26, xxviii.58, xxix.29, xxxi.12,24, xxxii.46.

(x) 'written in this Book, in this Book of the Law,' &c. xxviii.58,61, xxix.20,21,27, xxx.10.

551. It will be seen that the above expressions have peculiar reference to the special circumstances, under which Moses is supposed to be addressing the people. And the frequent recurrence of some of them might, perhaps, be explained by the necessity which then constrained him to remind the people in his last address, again and again,—while yet beyond Jordan in the 'land of Moab,' before they 'went in to possess the land which Jehovah gave them as an inheritance,'—of certain main facts of their history, of the cruel 'service' from which they

had been delivered, of the laws which they had received 'out of the midst of the fire,' and of their duty to 'fear Jehovah,' and obey the 'words of the Law,' which were now 'written in a Book' for all future time. But the following instances are of a more general kind, and have no connection with the particular time at which Moses is supposed to be speaking; and, therefore, as they appear so frequently in Deuteronomy, it cannot be doubted that, if the same writer had written also the other books, he must have made use occasionally, at least, of some of them.

552. *Additional Deuteronomistic expressions, which never occur in the first four books of the Pentateuch.*

(i) נָתַן לִפְנֵיִם, *nathan lĕphanim*, 'set before the face,' = 'deliver up' an enemy, their land, &c., i.8,21, ii.31,33,36, vii.2,23, xxiii.14, xxxi.5; comp. xxviii.7,25.

(ii) יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕrushah*, 'possession,' ii.5,9,9,12,19,19, iii.20; we find יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕreshah*, N.xxiv.18.

(iii) 'that Jehovah thy God may bless thee,' &c., ii.7, xii.7, xiv.24,29, xv.4,6,10,14,18, xvi.10,15, xxiii.20, xxiv.19, xxx.16; comp. i.11, xxviii.8.

(iv) 'work of the hands,' ii.7, xiv.29, xvi.15, xxiv.19, xxvii.15, xxviii.12, xxx.9, xxxi.29.

(v) לָמַד, *lamad*, 'learn,' iv.1,5,10,14, v.1,31(28), vi.1, xi.19, xiv.23, xvii.19, xxxi.12,13.

(vi) דָּבַק, *davak*, 'cleave' to Jehovah, iv.4, x.20, xi.22, xiii.4, xxx.20.

(vii) נָדַח, *nadakh*, 'drive, force,' iv.19, xiii.5(6),10(11),13(14), xix.5, xx.19, xxii.1, xxx.1,4,17.

(viii) כָּעַס, *cahas*, 'provoke,' iv.25, ix.18, xxxi.29, xxxii.16,19,21,21,27.

(ix) 'with all the heart and with all the soul,' iv.29, vi.5, x.12, xi.13, xiii.3, xxvi.16, xxx.2,6,10.

(x) אָהַב, *ahav*, 'love,' used of Jehovah loving Israel, iv.37, vii.8,13, x.15, xxiii.5.

(xi) 'walk in the ways of Jehovah,' v.33(30), viii.6, x.12, xi.22, xix.9, xxvi.17, xxviii.9, xxx.16.

(xii) 'forget Jehovah,' vi.12, viii.11,14,19, xxxii.18; comp. iv.23.

(xiii) פָּדָה, *padah*, 'redeem,' used *metaphorically* of delivering Israel from Egypt, &c. vii.8, ix.26, xiii.5, xv.15, xxi.8, xxiv.18.

(xiv) 'abomination to Jehovah,' vii.25, xii.31, xvii.1, xviii.12, xxii.5, xxiii.18(19), xxv.16, xxvii.15.

(xv) 'which thou knewest not,' 'which thy fathers knew not,' &c., viii.3,16, xi.28, xiii.2,6,13, xxviii.33,36,64, xxix.26, xxxi.13, xxxii.17; comp. vii.15, ix.2.

(xvi) הֵיטֵב, *hetev*, 'thoroughly,' ix.21, xiii.14(15), xvii.4, xix.18, xxvii.8.

(xvii) 'the stranger and the fatherless and the widow,' &c., x.18, xiv.29, xvi.11,14, xxiv.17,19,20,21, xxvi.12,13, xxvii.19.

(xviii) 'a blessing and a curse,' xi.26, xxx.1,19; and קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse,' xi.28,29, xxi.23, xxiii.5(6), xxvii.13, xxviii.15,45, xxix.27(26), and also G. xxvii.12,13.

(xix) 'eat before Jehovah,' xii.7,18, xiv.23,26, xv.20, xxvii.7.

(xx) מִשְׁלַח יָדִים, *mishlakh yadaim*, 'putting to of the hands,' xii.7,18, xv.10, xxiii.20, xxviii.8,20,—*nowhere else in the Bible*; מִשְׁלַח, *mishlakh*, is only found besides in Is.vii.25.

(xxi) 'set (שָׁכֵן, *shaccen*) my Name,' xii.11, xiv.23, xvi.2.6,11, xxvi.2.

(xxii) 'burn up (בָּעַר, *bĕar*) the evil from the midst,' xiii.5(6), xvii.7,12, xix.13,19, xxi.9,21, xxii.21,22,24, xxiv.7.

(xxiii) דָּם נָקִי, *dam naki*, 'innocent blood,' xix.10,13, xxi.8,9, xxvii.25.

553. Now let it be remembered that *not one of the above thirty-three expressions*,—several of which are repeated *more than ten* times in Deuteronomy, and each of which is found on the average *eight* times in that book,—*is found even once in any of the other four books of the Pentateuch.*

And so, too, there are other expressions, which occur three or four times in Deuteronomy, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch:—

(i) עָרַץ, *harats*, 'be terrified,' i.29, vii.21, xx.3, xxxi.6.

(ii) הִתְאַנַּף, *hithannaph*, 'be angry,' i. 37, iv.21, ix.8,20.

(iii) שָׁמַר מְאֹד, *shamar mĕod*, 'take good heed,' ii.4, iv.9,15, xxiv.8

(iv) 'be strong and of good courage,' iii.28, xxxi.6,7,23.

(v) חֳלִי, *khŏli*, 'sickness,' vii.15, xxviii.59,61.

(vi) אַוַּת, *avvath*, 'longing,' xii.15,20,21, xviii.6.

(vii) 'hear and fear,' xiii.12, xvii.13, xix.20, xxi.21.

(viii) 'that shall be in those days,' xvii.9, xix.17, xxvi.3.

(ix) 'all that do these things,' xviii.12, xxii.5, xxv.16.

(x) חִלֵּל, *khillel* (lit. 'profane'), 'eat freely,' xx.6,6, xxviii.30.

(xi) 'forsake Jehovah, His Law, &c.' xxviii.20, xxxi.16, xxix.25.

(xii) רָעוֹת, *rahoth*, 'afflictions,' xxxi.17,17,21, xxxii.23.

554. It is remarkable also how frequently the Deuteronomist uses such phrases as 'Jehovah thy God,' 'Jehovah our God,' &c., compared with the other writers. The following Table shows how often the expressions, 'Elohim,' 'Jehovah,' and 'Jehovah Elohim'—the first and third of these, (i) *without*, (ii) *with*, a pronoun (as 'thy Elohim,' &c.)—occur in each of the five books of the Pentateuch. Of course, considerable allowance must be made for the fact that in Deuteronomy Moses is supposed to be speaking almost throughout, and, therefore, such expressions as 'Jehovah thy God,' &c., would naturally be used more frequently than in the other books. But the preponderance is still very noticeable.

	E.		J.	J.E.	
	(i)	(ii)		(i)	(ii)
Genesis	182	1	135	28*	1
Exodus	71	2	360	11	27†
Leviticus	5	21	285	—	26†
Numbers	13	5	390	—	6
Deuteronomy.	18	3	234	8	307

555. The conclusion to be drawn from the above facts, in addition to what has been already produced of a similar character, appears to be irresistible. It seems to me *impossible* to believe that either Moses, or any other writer, can have had his whole tone of thought and expression so changed within a few days or weeks at the outside (174), as would be necessary to account for the above phenomena,—unless, indeed, it be supposed that a special miracle was wrought for the express purpose of so modifying his language.

* Of these 20 occur in G.ii,iii. and 6 in G.xxiv.

† It is impossible at present to say how many even of these may really be due to the Deuteronomist, as he may have revised the older document, and interpolated certain passages of his own in it.

We shall assume it, therefore, henceforward, *as a fact that has been proved*, about which we need no longer have any doubt or uncertainty, that, whoever may have composed the book of Deuteronomy, he was undoubtedly a different person from those who were concerned in writing the main portions of the rest of the Pentateuch. Unless the preceding evidence be set aside, *this* fact must stand good, whatever else may be true, and whatever important consequences may follow from this conclusion.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST APPROXIMATION TO THE AGE OF THE DEUTERONOMIST.

556. THE next question would naturally be, to ask in *what* age it is probable that the Deuteronomist lived. But, for the convenience of our argument, it will be best to defer for the present the full consideration of this part of the subject. Something, however, may be said at once towards satisfying the reader's mind on this point. It is plain that he must have lived *after* the other writers, since he refers throughout to passages in the story of the Exodus, which are recorded in the other books, and refers directly in xxiv.8 to the laws about leprosy in Leviticus. If, therefore, we are right in supposing (493), from the evidence produced in Part II, that the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the Pentateuch were written not earlier than the times of Samuel, David, and Solomon, it is plain, without further enquiry, that the Deuteronomist must have lived not earlier—and, probably, later—than the age of Solomon.

557. And this agrees with other prominent indications. Thus we have seen (542) that the Deuteronomist uses only the phrase 'Levites' or 'sons of Levi' for the Priests, and not 'the sons of Aaron'; and the same expression is used of the Priests in that part of the book of Kings, which refers to the times of Jeroboam, 1K.xii.31:—

'And he made an house of high places, and made Priests *indiscriminately* of the people, (מִקְצוֹת הָעָם, *miktsoth haham*, E.V. 'from the lowest of the people,' but see G.xlvii.2, וּמִקְצֵה אֶחָיו לָקַח חֲמִשָּׁה אֲנָשִׁים, *umiktseh ekhayv lakakh khămishah ănashim*, and he took from his brethren *indiscriminately* five men,') which were not of the *sons of Levi*.'

It is also the formula invariably used by *Jeremiah*, and the other later Prophets, Jer.xxxiii.18,21,22, Ez.xliii.19, xliv.15, xlviii.13, Mal.iii.3; comp. Mal.ii.4,8.

Again, the Deut. uses תּוֹרָה, *Torah*, in the singular *only*, and uses it of the whole Law (544); and so does *Jeremiah*, ii.8, vi.19, viii.8, ix.13(12), xvi.11, xviii.18, xxvi.4, xxxi.33, xxxii.23, xliv.10,23, Lam.ii.9.

Also, the Deut. confines all sacrifices to the place, where Jehovah 'would place His *Name*' (544); and so *Jeremiah* speaks repeatedly of Jerusalem or the Temple, as the place called 'by the *Name*' of Jehovah, vii.10,11,14,30, xxv.29, xxxii.34, xxxiv.15; comp.iii.17, vii.12.

558. Let us now refer to the instances in (548).

(i) The Deuteronomist uses יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕrushah*, instead of אֲחֻזָּה, *ăkhuzzah*, for 'possession;' and so does *Jeremiah*, xxxii.8.

(ii) The Deuteronomist employs אִישׁ, *ish*, and not אִישׁ אִישׁ, *ish ish*, for 'every man;' and so do the Prophets universally, *e.g.* Jer.i.15, vi.3, ix.4(3),5(4), xi.8, xii.15, &c.—except the post-Captivity Prophet Ezekiel in two instances, xiv.4,7.

(iii) The Deuteronomist never uses גָּוַע, *gavah*, for 'die,' although the word is often used in the older document; and the Prophets only use it in two instances, Lam.i.19, Zech.xiii.8.

It would appear that the above expressions had become antiquated and nearly obsolete in the days of the Prophets, and, probably, in those of the Deuteronomist.

(iv) The same may be true of מַטֶּה, *mattah*; for 'tribe,' which is found in one place only of all the Prophets, Hab.iii.9, (and even here the expression is obscure); while שֵׁבֶט, *shevet*, the word used by the Deuteronomist, occurs in Hos.v.9, Is.xix.13, xlix.6, lxiii.17, eleven times in Ezekiel, and in Zech.ix.1.

(v) 'on the self-same day,' is found only in Ez.ii.3,xxiv.2,2, xl.1.

(vi) 'gathered to his people,' (vii) 'that soul shall be cut off,' and (viii) חֻקָּה, *khukkah*, 'ordinance,' in the *singular*, which are not found in Deuteronomy, do not occur anywhere in the Prophets.

559. The other expressions noticed in (548), as employed in the older document but not by the Deuteronomist, seem not to have become antiquated and out of use in the days of the Prophets, except those in (xiii), which refer especially to the state of things in the wilderness, as 'tent of the congregation,'

'Tabernacle,' 'Testimony,' which never occur in their writings, any more than in that of the Deuteronomist; and this is almost the case with קָרְבָּן, *korban*, 'offering,' which is found only in Ez.xx.28, xl.43.

(viii) Thus חֹק, *khok*, 'ordinance,' occurs in the singular in Is.v.14, xxiv.5, Mic.vii.11, Jer.v.22, xxxii.11, Zeph.ii.2, Ez.xvi.27, xlv.14; but חֻקָּה, *khukkah*, as we have said, is found nowhere in the Prophets, any more than in Deuteronomy.

(ix) 'land of Canaan,' occurs in Ez.xvi.29, 'land of the Canaanite' in Ez.xvi.3.

In the above cases, therefore, we can only suppose that the Deuteronomist made choice of the expressions which he has used, because they were more agreeable to his own taste, and not because those, which he discarded, had become already antiquated.

(x) So, too, when he uses שׁוֹר, *shor*, and not פָּר, *par*, for 'bullock,' it is evidently because he *preferred* the former, whereas the other writers preferred the latter, since both nouns were in use among the Prophets; thus we have שׁוֹר in Hos.xii.11(12), Is.i.3, vii.25, xxxii.20, lxvi.3, פָּר in Hos.xiv.2(3), Is.i.11, xxxiv.7, Jer.l.27; while the post-Captivity Prophet Ezekiel has שׁוֹר once, i.10, and פָּר thirteen times, apparently,—as HENGSTENBERG says (578),—imitating here in his phraseology the style of the older writers.

(xi) 'plains of Moab' could hardly be expected to occur, under any circumstances, in the Prophets, as they would hardly require that expression.

(xii) עֵדָה, *hedah*, 'congregation,' which is not found in Deuteronomy, occurs in Hos.vii.12, Jer.vi.18, xxx.20; but קָהָל, the word used by the Deuteronomist, is used more frequently by the Prophets, Joel.ii.16, Mic.ii.5, Jer.xxvi.17, xxxi.8, xliv.15, l.9, Lam.i.10, and fifteen times in Ezekiel.

560. Upon the whole, it will be plain that the evidence just produced, though far from being conclusive upon the point under consideration, *tends*, however, to establish a connection in point of time between the Deuteronomist and the later Prophets. The following instances will serve to make it yet more probable that he must have lived in very late days; since it will be seen that he makes use of some expressions, which are either *only* found in the latest books of the Bible, as the post-Captivity prophets and historians, or in none earlier than the time of *Jeremiah*.

561. *Expressions used by the Deuteronomist, and only by the later Biblical writers.*

(i) סֶמֶל, *semel*, 'image,' D.iv.16, Ez.viii.3,5, 2Ch.xxxiii.7,15.

(ii) דִּבֶּר סָרָה עַל (אֶל) יְהוָה, *dibber sarah hal (el) Yehovah*, 'to speak rebellion against Jehovah,' D.xiii.5, Jer.xxviii.16, xxix.32, comp. *Is.**lix.13,—*nowhere else in the Bible.*

(iii) לְזַעֲוָה, *lezahăvah*, for a removing,' D.xxviii.25, Jer.xv.4, xxiv,9, xxix.18, xxxiv.17, Ez.xxiii.46, 2Ch.xxix.8.

(iv) שְׁרִירוּת לֵב, *shĕriruth lev*, 'stubbornness of heart,' D.xxix.19(18),Jer.iii.17, vii.24, ix.14(13), xi.8, xiii.10, xvi.12, xviii.12, xxiii.17, Ps.lxxxi.12(13),—*nowhere else in the Bible.*

(v) רָוָה, *ravch*, 'thirst,' D.xxix.19(18), Jer.xxxi.12, *Is.*lviii.11.

(vi) קָדַח, *kadakh*, 'kindle,' D.xxxii.22, Jer.xv.14, xvii.4, *Is.*l.11, lxiv.2(1).

(vii) קְהִלָּה, *kehillah*, 'assembly,' D.xxxiii.4, Neh.v.7.

562. It will be noticed that in several of the above expressions, some of which are peculiar, especially (ii),(iii),(iv), the Prophet *Jeremiah* agrees with the Deuteronomist. And, in like manner, it will be found that almost all the expressions in (552), which are found repeatedly in Deuteronomy, but do not occur in any other book of the Pentateuch, are also found more or less freely used in *Jeremiah*.

(i) 'set before the face,' = 'deliver up,' Jer.ix.13(12),xxi.8,xxvi.4,xxxv.5,xliv.10.

(ii) יְרֻשָּׁה, *yĕrushah*, 'possession,' Jer.xxxii.8.

(iii) 'that Jehovah thy God may bless thee,' Jer.xxxi.23.

(iv) 'work of the hands,' Jer.i.16, x.3, xxv.6,7,14, xxxii.30,xliv.8, Lam.iii.64, iv.2.

(v) לָמַד, *lamad*, 'learn,' Jer.ii.33, ix.5(4),14(13),20(19), x.2, xii.16,16,16, xiii.21, xxxi.18,34, xxxii.33.

(vi) דָּבַק, *davak*, 'cleave' to Jehovah, Jer.xiii.11.

(vii) נָדַח, *nadakh*, 'drive, force,' Jer.viii.3, xvi.15, xxiii.2,3,8, xxiv.9, xxvii.10,15, xxix.14,18, xxx.17, xxxii.37, xl.12, xliii.5, xlvi.28, xlix.5,36, l.17.

(viii) כָּעַס, *cahas*, 'provoke,' Jer.vii.18,19, viii.19, xi.17, xxv.6,7, xxxii.29,30,32, xliv.3,8.

(ix) 'with all the heart and with all the soul,' Jer.xxxii.41, comp. iii.10, xxiv. 7, xxix.13.

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* We use *Is.* tō denote the writings of the *later* Isaiah, the 'unknown Prophet,' to whom chap.xl–lxvi of the present book of Isaiah are assigned by modern critics. That some, at least, of these prophecies were uttered after the Captivity, is obvious from such passages as lxiii.17–19, lxiv.10,11.

(x) אַהֲב, *ahav*, 'love,' used of Jehovah loving Israel, Jer.xxxi.3.

(xi) 'walk in the ways of Jehovah,' Jer.vii.23.

(xii) 'forget Jehovah,' Jer.ii.32, iii.21, xiii.25, xviii.15, xxiii.27.

(xiii) פָּדָה, *padah*, 'redeem,' Jer.xv.21, xxxi.11.

(xiv) 'abomination to Jehovah,' not in Jer., nor anywhere else in the Bible, except Is.i.13, and repeatedly in the book of Proverbs; but comp. Jer.xliv.4, and see 'abomination' in Jer.ii.7, vi.15, vii.10, viii.12, xvi.18, xxxii.35, xliv.22.

(xv) 'which thou knewest not, &c.,' Jer.v.15, vii.9, ix.16(15), xiv.18, xv.14, xvi.13, xvii.4, xix.4, xxii.28, xxxiii.3, xliv.3.

(xvi) הֵיטֵב, *hetev*, 'thoroughly,' Jer.vii.5, but perhaps the word may be only used as an *inf. abs.* with its cognate verb.

(xvii) 'the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, &c.,' Jer.vii.6, xxii.3, comp. v.28, xlix.11.

(xviii) 'a blessing and a curse,' not in Jer., but קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse,' Jer.xxiv.9, xxv.18, xxvi.6, xxix.22, xlii.18, xliv.8,12,22, xlix.13.

(xix) 'eat before Jehovah,' not in Jer.

(xx) מִשְׁלַח יָדִים, *mishlakh yadaim*, 'putting to of the hands,' not in Jer., nor anywhere else in the Bible; but comp. Jer.i.9.

(xxi) 'set (שָׁכַן, *shaccĕn*) my name,' Jer.vii.12.

(xxii) 'burn up (בָּעַר, *bĕar*) the evil from the midst,' not in Jer., but in 2K.xxiii.24, which many (573.v) ascribe to Jeremiah.

(xxiii) דָּם נָקִי, *dam naki*, 'innocent blood,' Jer. vii.6, xxii.3,17, xxvi.15, comp. xix.4.

Upon analysing the above, it will be found that of the twenty-three expressions in (552), each of which occurs on the average eight times in Deuteronomy, but not one of which is used in the other books of the Pentateuch, *all but six* are found repeated more or less frequently in Jeremiah, and, of those six, four, at least, are *partially* repeated.

563. So, too, many of those in (550) find their representatives in his prophecies, though with some of them, from the nature of the case, it could hardly have been expected.

(i) 'land of Moab,' Jer.xlviii.24,33.

(ii) 'make to inherit,' Jer.iii.18, xii.14.

(iii) 'which ye go in to possess,' &c., Jer.xxxii.23.

(iv) that they may 'learn to fear Jehovah,' &c., not in Jer.; but comp. לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי כָּל־הַיָּמִים, *lĕyirah othi kol-hayyamim*, 'to fear me all the days,' D.iv.10, Jer.xxxii.39.

(v) 'out of the midst of the fire,' not in Jer.

(vi) 'which Jehovah giveth thee for an inheritance,' Jer.xvii.4.

(vii) 'remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt,' not in Jer.

(viii) כָּל־הַמִּצְוָה, *kol-hammitsvah*, all the commandments,' not in Jer.

(ix) 'words of this Law,' comp. Jer.vi.19.

(x) 'written in this Book,' &c., Jer.xxv.13.

And the same is true of most of those in (553).

(i) עָרֵץ, *harats*, not in Jer., but עָרִיץ, *harits*, 'terrible,' Jer.xv.21, xx.11.

(iii) שָׁמַר מְאֹד, *shamar mĕod*, 'observe much,' comp. Jer.ii.10.

(v) חֳלִי, *khŏli*, 'sickness,' Jer.vi.7, x.19.

(vi) אַוַּת, *avvath*, 'longing,' Jer.ii.24.

(ix) 'all that do these things,' comp. Jer.iii.7.

(x) חָלַל, *khillel*, 'eat freely,' Jer.xxxi.5.

(xi) 'forsake Jehovah,' Jer.i.16, ii.13, xvii.19, v.7,19, ix.13, xvi.11,11, xviii.13, xix.4, xxii.9.

(xii) רָעוֹת, *rahoth*, 'afflictions,' Lam.iii.38.

564. The above agreement in phraseology is certainly very remarkable; and, if further evidence tends to confirm the indications, which we have already observed, of the *late* origin of the book of Deuteronomy, there is enough here to raise a strong suspicion that Jeremiah may have been its author. But we shall need more decisive proof of this connection before we should be justified in pronouncing any definite opinion upon the question. It will suffice for the present to have drawn the reader's attention to this point in particular, as well as to the general fact, that there are signs already before us of the Deuteronomist having lived in a somewhat late period of the history of Israel.

565. It is plain, however, that the above phenomena are just what we might expect to find in documents differing from one another in age by some considerable interval of time.

The first four books of the Pentateuch were written mainly, as we have seen reason to believe (493.xiv–xvii), by persons living nearly in the same age, and in the same literary circle; and, though we shall expect to find the different parts of these books, which are due to different writers, exhibiting characteristic differences in style and tone, and even betraying, by incidental allusions, the different circumstances of the times in which they were written, yet, if our view be correct, we should not be able to detect any marked distinction between the *Hebrew* of the Elohistic and Jehovistic authors any more than between the *English* men of letters of our own country, who may have lived in the reigns of George III and Queen Victoria. We *should* expect, however, to perceive a more decided difference between good English compositions of the *Elizabethan* and of the *present* age, even though the spelling of the former were modernised; since words and expressions would most probably have been used by the older writers, which have now become antiquated, while the later would be found to give signs of the possession of a more copious vocabulary, would be likely to employ a more free and flowing style, and to make use of new words and new expressions, reflecting the spirit and practices of their time.

566. Besides the numerous formulæ above noticed, not one of which is found in the first four books of the Pentateuch, there are several other similar expressions, which occur freely in all parts of Deuteronomy, but are found also in *certain well-defined portions* of the other books; that is to say, they do not appear in all parts of those books, as they do in Deuteronomy, but *only* in those particular sections, limited in extent, which betray also, when carefully examined, other close affinities with the style of the Deuteronomist. We can scarcely doubt that such passages are interpolations by his hand. And, indeed, it would be strange if there were no such insertions. The writer, who could conceive the grand idea of adding the whole book of Deuteronomy

to the existing roll of the Tetrateuch, would be almost certain, we may well believe, to have first revised the work of the older writers which had come into his hands, and to have inserted passages, here and there, if he saw any reason for so doing, in the original document. The wonder, we repeat, would be, if he did not do this.

For the present, however, it is unnecessary to point out and investigate these passages, which will come more properly under consideration hereafter. It will be sufficient to have drawn attention here to the fact of their existence.

CHAPTER III.

THE BOOK OF THE LAW FOUND IN THE TEMPLE.

567. In 2K.xxii,xxiii, we find an account of the following remarkable occurrence.

'In the eighteenth year of king Josiah, the king sent Shaphan the scribe to the House of Jehovah, saying, Go up to Hilkiah the High Priest, that he may sum the silver which is brought into the House of Jehovah, which the keepers of the door have gathered of the people. . . . And Hilkiah the Priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, *I have found the Book of the Law in the House of Jehovah.* And Hilkiah gave the Book to Shaphan, and he read it. . . . And Shaphan the scribe shewed the king, saying, Hilkiah the Priest hath delivered me a Book. And Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the Book of the Law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the Priest, &c. saying, Go ye, enquire of Jehovah for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this Book that is found; for great is the wrath of Jehovah that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this Book, to do according to all that which is written concerning us. . . . And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up into the House of Jehovah, and all the men of Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the Priests, and the Prophets, and all the people, both small and great; and he read in their ears all the words of the Book of the Covenant, which was found in the House of Jehovah. And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before Jehovah, to walk after Jehovah, and to keep His commandments, and His testimonies, and His statutes, with all their heart and with all their soul, to perform the words of this Covenant that were written in this Book. And all the people stood to the Covenant.'

568. If we met with the above narrative in any other book than the Bible, we should certainly feel it necessary to examine more closely into the statement, and see what this occurrence really means, by which the young king was influenced to take in

hand so strenuously the Reformation of Religion throughout the land. The High-Priest 'finds' this Book of the Law in the Temple. If it really had been written by Moses, where, we must ask, had it been lying all this while, during more than eight centuries? It could not have been lying *in* the Ark itself; for then Hilkiah would not have 'found' it, as he dared not look into the Ark: and, besides, we are expressly told that there was 'nothing in the Ark save the the two tables of stone,' 1K.viii.9. Nor could it have been lying for those eight centuries *outside* the ark. For then, surely, it would have been named among the things, that were brought into the Temple by Solomon; and, at all events, it would have been well-known to David and Solomon and other pious kings, as well as to the successive High Priests, and we should not find them so regardless of so many of its plain precepts, as the history shows them to have been, *e.g.* with respect to the worshipping on high places, and the neglect of the due observance of the Passover.

569. When, further, we consider that in this same book of Deuteronomy is found also the command, said to have been given by Moses to the Levites, xxxi.26,—

'take this Book of the Law, and put it *beside* (מִצַּד, E.V. 'in the side of,' but see R.ii.14, 'she sat *beside* the reapers,' 1S.vi.8, 'in a coffer *by the side* thereof,' &c.) the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee,'—

it is scarcely possible to resist the suspicion that the writing of the Book, the placing it, and the finding it, were pretty nearly contemporaneous events; and that, if 'there was no king before Josiah,'—not David, in his best days, nor Solomon, in his early youth, not Asa, nor Jehoshaphat, nor Hezekiah,—'that turned to Jehovah with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, *according to all the Law of Moses*,' 2.K.xxiii.25, —it must have been because there was no king before him who had ever seen this portion, at least, of the Pentateuch, or had believed that such portions, as had come into his hands, were

really authoritative and binding, upon himself and his people, as being the direct utterance of the Divine Will. And this suspicion seems to be confirmed into a certainty, when we call to mind the proofs which we have already had before us, that Deuteronomy was written in a later age than the rest of the Pentateuch.

570. For it could hardly have been the *whole* Pentateuch, that Hilkiah now found. He gave it, we are told, to Shaphan, and Shaphan 'read it,'—perhaps, read only part of it,—or, as the Chronicler says, 'read *in* it,' 2Ch.xxxiv.18,—before he returned to the king on the business, about which he had been sent to the Temple. And Shaphan read it also before the king, and appears to have read to him *all* the words of the Book. But, the next day again,—perhaps, the same day,—the king himself, we are told, read in the ears of the people '*all* the words of the Book of the Covenant, which was found in the House of Jehovah.' It cannot be supposed that he would read on this occasion all the histories in Genesis, the long account of the construction of the Tabernacle and its vessels, or the details of the Levitical Law. Besides, the Book found by Hilkiah is repeatedly called the 'Book of the Covenant,' 2K.xxiii.2,3,21, which name can scarcely have been used of the whole Pentateuch, though it very well applies to Deuteronomy, or to the chief portion of that book, since we find it written. D.xxix.1,—

'These are the words of the Covenant, which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the Children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the Covenant which he made with them in Horeb.'

571. So, too, this 'Book of the Law,' which was found by Hilkiah, contained also directions about the Passover, 2K.xxiii. 21, such as we find in D.xvi.1–8, and severe denunciations of the Divine displeasure against all who transgressed the commands contained in it, 2K.xxii.13, such as we find in D.xi.16,17, xxix.18–28, xxx.15–20, and, especially, in D.xxviii.15–68. And it led directly to the putting down with a strong hand of every

kind of idolatrous practice, of all groves, high places, altars, &c., as we read in 2K.xxiii.24 :—

'Moreover the familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations, that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the Law, which were written in the Book, that Hilkiah the Priest found in the House of Jehovah.'

And this too was in accordance with the commands of the book of Deuteronomy, xii.2,3, xiii. xvi.21,22, xvii.2–7, xviii.10–12.

In short, the whole description of the nature and effect of the words contained in this 'Book of the Law,' shows that it must have been the book of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, we have seen already, and shall see yet more plainly, as we proceed, that there are internal signs in this book, which tend to fix the date of its composition to somewhere about this period in the Jewish history.

572. It was, we may believe, the desire of Hilkiah, and, perhaps, of men of yet higher mind about the young king, to take advantage of his own religious and impressible spirit, and of the humbled state of the people, when Judah had been brought low through the oppressions of Manasseh, and the ten tribes had been carried into captivity, to abolish once for all the idolatrous practices which had so long prevailed, and to try to bind the hearts of the remnant of Israel to the Court and to the Temple at Jerusalem. Accordingly, there ensued immediately upon the discovery of this 'Book of the Law,' a complete Reformation of Religion throughout the land, with a thorough and violent rooting up of all idolatrous practices, as described in 2K.xxiii. And then a great Passover was held by the king in Jerusalem. For once, it would seem, the attempt was made to draw all the people thither: and never, we are told,—

'from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah,'—

was such a Passover held, as this that was held in the eighteenth year of king Josiah.

573. But *we have no sign whatever of another such Passover being held even by Josiah.* Perhaps, after a time, the young king also became aware of the real facts of the case, and his zeal may have been damped by this discovery. At all events, we hear no more of any such gatherings.

Nor is there the least indication that the *other two Feasts* were kept by Josiah with similar solemnity in that very same year; and yet the Law is laid down with equal distinctness for all three in E.xxiii.17, xxxiv.23,24. And according to the more ancient law,—'Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before Jehovah,'—it was just as necessary that they should go up to Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost, and especially at the Feast of Tabernacles,—at which, once in seven years, the Law was to be read in the ears of the assembled people, D.xxxi.10–13, —as at the Passover.

574. We shall reserve for the present the full discussion of the very interesting question which now arises, whether the book of Deuteronomy is to be ascribed to the hand of *Jeremiah*, who was himself a Priest, the son of Hilkiah, Jer.i.1, and was called to the Prophetical office in the 'thirteenth year' of the reign of king Josiah, *v.*2, *five* years before the discovery of the Book of the Law in the 'eighteenth year of his reign,' 2K.xxii.3. But we shall here consider what HÄVERNICK says on the subject of this 'discovery.' *Pent.p.*407–413.

'DE WETTE has come to the conclusion that, 'in the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple, *the first certain trace of the existence of a Mosaic book* is to be found.' But the following considerations speak most decidedly against this.

(i) 'The very words, 'I have found the Book of the Law,' *v.*8, clearly show the contrary. How could the High Priest use these words in delivering the book to Shaphan, supposing that the latter knew nothing at all about it? Both individuals, on the contrary, are so well acquainted with it, that it only requires to be designated by this its known name, for one to know what it is.'

Ans. We believe that the greater portion of the first four books of the Pentateuch had long been composed, and that the fact was known, more or less, to the more eminent men of the day, and even to the people generally, that some 'written Law' at one time existed. Perhaps, in the time of Josiah's idolatrous father,

Manasseh, or even before his time, the roll of the Pentateuch, or, rather, as we believe, the Tetrateuch, had disappeared. It may have been lying, little heeded or even noticed, among the archives of the Temple, and so came into the hands of the successive High Priests, until it reached those of Hilkiah himself, and now is brought forward with special emphasis, mainly acquired by the addition of the book of Deuteronomy.

(ii) 'The conduct of the king and of the Court is inexplicable, supposing that they now for the first time heard news of this book. We find no sign in the narrative of mistrust or astonishment on their part at the existence of such a book. Would the king have been seized with such terror, when he heard the words of this book? Would he immediately have adopted such energetic measures, if he had not recognised it at once as authentic?'

Ans. No doubt, the king believed it to be authentic. He, too, was aware that some such a book had once existed; and if, for some time past, the book of Deuteronomy was, as we suppose, in actual process of composition, we may be sure that measures would have been taken to keep alive in his thoughts, and in the thoughts of others, the remembrance of that fact, until the day of the 'discovery.'

This would explain fully the words of Hilkiah just considered, 'I have found the Book of the Law in the House of Jehovah,' as well as the *apparent* want of surprise on the part both of Shaphan and the king,—*apparent*, we say, because none, at all events, is betrayed in the Scripture narrative, whatever may have been really the case.

(iii) 'Further, the narrative says not a word of the king's astonishment respecting the *existence* of the Book, but only respecting its *contents*, and the long non-observance of the Law and the refractory opposition to it. When he complains that the fathers had not acted according to it, it is evident that he must have been convinced that the Law was known and accessible to them.'

Ans. No doubt: this precisely agrees with our own view of the previous existence of the first four books of the Pentateuch. But, let it be well observed, *the contents of those first four books are of a very different character from those of Deuteronomy.* They consist mainly, as we have said, of historical narratives, or ceremonial directions, while thirteen whole chapters of Exodus are devoted to the minute description of the details of the construction and setting up of the Tabernacle. In Deuteronomy it is the *moral Law* which is delivered throughout, in some of the grandest and most impressive language that has ever been written.

(iv) 'It would also, assuredly, be a decidedly false conclusion, to infer a *general* non-acquaintance with the Pentateuch from the circumstance of the king's betraying an ignorance of its contents. In such a court, as must have existed during the long reign of Manasseh, does not such an ignorance appear quite probable, and admit of being so explained?'

Ans. Josiah had already reigned *seventeen* years, and, when he came to the throne, he was too young,—indeed, only eight years old, 2K.xxii.1,—to have been very much

influenced by the state of things in the Court of Manasseh, — laying out of consideration the story, which the Chronicler gives us, of Manasseh's deep repentance and reformation, 2Ch.xii.12-16, when, of course, he would have restored the Law, (supposed by the Chronicler to have been in full operation in the days of his father Hezekiah, 2Ch.xxx.5,16, xxxi.3,21,) if he knew of it. But, according to the 'more authentic history of the book of Kings, Josiah from the first' did 'that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, and walked in all the ways of David his father,' 2K.xxii.2; and from his youth he must have been, we may believe, in these early days of his reign, greatly under the influence of the High Priest Hilkiah. If, then, during the first seventeen years of his reign, this pious young king was all the while *ignorant of the contents* of the 'Book of the Law,' as HÄVERNICK admits, it is surely inconceivable that the *people* generally were better informed about it, whatever may have been the case with the few individuals, who were privy to the present movement. And, indeed, the whole story of the reading of the Book to the people, 2K.xxiii, implies this.

(γ) 'But the opposite of this conclusion may be *proved* convincingly (!) from the narrative itself. The king sends a message to the Prophetess, Huldah, and makes enquiry of her respecting the 'Book' and its declarations. She then at once confirms the truth of those words by a Prophetic declaration, and *evidently knows the Book that is spoken of*, for she says, 'All the words of this Book, wherein the king hath read, shall be fulfilled.''

Ans. Upon HÄVERNICK's supposition, how could Huldah have known the Book? If *she* knew it, why did not Hilkiah the High Priest, and the King himself, know it? It is clear that the idea cannot be maintained. It would be more reasonable to say that she recognised the words of the Book, when she heard them, (as she might have heard them from the messengers sent to consult her,) as *Divine* words, or that she may have given her attestation to the Book by prophetic instinct. But, according to our view, Huldah, most probably, *did* know the Book; for she was in the secret, and shared in the hope of a great Reformation.

And this may seem, at first sight, to be confirmed by the fact that she actually makes verbal references to favourite expressions of the Deuteronomist.

Thus in 2K.xxii.17, we read 'that they might *provoke me to anger through* all *the work of their hands*,' as in D.xxxi.29, 'to *provoke Him to anger through the work of your hands*.'

And we have also the following resemblances:

(α) *v.*17, 'forsake' Jehovah (553.xi);

(β) 'other gods,' D.v.7, vi.14, vii.4, viii.19, xi.16,28, xiii.2,6,13, xvii.3, xviii.20, xxviii.14,36,64, xxix.26, xxx.17, xxxi.18,20, and also E.xx.3, xxiii.13, xxxiv.14;

(γ) כָּעַס, *cahas*, 'provoke,' (552.viii);

(δ) 'work of the hands,' (552.iv);

(ε) *v.*19, שַׁמָּה, *shammah*, 'desolation,' (E.V. 'astonishment,') D.xxviii.37, *nowhere else in the Pentateuch*;

(ζ) קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse,' (552.xviii).

These coincidences can hardly be *accidental*. And, if we could be sure that the text really records the words of Huldah, they would show decisively that she must have been familiar with the book of Deuteronomy, and, therefore, as she could not have known it, in the usual way, as a book publicly known, (since then the King and High Priest must have known it also,) it would follow beyond a doubt that she knew it *privately*,—that there *was* some such a course pursued as we have supposed, and that Huldah was privy to it. But it is very possible that these are not really the words of Huldah, but those ascribed to her by the writer of the narrative. We have already suggested that *Jeremiah* may have been the Deuteronomist, and the reasons which more fully support this conjecture shall be produced in due time; and we also believe, with many critics, that the latter part of the Second Book of Kings was written by the Prophet, who was contemporary with the events described in it. Thus Dr. DAVIDSON, ii.37, while not giving his own assent to this hypothesis, observes—'According to the Talmudists, followed by many of the older theologians, Jeremiah was the compiler of the Book of Kings. This opinion has been adopted in modern times by HÄVERNICK and GRAF, &c.' The many points of coincidence between this passage 2K.xxii.16–20, and Jeremiah, as well as Deuteronomy, are, indeed, remarkable, as follows:

(α) *v.*17, 'forsake Jehovah,' (563.xi).

(β) 'other gods,' Jer.i.16, vii.6,9,18, xi.10, xiii.10, xvi.11,13, xix.4,13, xxii.9, xxv.6, xxxii.29, xxxv.15 xliv.3,5,8,15.

(γ) כָּעַס, *cahas*, 'provoke,' (562.viii).

(δ) 'work of the hands,' (562.iv).

(ε) שַׁמָּה, *shammah*, 'desolation,' Jer.ii.15, iv.7, v.30, &c., *twenty-four* places.

(ζ) קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse,' (562.xviii).

The full phrase 'burn incense to other gods' occurs in Jer.i.16, xix.4, xliv.5,8,15, and *nowhere else in the Bible*, except in the duplicate of the passage now before us, 2Ch.xxxiv.25.

Also the complete phrase 'desolation and a curse,' occurs in Jer.xxv.18, xlii.18, xliv.12,22, and *nowhere else in the Bible*,—though the two words occur separately in Deuteronomy.

If this second conjecture be true, it would be easy to account for Jeremiah's putting his own familiar expressions into the mouth of Huldah.

(vi) 'Hence the Prophetess Huldah must have had a share also in the 'concerted scheme.' But we meet here with a fresh confirmation of our view. Not only does the Prophetess give confirmation to the Book that has been discovered, but it is also read out of, in presence of the Priests, the Prophets, and the whole people! What a conjoint plot must this 'concerted scheme' have been! Who were the persons deceived here, since all appear to have nothing else in view than to deceive?'

Ans. It is obvious that very few besides the writer may have been privy to the scheme,—perhaps, only the Priest Hilkiah, and, possibly, Huldah, and one or two others.

(vii) 'The relations between the Priests and Prophets of that age were not exactly of the kind that will allow us to imagine such a combination, (see Jer.viii.8,) in which both parties joined hand in favour of falsehood, which the Prophets on other occasions so unsparingly expose and rebuke.'

Ans. Jer.viii.8 does not refer to the time of Hilkiah. But, as we have said, there is no reason to suppose that the Priests and Prophets, *generally*, were privy to the affair.

(viii) 'We must accordingly suppose that, in the time of Josiah, even according to our narrative, the 'Book of the Law' was by no means generally unknown, and that it is only the king in particular that betrays an ignorance of its contents, without showing, however, a total ignorance of the existence of the Book.'

Ans. Rather, it seems impossible that the people, generally, should have had knowledge of the contents of the Book, and that, at the same time, the king,—such a king as Josiah, who from his youth 'did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah,' 2K.xxii.2,—should have been totally ignorant of them. It is probable that both king and people had some knowledge of a written Law having been formerly in existence.

(ix) 'This circumstance rises to a still greater certainty, when we consider that, even before the finding of that Book, the king had made reforms with regard to the idolatry which had prevailed to a great extent.'

Ans. This fact, if true, would only make it more inconceivable than ever that the king should have been more ignorant of the contents of the Book than his idolatrous people were. But the account of this earlier attempt of Josiah, for the Reformation of Religion in his land, rests only on the unsupported statement of the Chronicler, who says that 'in his *eighth* year he began to seek after the God of David his father, and in the *twelfth* year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images, &c.' 2Ch.xxxiv.3–7,—in fact, carrying out at that early age, of his own mere motion, the very Reformation, which, according to the more trustworthy book of Kings, only *followed* the finding and reading the 'Book of the Law.'

(x) 'Josiah does know that there is a 'Book of the Law,' and he is partially acquainted, probably by tradition, with the matter of its contents, as is shown by his obeying its Commandments. But now, by a remarkable occurrence,—the discovery of the Temple copy,—his knowledge of it is not only made complete, but a powerful impression is also produced in his heart; it now becomes the purpose of his life to live as far as possible according to such a Law in its entire extent. In this way, the whole history of the occurrence and the life of the king stand in perfect accordance with each other.'

Ans. The only reason for supposing that Josiah was 'partially acquainted with the contents of the Book,' is, as HÄVERNICK says, the fact that he is represented as 'obeying its Commandments' in the purging of his land from idolatries. But this, as we have said, rests only on the authority of the Chronicler, and is con-

tradicted by the whole tenor of the story, as told in the book of Kings. If Josiah, indeed, had been '*partially* acquainted' with the contents of such a Book, we may be sure that he would have taken care to make himself *fully* acquainted with it; and, in fact, Josiah was just the person, if ever king of Judah was, to have literally fulfilled the command laid down for every king in D.xvii.18–20,—to write with his own hand a copy of the law.

We believe that both king and people were 'partially acquainted by tradition' with the fact that a Law-Book once existed, and even with the *general* nature of its contents. But we see no signs of their being acquainted with the *details* of the stories or laws contained in the present Pentateuch.

(xi) 'But, apart also from all these arguments, if we only consider the matter more seriously for a moment, as it appears when viewed in itself, the inadmissibility of the hypothesis, advanced by the opponents of the genuineness, is clearly exhibited. A book, which penetrates so deeply into the whole life of the nation, impressing on it the most peculiar character,—which comes forward with the most direct opposition to an age sunken in idolatry, and unsparingly denounces war against it,—which is promulgated at a time when the Prophets, such even as Jeremiah, were exposed to the mockery of frivolous contemporaries, from whom neither Law nor Prophecy could expect any hearty recognition,—this book is said to make its appearance suddenly, being a deceptive fabrication of the Priests, announcing to the people their punishment, and producing the deepest impression upon them, without anyone raising the cry of deceit and falsehood, without a voice being raised against it, when it appears to have been the interest of all to detect and expose the falseness of the book, and the deception which had been practised with it! Yet there was nothing more simple and easy than the adduction of proof in such a case, which besides could not but reckon on the accordance and sympathy of numbers.'

Ans. (i) There was every reason to expect that, *at first*, the whole body of the people would be greatly affected by the discovery,—both because they had a general traditionary knowledge of the existence of some such a book in former days, and because of the earnestness with which the king and leading men received it, as well as because of the solemn and impressive character of the language of the book itself, —especially, that part of it, Deuteronomy, which we believe to have been read in their hearing.

(ii) But how do we know that no voice was raised against it,—if not immediately, in the first years of zeal, upon the new discovery, yet afterwards, at all events, when men's feelings began to cool, and they began to reconsider the matter? We have no record except from one, who may himself have been a party to the whole scheme,—who may, indeed, have been the chief person concerned in it.

(iii) We do not, in fact, find that even the thrilling language of this book made any great *permanent* impression on the people. There is no sign, as we have said, that the Passover was ever *kept again* with such solemnity, or that the Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Tabernacles, respecting which the command is

laid down so distinctly in E.xxiii.14–17, xxxiv.22–24, L.xxiii.15–21,33–36, D.xvi.16, where we find it so strongly enjoined, 'Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which He shall choose, in the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and in the Feast of Weeks, and in the Feast of Tabernacles, and they shall not appear before Jehovah empty,'— were ever kept at all, even by Josiah.

(iv) It would seem also that not till the reign of Zedekiah, the son of Josiah, did 'the king and princes and all the people,'—probably at the instance of Jeremiah himself,—make a covenant to carry out the law in D.xv.12, for releasing their Hebrew servants, and this covenant they presently broke, Jer.xxxiv.8–11. So, too all the solemn threatenings of the Law did not prevent the children of Judah from 'remembering their altars and their groves by the green trees upon the high hills,' Jer.xvii.2,—from 'loving and serving, walking after, seeking, worshipping, the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven,' Jer. viii.2,—from 'having gods according to the number of their cities, and setting up altars, according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem, to that shameful thing, even to burn incense unto Baal,' Jer.xi.13.

(xii) 'The copy found in the Temple was beyond dispute the Temple copy. It is quite an useless question, whether it was the autograph of Moses, or a later transcription instead of it; for even in the latter case it should be regarded as being as good as the autograph, with as much justice as if we should say that the Temple, when repaired by Josiah, still remained Solomon's Temple . . . . It is manifest how easily such a copy might remain unobserved, especially as it did not lie in the Ark itself, and be neglected, — how easily even, under Priests who, to please the Kings, favoured, rather than hindered, idolatrous practices, especially under Josiah's immediate predecessors, the obnoxious testimony of Jehovah against His people might be intentionally put aside; as, on the other hand, it is manifest, that just such a copy as this must also have made a remarkable impression when it was found. The only thing, concerning which we are left in the dark by the history, that is specially occupied by the *sequel* of this occurrence, is the way and manner in which the copy had been lost. This circumstance, however, is so little essential, and may so easily and naturally be explained from the preceding accounts,—those of the practices of Manasseh, in particular,—that any unprejudiced writer might suitably enough pass it over. But on that account it is also inadmissible, to attempt to settle how long that copy had been missing or unknown; and the main point of the whole narrative must still be regarded as this, that a particularly remarkable copy of the 'Book of the Law' was found in the Temple, the discovery and reading of which produced an exceedingly beneficial impression on the king and the nation, because it was recognised by all as a sacred obligatory book and as the Mosaic Law.'

Ans. It is strange that for *eighteen* years of Josiah's reign, (not to speak of the penitential years of Manasseh, which rest upon the very doubtful authority of the Chronicler,) the Temple copy should have been *in* the Temple all the while, yet

never have been found by Hilkiah till now. It is also very strange that the historian should not have given the least hint anywhere, that the Book now found was the identical Temple copy, which had been long mourned as lost.

575. Thus there is nothing in the known facts of the case to negative the supposition, that the 'Book of the Law' was now for the first time produced, and read in the ears of the people,—except, of course, the moral difficulty which we find in attributing such a proceeding as this to *good men*, as Hilkiah and, perhaps, Jeremiah. But we must not judge of those times by our own; nor must we leave out of consideration the circumstances, which may have justified to their minds such an act as this. The deplorable condition of their people, sunk in the most debasing idolatries, might be thought to require some powerful influence to be brought upon them, beyond even an ordinary prophet's voice. Prophets had already spoken,—Joel, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah; but their words had not availed to keep back the people from those deadly sins, which had already brought down upon the Ten Tribes a fearful judgment, and threatened before long a yet more terrible woe upon Judah and Jerusalem. What if the authority of the great Lawgiver should be brought to bear upon them? And,—since the Law-Book, as it then existed, was not well suited for the present necessity, with its long details of the lives of their forefathers, and of the events which attended the deliverance out of Egypt and the march through the wilderness, as well as its minute directions about artistic and ceremonial matters,—what if the very *spirit* of the older Law should be summed up in a powerful address, adapted to the present circumstances of the times—such as he *would* have delivered, if now present with his people—and put into the mouth of the departing Lawgiver?

576. Let it be remembered, that in the Book of Deuteronomy it is *Moses* always, and not Jehovah, who is introduced as speaking, except in xi.14,15, xxix.5,6, where the writer seems unconsciously to have passed from the person of Moses into that of Jehovah,—

'*I* will give you the rain of your land in due season . . . and *I* will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle.' 'And *I* have led you forty years in the wilderness . . . that ye might know that *I* am Jehovah your God.' *

Otherwise, the writer is only ascribing to Moses himself such thoughts as he might naturally be supposed to have, when taking leave of his people.

Besides, though it cannot be supposed, as we have said, that the old Law-Book was *read* out at length by the king in the ears of his people, yet it *may* have been only increased by the portion newly added to it; and, when the whole Book was found by Hilkiah, he might have been able to say with truth that he had found the 'Book of the Law,' even if we lay no stress upon the fact that the Hebrew words, סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה, *sepher hatTorah*, 2K.xxii.8, might be very properly translated, '*a* Book of the Law,' as, in fact, it stands in the LXX, and in the parallel passage of our own Authorised Version, 2Ch.xxxiv.14.

577. There is also another point of view from which the matter must be regarded. Supposing (to fix our ideas) that Jeremiah really wrote the book, we must not forget that he was a Prophet and, as such, habitually disposed to regard all the special impulses of his mind to religious activity, as direct inspirations from the Divine Source of Truth. To us, with our inductive training and scientific habits of mind, the correct statement of *facts* appears of the first necessity; and consciously to misstate them, or to state as fact what we do not know or believe from *external* testimony to be fact, is a crime against Truth. But to a man who believed himself to be in *immediate* communication with the Source of all Truth, this condition must have been reversed. The *inner* Voice, which he believed to be the Voice of

* The LXX avoids this anomaly in xi.14,15, by writing δώσει, 'He will give;' and so in xxix.5 they write ἤγαγεν, '*He* led,' so that the phrase, 'I am Jehovah your God,' was apparently supposed to be the beginning of the Decalogue; but the construction is very harsh and unnatural, 'He led you forty years in the wilderness, . . . that ye might know that 'I am Jehovah your God,' [as it stands in the Decalogue.]

the Divine Teacher, would become all powerful—would silence at once all doubts and questionings. What it ordered him to do,' he would do without hesitation, as by direct command of God, and all considerations as to morality or immorality would either not be entertained at all, or would only take the form of misgivings as to whether, possibly, in any particular case, the command itself was really Divine.

578. Let us imagine, then, that Jeremiah, or any other contemporary Seer, meditating upon the condition of his country, and the means of weaning his people from idolatry, *became possessed* with the idea of writing to them an address, as in the name of Moses, of the kind which we have just been considering, in which the laws ascribed to him, and handed down from an earlier age, which were now in many respects unsuitable, should be adapted to the present circumstances of the times, and re-enforced with solemn prophetical utterances. This thought, we may believe, would take in the Prophet's mind the form of a Divine command. All question of *deception*, or *fraus pia* would vanish. And Huldah, too, in like manner, if she knew of what was being done, would consider, not whether it was right or wrong to speak to the Jews in the name of Moses, but what might happen, since these threats of coming judgment, thus spoken, were uttered by Divine Inspiration, and, therefore, were certainly true.

579. And this is very much what her words imply, if truly reported. She makes *no reference to Moses;* she does not even refer, as Josiah is said to have done, to '*our fathers* not having *hearkened to the words of this book*,' 2K.xxii.13. She says only, *v.*16,17:—

'Thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read, because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods,' &c.

One might almost say that she *studiously avoids* asserting anything affirmatory of the notion that the book itself was

an old book, the work of Moses, and confines herself to her prophetic function of declaring that the evil threatened would surely come to pass. And this is equally true if this part of the history was written, as we conceive, by Jeremiah, and these words are *his* words, expressing the *tenor*, rather than the actual language, of Huldah's reply.

580. Again, the effect upon the king's mind, and the consequent movement among the people, *may* have been far greater than had been even anticipated. It might have been intended merely to produce this new work, as a 'prophecy in disguise,' in the hope that it might take some strong hold upon the national mind, and confirm the hands of those who were labouring to restore the true Faith in Judah. And, perhaps, at first, it was felt to be difficult or undesirable to say or do anything which might act as a check upon the zeal and energy which the king himself exhibited, and in which, as it seems, he was generally supported by the people, in putting down by force the gross idolatries which abounded in his kingdom. That impulsive effort, which followed immediately the reading of the 'Book,' might have been arrested, if he had been told at once the true origin of those awful words, which had made so strong an impression on him. They were not less awful, indeed, or less true, because uttered in the name of Moses by such a Prophet as Jeremiah. But still it is obvious that their effect was likely to be greatly intensified under the idea that they were the last utterances of Moses himself. And, as we have said, we seem to have an indication that the real facts of the case subsequently became known to the king, if not to the people generally, in the circumstance that no such efforts appear to have been made afterwards in his reign to bring the people to Jerusalem at the other Great Feasts, even in that same year, and that no other Passover seems to have been kept with any such solemnity.

CHAPTER IV.

DEUT. I. 1—II. 37.

581. We shall consider that the following points have now been established:—

(i) The book of Deuteronomy must have been written chiefly by one writer;

(ii) This writer must have been a different person from the writer or writers, by whom the rest of the Pentateuch, speaking generally, was written;

(iii) The Deuteronomist, whoever he may have been, must have lived in a later age than either the Elohist or Jehovist, since he takes for granted facts recorded in their narrative;

(iv) There are some indications of this book having been written in a *very late* age of the Hebrew history;

(v) There are historical circumstances, which suggest that it may have been composed in the early part of Josiah's reign;

(vi) There is a remarkable correspondence between the peculiar expressions of the Deuteronomist and the language of *Jeremiah*, who did live in that age.

582. We shall next proceed to show that this book contains very distinct signs of such a later origin, in the existence of numerous *contradictions* to the older narrative, such as would naturally be expected to arise under such circumstances, when a later writer is adding freely from his own mind, and from his own point of view, to writings of an older time, and is not careful to preserve strictly the unity of the different parts of the story.

This implies, however, that he did not regard the older document as so inexpressibly sacred and so infallibly Divine, as is implied in modern popular views of inspiration.

583. In order to set these contradictions plainly before the reader, it will be desirable to pass under review the whole book of Deuteronomy, taking notice only of those passages, which affect in any way the questions now under consideration, and carefully watching for any *signs of time*, which may betray themselves in the writer's expressions. We may assume that we know now that he lived in a *later* day than the other writers of the Pentateuch. But we are now seeking to ascertain, if possible, from the internal evidence of the book itself, in *what* later day he lived.

We shall prefix an asterisk (*) to those passages, which appear most important in this last respect, as involving 'signs of time.'

584. D.i.1.

'These be the words which Moses spake unto *all* Israel on the other [E.V. this] side Jordan, in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Zuph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab.'

The above words are, of course, perfectly intelligible, if we are not obliged to believe that the book of Deuteronomy is historically true, or, rather, if we are allowed to suppose (what is, doubtless, the true state of the case) that it is merely the product of a devout writer's imagination,—a poem, in short, in which he puts such words into the mouth of Moses as he deemed appropriate to the occasion. The writer, in such a case, would not have realised to himself the full meaning of his own words. Doubtless, the expression 'all Israel' may *sometimes* be used for the 'elders,' &c. by whom an order might be communicated to the whole host. But that it means certainly in this passage the assembled host, and is *intended* to mean it, and not the 'elders' or 'headmen' only, as some have suggested, if the narrative is to be regarded as literally and historically true,

cannot, as it appears to me, be reasonably denied. And surely the words in D.xxix.10,11, are enough to decide the question:—

'Ye stand this day all of you before Jehovah your God,—your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, all the men of Israel,—your little ones, your wives, and the stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water.'

585. The writer, however, I repeat, was not guilty of any such absurdity as the words, understood in their natural and proper meaning, would imply: for he never realised to himself the thing stated as an historical fact, any more than TACITUS would have imagined that the words, which he has put into the mouth of the barbarian chief, Galgacus, would be supposed by any intelligent reader to have been actually uttered by him. SCOTT, of course, takes the literal view of the matter, and explains it as follows: —

'The words,' as here mentioned, seem to mean the subsequent exhortations, which Moses delivered to the principal persons in Israel, that they might make them known in their several tribes and families. Perhaps he spake some of the principal passages many times over to the people in general, assembled in large companies for that purpose. But there is no ground to suppose that his voice was *miraculously* rendered audible to the whole nation at once, as some have asserted.

586. KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*207:—

It is not easy to perceive for what reason the author has denoted this locality in an extraordinary and unnecessary way *with six names*, especially as it has been so often named already, N.xxii.1,xxvi.3,63,xxxi.12,xxxiii.48,49,50,xxxv.1,xxxvi.13, and must have been well known to the reader.

This circumstance is most naturally to be accounted for by the fact of a later — rather, a *much* later — writer wishing to define more accurately in his own age a locality, which he found distinguished so remarkably in the older records,—especially as it lay within reach, as it were, of everyone who cared to see it, not far away in the Arabian waste, and he designed to take it as the scene of the farewell addresses of Moses. And this is confirmed by his adding in a parenthesis, 'There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-Barnea,' *v.*2,—words, which could never have been inserted in this way by Moses or any contemporary writer.

587. D.i.6–18.

The account of the appointment of officers, as here given, involves more than one inconsistency. First, the Deuteronomist loses sight of the fact that, according to the story, N.xxvi.64, the whole generation was *dead* which received the Law at Horeb; and so he makes Moses say, *v.*6, 'Jehovah our God spake unto *us* in Horeb,' and still more distinctly, *v.*9, 'I spake unto *you* at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone,' and *v.*14, '*Ye* answered me, and said.' But a more remarkable discrepancy exists in *v.*15, where the statement is wholly at variance with that in E.xviii.25,26. In this latter passage, the appointment of the officers takes place *before* the giving of the Law at Sinai; here it takes place nearly twelve months afterwards, when they are *just about to leave* Horeb, *v.*6. If it be said that we must extend the meaning of the phrase 'at that time' in *v.*9,18, to include the whole twelve months, and must suppose that the fact stated in *v.*6-8 occurred in point of time subsequently to that in *v.*9–18, yet both these accounts are contradictory to that in N.xi.14–17, where, *after they have left Horeb*, Moses complains of the burden of the people, (though, according to either of the other two statements, he had a multitude of officers to help him,) and he is commanded then to appoint seventy elders, 'and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.'

588. Scott attempts to reconcile the difficulty as follows:—

> The counsel, here referred to, seems to have been suggested by Jethro *before* the giving of the Law. Moses, in consequence, proposed it to the Lord, who approved it, and then with the concurrence of the people it at length took place, about the time when they departed from Horeb, and at no great distance from that of the appointment of the seventy elders.

That is to say, according to Scott, though Moses was 'wearing away' with the labour of judging the people, he delayed twelve months to carry out his father-in-law's advice! But the words in E.xviii.24,25, plainly imply that he acted at once on Jethro's advice; and they state also that '*Moses* chose

able men out of all Israel' for these offices, *v.*25, whereas in D.i.13 we read 'Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and *I* will make them rulers over you.'

Further, as KNOBEL observes, in E.xviii.21 the stress is laid upon their being 'such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness,' whereas in N.xi.17–29 it is laid on the fact that, 'Jehovah put His Spirit upon them, and they prophesied,' and in D.i.13,15, on their being 'wise men and known.'

589. D.i.22,23.

'And *ye came near unto me*, every one of you, and said, We will send men before us, and they shall search us out the land, and bring us word again by what way we must go up, and into what cities we shall come. And the saying pleased me well; and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe, &c.'

But in N.xiii.1,2, the sending of the spies is ascribed, not to a suggestion from the people, but to an express command of Almighty God:—

'And *Jehovah spake unto Moses*, saying, Send thou men, that they may search the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel; of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a ruler among them.'

SCOTT says on this point:—

We find elsewhere that the people first proposed to Moses this design of searching the land, who, not suspecting the distrust and unbelief which had suggested it, approved the proposal and asked counsel of the Lord. He, having been provoked by their former rebellions, permitted it, and gave directions accordingly, in order to a further discovery of their wickedness, the display of His own glory, and for the instruction of His Church in all ages.

And so writes HÄVERNICK, *Pent.p.*316:—

According to D.i.22,23, the sending out of the spies originates with the people, who prepare the severe temptation for themselves; but Moses does not accede to their request, without having obtained God's sanction to the plan; then at His command the spies are despatched.

590. But here again the writer seems to have forgotten that these things took place, according to the story, forty years before, when most of those, whom he was now addressing, were not even born, and none of them, except Caleb and Joshua, were of age to be numbered. Yet he makes Moses say, '*Ye* came near unto

me, *every one of you*, &c.,' *v.*22, and the spies 'brought *us* word again,' *v.*25, and '*ye* would not go up,' *v.*26, and '*ye* murmured in your tents,' *v.*27. So we have in *v.*29, 'Then I said unto *you*, Dread not, neither be afraid of them,' and *v.*32, 'Yet in this thing *ye* did not believe Jehovah your God,'—with many more like instances, as iv.11,12, 'and *ye* came near, and stood under the mountain, and Jehovah spake unto *you* out of the midst of the fire; *ye* heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only *ye* heard a voice.' See also the passage quoted below in (600).

Also in D.i.21, Moses is made to exhort the people to 'go up and possess the land,' *before* sending the spies; whereas the whole account in N.xiii implies, though it does not exactly state, the contrary.

591. D.i.37–39.

'Also Jehovah was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither. But Joshua, the son of Nun, which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither; encourage him, for he shall cause Israel to inherit it. Moreover, your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it. But as for you, turn you, and take your journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea.'

Here, again, the Deuteronomist, though thoroughly imbued with a *general* notion of the story, seems to have lost sight of the particular fact that Moses was sentenced to die, and Joshua appointed to succeed him, not at the time which is here referred to, in the days of the former generation, but after an interval of thirty-seven years, at the *end* of the wanderings, N.xxvii.15–23, only a few months before this address is supposed to be delivered. The fact may be that, knowing that Caleb and Joshua were excepted in the story from the general doom, he names Caleb as so excepted in *v.*36, and then goes on to mention Joshua as also excepted, but inadvertently anticipating his appointment to succeed Moses, and so falling also into the anachronism of antedating the doom of Moses. Scott says—

It was natural for Moses here to introduce this subject, though the event took place many [thirty-seven] years after that of which he was discoursing. For it would occur to his mind that he also was excluded, and thus involved in the general sentence, in consequence of a temptation, which the unbelief of the people had laid in his way.

592. D.i.46.

'So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there.'

In this strange way is summed up the account of the thirty-seven years' sojourn in the wilderness. It is all that the Deuteronomist can tell us about it,—it being all, which the authorities he had before him, in the Elohistic and Jehovistic narratives, have told him. SCOTT observes on this point:—

Here again an almost total silence is observed concerning more than thirty-seven years of the time, which the Israelites passed in the wilderness. We may, however, suppose that Moses, Aaron, and the Priests and Levites, were diligently employed in instructing the people, and that many, even of them 'whose carcases fell in the wilderness,' were thus prepared for heaven, while the survivors were humbled and proved, in order to their entrance into the Promised Land.

It is inconsistent with SCOTT's theory, of 'many' of the survivors being 'humbled and proved,' that we find them murmuring, as of old, in N.xxi.5, and on that account visited with fiery serpents, and then 'committing whoredom with the daughters of Moab,' N.xxv.1, for which they were stricken with the plague.

*593. D.ii.4,5.

'And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you. Take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore; meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot-breadth; because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.'

Upon the above KNOBEL remarks, *Deut.p.*213:—

The writer has immediately the Mosaic time in his eye, and the subjection of the Edomites since David's time is regarded by him not so much in the light of a conquest of the land, as in that of a subjugation of the people.

Rather, we have here, most probably, an indication of the *later time*, when the Deuteronomist lived, and when Edom was

independent, and there was no likelihood of its being subject again to the yoke of Israel. We read in 1K.ix.26—

'And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside *Eloth*, [or *Elath*, D.ii.8,] on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of *Edom*.'

But the possession of Elath was lost for a time, and recovered at last by Uzziah, who 'built Elath, and restored it to Judah,' 2K.xiv.22. In the days of his grandson, Ahaz, it was lost permanently; for we read, 2K.xvi.6—

'At that time Rezin, king of Syria, recovered *Elath* to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there *unto this day*.'

From that time the Edomites appear to have maintained completely their independence as regards Judah. In Jeremiah's time this was the case, as we gather from Jer.ix.26, xxv.21, xxvii.3, where Edom is reckoned as on a par with Egypt, Judah, Ammon, Moab, &c., and in Jer.xlix.16 is threatened with punishment for its pride:—

'Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill; though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith Jehovah.'

594. D.ii.9.

'And Jehovah said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.'

Here also we have most probably an indication of the long and flourishing independence of the Moabites in the time of the Deuteronomist. Thus we read in Jer.xlviii.11:—

'Moab hath been at ease from his youth, and he hath settled on his lees, and hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither hath he gone into captivity; therefore his taste remaineth in him, and his scent is not changed.'

And again:

'We have heard the pride of Moab, (he is exceeding proud,) his loftiness, and his arrogancy, and his pride, and the haughtiness of his heart.' Jer.xlviii.29.

'We have heard of the pride of Moab; he is very proud; even of his haughtiness, and his pride, and his wrath.' Is.xvi.6.

*595. D.ii.12.

'As Israel *did* unto the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave unto them.'

We have already pointed out (265–6) that the above language indicates that the writer was living *after* the Conquest of the land of Canaan. Riehm observes, p.80:—It is arbitrary to consider these words as an *interpolation* or to refer them to the trans-Jordanic land, which Israel, at the time when Moses spoke them, had already taken into its possession. The expression, אֶרֶץ יְרֻשָּׁתוֹ *erets yerushatho*, 'land of his possession,' can denote nothing else but the identical Palestine, and though it might *include* the trans-Jordanic land, could not have been used to denote that alone.

596. D.ii.19.

'When thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them; for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.'

With respect to the Ammonites also we read in Jer.xlix.1,4:—

'Concerning the Ammonites, thus saith Jehovah: Hath Israel no sons? hath he no heir? Why then doth their king inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities? . . . Wherefore gloriest thou in the valleys, thy flowing valley, O backsliding daughter,—that trusted in her treasures, saying, Who shall come unto me?'

And in Jer.xl.14 mention is made of 'Baalis, king of the Ammonites,' so that these also were independent in Jeremiah's days.

597. Nothing is said in the earlier books, as in N.xx.14–21, about the Israelites being *forbidden*, as here, to attack either Edom or Moab, because 'Jehovah had given Mount Seir unto Esau, and Ar unto the children of Lot, for a possession.'

Rather, N.xxi.24 seems to imply that the Israelites abstained from invading the territory of Ammon, not because they were forbidden to do so, but because 'the border of the children of Ammon was strong.'; and, at all events, in N.xxiv.17–19, the conquests of David over both Edom and Moab seem to be plainly foretold:—

'There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth. And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly. Out of Israel shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city.'

The statement in D.ii.4, 'they (the Edomites) shall be afraid of you,' is at variance with those in N.xx,—

'And Edom said unto him (Israel), Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword,' *v.*18;

'And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with much people and with a strong hand,' *v.*20.

598. D.ii.9–12,19–23.

We have already noticed (277) that the introduction of these archæological notices about the 'Emims,' 'Horims,' and 'Zamzummims,' who in ancient days inhabited the countries subsequently occupied by Moab, Edom, and Ammon, betrays the hand of a later writer, who took an interest in recording such facts as these, which implied that these nations, akin to Israel, had, like Israel, been favoured with special help and guidance from above, and put in possession of the lands of other occupants, whom Jehovah 'destroyed before them.'

KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*214, with regard to the expression in D.ii.12,—

This remark is not suitable in the mouth of Moses, but has slipped from the writer by an oversight.

599. D.ii.23.

'The Avims, which dwelt in the villages [בַּחֲצֵרִים, *bakhătserim*, E.V. 'in Hazerim'] unto Azzah [Gaza], the Caphtorims, which came out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.'

On this passage, KNOBEL writes as follows, *Deut.p.*215:—

Having once touched upon the ancient peoples, who inhabited the Jordan-lands, he adds yet another notice concerning the Avites, who lived there in villages as far as Gaza, and were exterminated by the Caphtorim out of Caphtor, *i.e.* Crete. To this also refers Amos,ix.7, 'Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor?' and *Jeremiah* says, xlvii.4, 'Jehovah will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the isle (אִי, *I*, E.V. 'country') of Caphtor,' where, however, the Philistines are named instead of the Caphtorim. The Avites are, probably, to be reckoned among the Canaanites, in whose district they [*i.e.* Gaza, &c.] fall, G.x.19, and in the Mosaic time they still lived in the locality here indicated, Jo.xiii.3. In the time of Saul and David the Cherethites (כְּרֵתִי, *Crethi*) or Cretans appear in their place [in the same locality], 1S.xxx.14, 'We made an invasion upon the south of the Cherethites, and upon the coast which belongeth to Judah, and upon the south of Caleb, and we burned Ziklag with fire:' comp. Ez.xxv.16, 'I will stretch out mine hand upon the Philistines, and I will cut off the Cherethims,

and destroy the remnant of the sea-coast,' and Zeph.ii.5, 'Woe unto the inhabitants of the sea-coast, the nation of the Cherethites! The word of Jehovah is against you, O Canaan, the land of the Philistines!' These are also called 'Carians' (כָּרִי *Cari*), comp. 2S.xx.23, [where David's 'guard' are called 'the Cherethites (text הַכְּרִי, *hacCreyi*, margin הַכָּרִי, *hacCari*, or הַכְּרֵתִי, *hacCrethi*,) and Pelethites,'] and 2K.xi.4,19, [where the guard are called הַכָּרִי, *hacCari*.] Hence the extermination of the Avites and the settlement of the Caphtorim or Cretans falls in the time of the Judges, when the Carians disappeared from the coasts of Asia before Minos, the powerful king of Crete, THUC.i.4,8. The Caphtorim in the present case are beyond doubt the fugitives who came from the island of Crete, and occupied the nearest parts of Libya, TAC.*Hist*.v.2. A connection with Crete is betrayed also by the circumstance that in Gaza the Cretan Zeus was worshipped. Hence we have good reason for supposing that by Caphtor is meant Crete. [But little dependence can be placed upon the arguments derived from the statements of THUCYDIDES and TACITUS.]

In Ez.xxv.16, Zeph.ii.5, the LXX have 'Cretans.'

600. D.ii.29.

The statement, which is here made, viz. that the Edomites and Moabites sold meat and water to the Israelites, is directly contrary to those in N.xx.18,20,21, and D.xxiii.3,4; and in Ju.xi.17 we read —

'Then Israel sent messengers unto the king of Edom, saying, Let me, I pray thee, pass through thy land; but the king of Edom would not hearken thereto. And in like manner they sent unto the king of Moab; but he would not consent.'

Upon this KURTZ remarks, iii.*p*.332 :—

There is more plausibility, at any rate, in another discrepancy, which has been adduced by rationalistic critics. In N.xx the Edomites, and in Ju.xi.17 the Moabites also, are said to have *refused* the petition of the Israelites for a free passage, and their offer to pay for bread and water. But in D.ii.29, on occasion of a message sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, the Edomites and Moabites are praised for having provided the Israelites with food and water for money, when they passed through their land. But a very simple solution of the apparent discrepancy is furnished by the old rule, 'distingue tempora, et concordabit Scriptura.' 'The same people,' says LEAKE, 'who successfully resisted the attempt of the Israelites to cross the strongly-fortified western frontier, were terrified when they saw that they had gone completely round, and reached the weakly defended eastern border.' On the western side, the mountains of Edom rise abruptly from the Arabah. There are only a few passes, which are at all accessible from this side, and these can easily be occupied. But, on the east, the mountains slope gently off into a desert tract of table-land, which is still a hundred feet higher, at least, than the

desert of El Tih. On this side, therefore, the land was open; and they were not very likely to assume a hostile attitude towards the 600,000 fighting men of Israel. And the very fact that they had offended the Israelites, by opposing them on the western border, would make them the more eager to avoid everything that could give occasion for anger or revenge, now that they had come round to the eastern side.

601. But this does not dispose of the difficulty; because in D.xxiii.3,4, we read—

'An Ammonite or *Moabite* shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah, because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye came out from Egypt, and because they hired against thee Balaam, the son of Beor, to curse thee.'

KURTZ and HENGSTENBERG say that D.ii.29 refers to a request to *sell* bread and water to the Israelites, which the Moabites did, but not out of any kindness,—they did it only 'as a manifestation of their selfish and grasping disposition'; whereas in D.xxiii.4 the charge made against them is that they did not come forward *of their own accord* to greet their brethren, the Israelites, and 'meet them' on the way with presents of food. But, whatever *Edom* may have done in the way of kindness, (of which, however, there is no indication in the book of Numbers,) there is not the least sign in the older story that Balak, king of Moab, and his people, supplied the Israelites with bread and water at all, whether for love or for money.

CHAPTER V.

DEUT. III. 1–IX. 29.

602. D.iii.11,14.

We have considered already (268–270) the story of Og's 'iron bedstead' referred to in *v.*11, and (257) the expression 'unto this day' in *v.*14, as signs of this book having been composed at a later date than the age of the Exodus. It is very probable that this 'bed' was really a large sarcophagus, made of the dark basalt which abounds in the district of Bashan. Many of these stone coffins still exist in these regions, and are used as water-troughs by the inhabitants.

For an interesting account of the ruined cities of Bashan, described in *v.*4,5, as 'threescore cities, all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars,'—which now remain, 'crowded together' in the country S.E. of Damascus, called the Haurân,—

of great size, of very high antiquity, and in a high state of preservation,—not mere sites, in many cases not even ruins, but still standing almost uninjured, the streets perfect, the houses perfect, the walls perfect, the stone doors still hanging on their hinges—

see papers by C. C. GRAHAM, Esq. in the *Journal of the Geog. Soc.* for 1858 and *Cambridge Essays* for 1858.

Doubtless these massive Cyclopean ruins existed in the time of the Deuteronomist, as they exist now, and as they probably existed for ages before him.

603. D.iii.29.

'So we abode in the valley over against Bethpeor.'

Here again we have, as KNOBEL observes, *p.*223—

An accurate note of place, which the author has made for his readers, not Moses for his Israelites.

This will be evident, when it is considered that, according to the story (173–4), the facts related in this chapter—to which the phrase 'at that time' is repeatedly applied — had only just occurred, and that they were actually now 'abiding in the valley over against Bethpeor,' according to the notice in iv.46.

604. D.iv.3,4.

'Your eyes have seen what Jehovah did because of Baal-Peor; for *all the men that followed Baal-Peor, Jehovah thy God hath destroyed them from among you.* But ye that did cleave unto Jehovah your God, are alive every one of you this day.'

Upon this phrase Dean GRAVES remarks, *i.p.*137,138:—

The legislator, in order to deter the Jews from idolatry, alludes to this fact; but he notices no circumstance but one which, though in the original narrative not stated, was infinitely the most important to advert to on this occasion, but which no persons but spectators of the fact, and perfectly acquainted with every individual concerned in it, could possibly feel the truth of.

And so SCOTT observes on *v.*5:—

The people had been often ready to conclude that Moses taught them by his own authority. But, at the close of his life, he solemnly assured them that he had instructed them exactly as the Lord had commanded him, neither more, nor less, nor otherwise. This is a most express declaration that he was divinely inspired, and utterly incompatible with integrity of character if he was not.

Upon such frail foundations are based many of the much-commended arguments of our standard books on the authenticity and historical veracity of the Pentateuch! It is obvious that the whole question at issue is begged in the first instance, when it is taken for granted as a fact, that Moses actually delivered this address.

*605. D.iv.19.

'And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, &c.'

The 'sun' seems to have been an object of worship in early days among the tribes of Canaan, as is implied by the fact that,

the name of the town *Beth-shemesh* means 'House of the Sun,' corresponding to *Beth-el*, 'House of God.' Probably, the sun was worshipped under the name *Baal*, 'Lord,' and the moon under that of 'Astarte.'

But the worship of the 'host of heaven' is first named in the history, as one of the sins for which the Ten Tribes were carried captive, in 2K.xvii.16; and it seems to have been first *generally* practised in *Judah* in the reign of *Manasseh*, the father of Josiah, 2K.xxi.3,5, 2Ch.xxxiii.3, and is explained by KNOBEL, *Deut.p.*226, to have arisen out of Assyrian and Chaldee influences. Manasseh's grandfather Ahaz may, indeed, have introduced it, as appears from a comparison of 2K.xxiii.12, where we read of 'the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz,' with Jer.xix.13, 'the houses upon whose roofs they have burnt incense unto all the host of heaven;' but it is not mentioned among his special offences in 2K.xvi.3,4, and, therefore, if introduced in that reign, probably was not much practised, and it was certainly not adopted by his son Hezekiah. In Manasseh's reign, however, it seems to have flourished. Hence we find express mention made of this worship in the story of Josiah's reformation, 2K.xxiii, where we read of the vessels that were made 'for all the host of heaven,' *v.*4, the Priests that burned incense 'to the sun and to the moon and to the planets and to all the host of heaven,' *v.*5, 'the chariots of the sun,' *v.*11.

606. Though put down by Josiah so strongly, it appears, however, to have revived again, since we find in this very reign Zephaniah prophesying the destruction of 'them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops,' i.5, and *Jeremiah* says,—

'Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven,' &c., vii.17,18;—

'And they shall spread them before the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after

whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped,' &c., viii.2;—

'And the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses of the kings of Judah, shall be defiled as the place of Tophet, because of all the houses upon whose roofs they have burned incense unto all the host of heaven,' &c., xix.13.

And see especially Jer.xliv.17,18,19,25, Ez.viii.16.

Observe that this worship is not mentioned in any part of the Pentateuch, except D.iv.19,xvii.3; and that *complete phrases*, similar to this, 'the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven,' *occur only* in D.iv.19, xvii.3, Jer.viii.2, and 2K.xxiii.5, which was very probably written by Jeremiah himself (574.v).

607. D.iv.21.

'Furthermore, Jehovah was angry with me, for your sakes, and *sware* that I should not go over Jordan,' &c.

On this passage KNOBEL observes, *p.*227 :—

Nothing is said in the older record, N.xx, about any divine *oath* at this point of the history: we seem to have here some confusion with the oath recorded in N.xiv.21,28.

*608. D.iv.25–28.

'When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and *ye shall have remained long in the land*, and shall corrupt yourselves. . . . I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it. . . . And Jehovah shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither Jehovah shall lead you. And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell.'

Assuming that these words were not spoken by Moses prophetically, with a view to *future* events, they seem to imply that the writer had before him the captivity of the Ten Tribes, and wished to preserve Judah from the same judgment.

SCOTT observes:—

Many expressions in this prophecy evidently refer to times much later than even the Babylonish Captivity. The Jews could not then, with any propriety, be said to have 'utterly perished' out of the Promised Land, as they returned to it after seventy years. [The Ten Tribes had perished in Josiah's time, and the Deuteronomist, as we suppose, is referring to the example of their punishment, as a warning to Judah.] But their present state, in which they have been 'scattered among

the nations' for almost 1,800 years, without any access to their own land, and their condition, as dispersed individuals, not as a nation under regular government, answers the language of the prediction with great exactness. [Are the Jews, then, 'few in number' now, and have they been 'left'—that is, as the context plainly implies, 'left *in captivity*'—among the heathen?] They do not, indeed, at present worship images, except as in popish countries they sometimes conceal their religion, and conform to the idolatrous worship there performed, in order to escape persecution. But they are grossly ignorant of the True God; for 'he, that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who sent Him.' Numbers of Israelites also have, doubtless, been incorporated with idolaters.

609. D.iv.29,30.

'But, if from thence thou shalt seek Jehovah thy God, thou shalt find Him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul. When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days, if thou turn to Jehovah thy God, and shalt be obedient unto His Voice,—for Jehovah thy God is a merciful God,—He will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which He sware unto them.'

Here also the Deuteronomist evidently contemplates the possibility of the Ten Tribes being restored from their captivity, and reinstated in their own land, if only they would repent and return to Jehovah their God. His hope was, doubtless, that the tribes of Israel would all be gathered again one day under the government of the House of David. We shall see other similar indications of these warm, patriotic expectations of brighter days for Israel, which were cherished by this writer.

*610. D.iv.38.

'To drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, *as it is this day.*'

We have here also an indication that the writer was living in an age after the Conquest; though the proof is not so decisive as that in (595), since it might be argued that the above language is sufficiently explained by reference to the Conquest of the trans-Jordanic lands, which had already taken place at the time when Moses is supposed to be speaking.

611. D.iv.41–49.

This section, with the exception of *v.*45, appears to be a

fragment of the older document, removed from its proper place in connexion with the narrative in N.xxxv. In its present position, it interrupts very awkwardly the address of Moses, or, rather, it is inserted abruptly between two separate addresses, which have no connexion either with it or with each other, for D.v.1 begins very abruptly.

In *v.*41,47,49, we have the expression 'beyond (E.V. 'on this side') Jordan *toward the sunrising* (בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָחָה, *bchever hayyarden mitsrakhah*),' which the Deuteronomist *never* uses, whereas it occurs twice in the old document, N.xxxii.19, xxxiv.15.

Also in *v.*44 we have the phrase, שָׂם לִפְנֵי, *sum liphne*, 'set before,' as in E.xix.7, xxi.1, comp. E.xv.25, for which the Deuteronomist uses נָתַן לִפְנֵי, *nathan liphne*, iv.8, xi.32.

612. It should be observed, however, that, in *v.*44, the expression, הַתּוֹרָה, *hatTorah*, 'the Law,' savours strongly of the Deuteronomist (544); but KNOBEL considers that these words, 'This is the Law, which Moses set before the children of Israel,' point to a Law, which *followed* this verse in the older document, as a *later* Law, given by Moses in the plains of Moab, besides the Law given on Sinai. And he supposes that in D.xii–xxvi the writer has included several of the injunctions of this second older Law. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject again. Meanwhile, *v.*45, which, according to KNOBEL, 'is quite superfluous after *v.*44,' but which *may* only be an amplification of it, is *certainly* Deuteronomistic. The multiplication in this verse of synonymous terms, 'the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments,' is very common in Deuteronomy, *e.g.* iv.1,5,8,14,40, v.1.31, vi.1,17,20, &c.; and the noun עֵדָה, *hedah*, (different from עֵדָה, *hedah*, 'congregation,') occurs only twice in the rest of the Pentateuch, and then in the singular, and in a different sense, *viz.* that of 'witness,' G.xxi.30, xxxi.52, whereas the plural עֵדֹת, *hedoth*, is used, as here, in the sense of 'precepts,' or 'ordinances,' in D.iv.45, vi.17,20.

613. On *v.*46,49, KNOBEL observes, *p.*231:—

The Deuteronomist has already, in i.4,5, made this circumstantial definition of the place, and has already, in iii.8–17, in like manner described at full length the conquest of the regions here mentioned. The phrase, 'in the valley over against Bethpeor,' *v.*46, occurs again in a fragment of the older writer, D.xxxiv.6, from whom the Deuteronomist has adopted the notice in D.iii.29, 'So we abode in the valley over against Bethpeor.' The name Sion, שִׂיאֹן, for Hermon, occurs only here; but, perhaps, צִיּוֹן, Zion, in Ps.cxxxiii.3, 'As the dew of Hermon, that descends upon the mountains of Zion,' may be another form of it. The Deuteronomist has already made *his* remarks upon the name of Hermon in iii.9.

614. D.v.2–5.

'Jehovah our God made a covenant with *us* at Horeb. Jehovah made not this covenant with our fathers, but *with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day.* Jehovah talked with *you* face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire. I stood between Jehovah and *you* at that time, to shew you the word of Jehovah; for *ye* were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up unto the mount.'

Here we have the strongest instances of the oversight referred to in (590). It may, of course, be said in all these cases that Moses is addressing the people collectively, and that the fathers, with whom the covenant was made at Horeb, included the children to whom he was now speaking at the end of the wanderings. But, if every one of those fathers was dead, as the narrative tells us, and only a small proportion of those now listening to Moses was present on the former occasion, as children under age, the above words could scarcely have been used by one taking note of this circumstance.

So, too, we read in xi.2–7:—

'I speak not with *your children*, which have not known His miracles and His acts, which He did in the midst of Egypt, unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land, &c.; but *your eyes have seen* all the great acts of Jehovah which He did.'

615. D.v.6–21.

We have already noticed (497–500) the remarkable variations which exist between the Ten Commandments, as given here, and in E.xx.2–17, more especially with reference to the Fourth

Commandment. And yet, in each case, the writer professes to state the identical words, which were spoken by Jehovah himself, at the very same time. Thus we have not only a striking contradiction in a matter of fact, which by itself is decisive against the strict historical accuracy of the Mosaic story; but we see also how little the later writer was withheld, by any strong religious scruples, from altering and amending — or, as might be thought by some, corrupting — the older form. In other words, he could not have regarded the older form of words as so unspeakably sacred and Divine, that it would be profane for a human hand to alter them.

616. On this point HÄVERNICK says, *Pent.p.*281:—

'Would a later writer have permitted himself such an alteration of what he himself in the most decided manner attributes to Moses, and with the sacredness and inviolability of which he is deeply impressed, and not rather have observed the most conscientious exactness in the repetition of the Mosaic form?'

Ans. Certainly not, if he had really believed them to have been the very words written down by Moses, or rather by the finger of God.

'Nothing is gained by the supposition of an original traditional formula of a simpler kind; for, as soon as that had been once consigned to writing,—in which case it is hardly conceivable that it should have already received a paraphrase,—that form must then have been preserved.'

Ans. We do not suppose the existence of any 'original traditional formula of a simpler kind.'

'Thus the very construction of the Decalogue, considered both in itself and in its twofold form, necessarily leads us to the belief of its Mosaic origin.'

Ans. This conclusion, we need hardly say, does not appear to us to follow in any way from HÄVERNICK's premisses.

617. Dr. GRAY observes, *Key to the Old Testament, p.*119:—

In the preceding books of the Pentateuch, Moses speaks of himself in the third person, but here [in Deuteronomy], in a more animated manner, he drops, as it were, the character of an historian, and is introduced as immediately addressing himself to his countrymen. *Hence it is* that, in describing what he uttered, he repeats the Decalogue *with some slight change of expression* (!) from that which was used at its first delivery; a variation, which, as it affected not the import of the commandment, might have served to indicate that not the letter, but the spirit, of the Law should be regarded.

We shall have occasion hereafter to point out more distinctly the numerous minor variations between the two copies of the Decalogue. But it is difficult to see how a commentator could justly characterise such a difference as that exhibited below as 'some slight change of expression.'

E.xx.11.	D.v.15.
For in six days, Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: *wherefore* Jehovah blessed the Sabbath-Day and hallowed it.	And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: *therefore* Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-Day.

618. D.viii.4.

'Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years.'

So, too, we read in xxix.5:—

'Your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.'

No mention is made of this miraculous provision of clothing in the older narrative. KURTZ observes, iii.312,313:—

The history of the exposition of these verses furnishes one of the most striking examples of the extent to which a merely literal exegesis of the Scriptures may go astray. A whole series of both Jewish and Christian commentators interpret these passages, without the least hesitation, as meaning that the clothes and shoes of the Israelitish children grew with their growth, and remained for the whole of the forty years not in the least the worse for wear. Thus JUSTIN says (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 131), 'The strings of whose sandals never broke; nor did the sandals themselves get old, nor their clothes wear out, but those of the children grew with their growth.' So PFEIFFER, 'By a remarkable miracle, not only did the clothes of the Israelites in the desert never get old, but they grew with the growth of the Israelites themselves, so as to fit both boys and men in succession.' PFEIFFER also quotes a Rabbinical saying with approbation: 'Go, and learn from the snail, whose shell grows with its body.' Other Rabbins suppose the angels of God to have acted as tailors to the Israelites, while they were in the desert, and interpret Ez.xvi.10–13 as containing a literal allusion to the fact. Without going to such an absurd length as this, AUGUSTINE, CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET, GROTIUS, and even DEYLING, abide by the literal explanation, that, through the blessing of God, the clothes and shoes never wore out; so that those, who grew to manhood, were able to hand them over, as good as new, to the rising generation. By thus as-

suming a succession of wearers, these commentators, at all events, escaped the fatal notion that the clothes and shoes grew with the bodies of the wearers. When first PEYRERIUS denied that the clothes and shoes of the Israelites were miraculously preserved for forty years, and maintained that 'the meaning of the Mosaic account was nothing more than this, that the Jews were never in want of anything, during the whole of the forty years that they were in the desert, but had so abundant a supply of everything, especially of wool from their flocks, of cloth, of skins, and of leather, that they never were without materials from which to make their clothes,'—DEYLING, who is usually so very temperate, protested most vehemently against such '*petulantia et impietas*.' Nevertheless, the opinion expressed by PEYRERIUS became gradually the prevailing one. We find it advocated, for example, by CLERICUS, BUDDEUS, and LILIENTHAL. The last of the three, however, thinks it necessary to point, not only to the flocks possessed by the Israelites, from which they could obtain both wool and leather in great abundance, but also to the fact, that every Israelite must certainly have brought some clothes and shoes with him out of Egypt,—that they asked the Egyptians for clothes, and obtained them (E.iii.22, xii.35),—that they would, no doubt, take off the clothes of the Egyptians, who were drowned in the Red Sea and afterwards washed on shore (E.xiv.30), and, lastly, that they took the booty of the conquered Amalekites, including, according to Josephus, a quantity of clothes.

619. But, surely, the literal interpretation of the texts in question is the true one, and plainly implies a miracle of some kind, which prevented their clothes and shoes from wearing out, whatever may be the difficulty of conceiving what kind of miracle it could possibly have been. Accordingly SCOTT remarks:—

The Israelites, doubtless, brought out of Egypt more raiment than what they had upon them; they might manufacture the fleeces of their flocks in the wilderness; and they might be favoured in Providence with other supplies. Yet, when we consider their immense numbers, their situation and long continuance in the wilderness, and the strong expressions here made use of, there seems no reason to question the constant and most extraordinary miraculous interposition of God in this respect, as well as in others. We may, however, safely reject the Jewish tradition, that the garments grew along with the bodies of the young people, not because it is too difficult to be credited, but because it wants the warrant of scriptural testimony, and does not appear to have been in the least necessary; for the grown persons might wear the clothes of those who died, and the young might take theirs.

And he adds further, on D.xxix.5:—

As by far the greatest part of the clothing, of all ranks and ages in Israel, was made of *linen*, for which they had no resources in their own possession, and

exceedingly little opportunity of obtaining supplies from others, the reality and greatness of the miraculous interposition in this behalf were the more extraordinary.

620. D.viii.9.

'A land whose stones are *iron*, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.'

We may notice, in passing, the familiar mention of 'iron' in this and other places of Deuteronomy, as where the writer speaks of the 'iron furnace,' iv.20, and iron tools, xix.5, xxviii.23,48; in the (supposed) age of Moses, preceding that of Homer by about five centuries.

621. D.ix.3.

'So shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them quickly, (מַהֵר, *maher*,) as Jehovah hath *said* unto thee.'

KNOBEL observes here, *p.*244:—

In the ardour of the discourse, the writer forgets that he has just forbidden this destroying them quickly (מַהֵר) in vii.22.

622. D.ix.7, &c.

Here the writer, as KNOBEL says, *p.*245, 'allows himself some very important variations from the older narratives.' Nothing is said in E.xxiv.18 of Moses 'fasting' on the first occasion of his spending 'forty days and forty nights' on the mount: but this the writer has very naturally assumed, as KNOBEL suggests, from the fact being recorded of his fasting thus on the second occasion, E.xxxiv.28. But, on the other hand, the Deuteronomist omits the earnest prayer of Moses on behalf of the people, E.xxxii.11–13, by which Jehovah was pacified, and 'repented of the evil which He thought to do unto his people,' *v.*14, *before* Moses went down from the Mount; and he represents him as saying that he began to intercede for them *after* his descent, *v.*19—

'For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, wherewith Jehovah was wroth against you to destroy you. But Jehovah hearkened unto me at that time also.'

623. Moreover, he makes Moses say, *v.*18—

'I fell down before Jehovah *as at the first*, forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread nor drink water, because of all your sins which ye sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of Jehovah, to provoke Him to anger.'

And so again, *v*.25,—

'Thus I fell down before Jehovah forty days and forty nights, *as I fell down at the first*, because Jehovah had said He would destroy you.'

Whereas, according to the older story, he fasted these forty days and nights, when he had gone up into the mount the *second* time in obedience to the Divine command, E.xxxiv.1,2,28:

'And Jehovah said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest, And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto Mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me in the top of the mount. . . . And he was there with Jehovah forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And He wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.'

624. But this very command, 'Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount,' is represented by the Deuteronomist, x.1, as having been, apparently, issued *after* the forty days' fasting of Moses, and as a gracious answer to it.

KNOBEL notices also that, in E.xxxii.15, nothing is said about the mount 'burning with fire,' and that there also Moses descends with the two tables 'in his hand,' but here, D.ix.15, 'in his two hands,' that is, held upon his breast. In D.x.3, however, Moses says, 'I went up into the mount with the two tables in mine hand.'

So, too, the older record is silent about Jehovah's anger against Aaron and the intercession of Moses on his behalf, D.ix.20.

In N.xi.3,35, Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah appear to be different names of one and the same encampment; comp. N.x.33, xi.3, with xxxiii.16: the Deuteronomist, *v*.22, seems to regard them as names of different places.

There are also other contradictions to the narrative as told in E.xxxii,xxxiv, which will be considered in their proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

DEUT.X.1–XI.32.

625. D.x.1–5.

Great contradiction exists between the narrative here and that in the book of Exodus: in the words of KNOBEL, 'the writer here treats the older records with great freedom.' It will be observed that in E.xxxiv.29 the two stone-tables with the Ten Commandments are in the hands of Moses, before any receptacle has been made in which to place them. *Here*, however, the Ark is commanded to be made, *v.*1, and is actually made, *v.*3, *at the same time* with the second set of tables, *before* Moses goes up into the mount to receive them. But the account in Exodus makes this impossible. Not only is there nothing said about the Ark in E.xxxiv.1, where he is commanded to make the tables; but it is only after coming down with the second set of tables that Moses, E.xxxv.10–12, summons the 'wise-hearted' to 'come and make all that Jehovah hath commanded, the Tabernacle, and his tent, and his covering, &c., the *Ark* and the staves thereof with the Mercy-seat, &c.,' and afterwards, in E.xxxvii.1–9, we have the full account of Bezaleel making it. And yet the Ark of the Deuteronomist was not, as might be suggested, a mere temporary *Ark*; for he makes Moses say, *v.*5:—

'I turned myself, and came down from the Mount, and *put the tables into the Ark which I had made, and there they be*, as Jehovah commanded me.'

626. Upon this point SCOTT observes:—

'Probably, before Moses ascended the Mount the second time, he gave express orders to Bezaleel to get the Ark ready against he came down; and, having *directed*

and *ordered* the making of it, he speaks as if he had made it; as Solomon is said to have builded the Temple, which he caused to be builded by the hands of others.'

Ans. Of course, there is no difficulty in supposing that, what Moses ordered to be made, he may be said to have made himself. The difficulty is that, according to the story in Exodus, the orders were plainly *given*, xxxv.10, and *executed*, xxxvii.1–9, *after* Moses came down from the mount with the second set of tables, which involves a direct contradiction to the account in Deuteronomy.

'Some, however, think that Moses prepared the Ark himself, as made of shittim-wood, and carried it up with the tables into the mount, and that Bezaleel afterwards covered it with gold.'

Ans. But the text of E.xxxvii.1,2, will not allow of this—'Bezaleel *made the Ark of shittim-wood:* two cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it. And he *overlaid it with pure gold within and without*, &c.'

627. But may we not have here also a sign of time? We have already noticed the fact (548.xiii) that the *Tabernacle*, which is so constantly mentioned in the middle three books of the Pentateuch, is never once named by the Deuteronomist under either of its designations, מִשְׁכָּן, *mishkan*, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *ohel mohed*. May not this, perhaps, have arisen from the fact that he was living in a later age, when David's *Tabernacle* had long passed away out of the sight and memory of men, and the writer, consequently, did not recognise its existence to himself so vividly, as he did that of the *Ark*, which he mentions in x.1,2,3,5,8, xxxi.9,25,26, and which was actually present, in his own days, in the Holy Place of the Temple? On the other hand, the earlier writer, living, as we suppose, in the later days of David, or the beginning of Solomon's reign, would have had the Tabernacle on Mount Zion before him, as his help in realising the idea of the Tent in the wilderness.

628. D.x.6,7.

'And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera; there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the Priest's office in his stead. From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah, and from Gudgodah to Jotbath, a land of rivers of waters.'

This passage is evidently quite out of its place, and, as here introduced, it involves a complete contradiction. For the death of Aaron is here described as happening *before* the separation of the Levites, *v.*8,9,—'*at that time* Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi, &c.,' which took place, according to the older story, in his life-time, N.iii.5,6,9,—

'And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them before Aaron the Priest, that they may minister unto him .... And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to all his sons; they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel .... And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of the firstborn that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel; therefore the Levites shall be mine.'

Nor can the difficulty be relieved by understanding the expression 'at that time' in a general sense, as equivalent to '*about* that time;' for the death of Aaron took place in the *fortieth* year of the wanderings, N.xxxiii.38, and the separation of the Levites in the *second*, N.i.1.

629. It is possible that D.x.6,7, may be a fragment of the older record. But, even then, it is at variance with N.xxxiii. 31–33, where the order of march is given from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan; whereas here we have just the opposite, from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan (Bene-jaakan) to Mosera (Moseroth). Again, we are here told that, Aaron died at *Mosera*; whereas in N.xxxiii.31–38 we read that they marched from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan, thence to Hor-hagidgad (Gudgodah), thence to Jotbathah (Jotbath), and three stations afterwards they reach Kadesh, and thence proceed to Mount Hor, where Aaron died.

SCHULTZ, *Deut.p.*362, explains the matter as follows:—

Mosera was the station whence Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar ascended *Mount Hor*, N.xx.27, and *Bene-Jaakan* was a place in the *district* of *Kadesh*; so that '*Moseroth* to *Bene-Jaakan*,' N.xxxiii.31, = '*Mount Hor* to *Kadesh*'; and we have these same names in *reverse* order on the *return* march in N.xxxiii.37, D.x.6, '*Kadesh* to *Mount Hor*.'

Ans. But we have '*Gudgodah* to *Jotbath*,' D.x.7, in *direct* order, as in N.xxxiii.33, whereas these names also ought to have been in *reverse* order.

SCOTT observes on this passage, D.x.6,7 :—

These verses so break in upon the connexion of Moses's discourse, that they perplex commentators. *It is evident that Moses did not much regard exactness of method in his discourse.* Yet, perhaps, by some means a transposition has taken place; for these verses would come in more regularly after v.11. . . . Several of the places mentioned seem to have had more names than one; and some particulars, which for want of further information we cannot reconcile with other accounts, might be perfectly intelligible to the Israelites.

630. D.x.8,9.

'At that time Jehovah separated the *tribe of Levi*, to bear the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah, to *stand before Jehovah to minister unto Him*, and to *bless in His Name*, unto this day. Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren; Jehovah is his inheritance, according as Jehovah thy God promised him.'

It was the duty of the 'sons of Kohath,'—not of the Levites generally,—to bear the Ark, N.iv.15.

But the duty of 'blessing in the name of Jehovah' is expressly assigned to the *Priests*, 'Aaron and his sons,' in N.vi.22–27, and is, accordingly, performed by Aaron, in L.ix.22. So, too, 'the Priests, the sons of Aaron,' were to *stand before Jehovah to minister unto Him*, whereas the Levites were to be presented (Heb. 'made to *stand*') *before Aaron the Priest, that they may minister unto him*, N.iii.6, or to *stand before the congregation, to minister unto them*, N.xvi.9, xviii.2.

And so, too, we read, xviii.6–8,—

'And, if a *Levite* come from any of thy gates out of all Israel where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which Jehovah shall choose, then he shall minister in the Name of Jehovah his God, *as all his brethren the Levites* do, which *stand there before Jehovah*. They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.'

This agrees with what we have already observed of the Deuteronomist, that he knows nothing whatever of that very sharp distinction between Priests and Levites, which the books of Leviticus and Numbers exhibit throughout, and which Jehovah himself is supposed to have made only a few months previously in N.xviii; but he calls the former always 'sons of

Levi' and never, as the other writers do, 'sons of Aaron.' Hence he says:—

'For Jehovah thy God hath chosen him (*Levi*) out of all thy tribes, *to stand to minister* in the name of Jehovah, him and his sons for ever,' xviii.5;

'And the Priests, *the sons of Levi*, shall come near; for them Jehovah thy God hath chosen, to minister unto Him and to bless in the Name of Jehovah,' xxi.5.

631. So in N.xviii.20 the declaration, 'I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel,' is made only with reference to Aaron and his sons; and so in N.xxxi.28,29, 'Jehovah's tribute' of the spoil of the Midianites was given to Eleazar the Priest; while the Levites received their share from the 'children of Israel,' *v.*30. But here it is said, 'Jehovah is the inheritance' of *Levi*, generally; see also xviii.2.

Here also, and in xxxi.25, the Levites are to carry the Ark, which agrees, as we have said, in some sense, with the *command* in N.iv.15, and the *practice* in N.x.21; but in xxxi.9 we read of 'the *Priests*, the sons of Levi, the bearers of the Ark.' So in 1K.viii.3 'the *Priests* took up the Ark;' and, if it be said that this was a grand occasion at the dedication of the Temple, on which they might be expected to depart from the ordinary custom, and discharge themselves the duty of the inferior order, yet in 1K.ii.26 Solomon says to the *Priest* Abiathar, 'I will not at this time put thee to death, because *thou barest the Ark* of Jehovah Elohim before David my father.'

And so the *Levites* are to utter the curses, xxvii.14, and to put the Book of the Law 'beside (מִצַּד, *mitsad*, E.V. 'in the side of') the Ark,' xxxi.25; whereas, according to N.iv.15, the Levites were not even to come near to carry the Ark, till the Priests had covered it; and Aaron was expressly ordered to keep them from touching the holy vessels, N.xviii.3:—

'Only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the Sanctuary and the Altar, that neither they, nor ye also, die.'

* 632. D.x.9.

'Wherefore Levi *had* no (לֹא הָיָה לְלֵוִי, *lo hayah leLevi*, lit. 'there *was* not to Levi') part nor inheritance with his brethren.'

The Deuteronomist, in order to have carried out properly the part of Moses, should have written, 'Wherefore Levi *shall have* no part with his brethren'; for the Israelites are still supposed to be only on the point of crossing the Jordan, and no partition of the Holy Land had yet been made among them. It is plain that he writes from a later state of things than that of Moses, when the separate position of the Levites, as ministers of the Sanctuary, was recognised in Israel.

633. RIEHM, *p.*37, tries to distinguish here between the Priests and Levites. He supposes the former to be spoken of in *v.*1–5, and the latter in *v.*6–8. But he adds: —

The service of the Levites is here denoted by the very same words which are used elsewhere to denote that of the Priests, viz. 'minister in the name of Jehovah,' *v.*7, (comp.xviii.5,xxi.5,) and 'stand before *Jehovah*,' *v.*7, (comp.xviii.5, xvii.12, and the contrary expression, 'stand before the *congregation*,' used of the Levites in N.xvi.9). So, then, it is here set forth that the ministering Levites received their support out of the Temple income, and through this law the right is maintained for every Levite that used to take part in that ministry. We cannot here think either of the 'tithes' or the 'offerings' and 'firstlings,' which belonged to the Priests alone, and must, consequently, assume that here reference is made to other supplies accruing to the Temple through vows, free-will gifts, and otherwise, and preserved in the treasuries and storehouses, and that from these, in the time of the Deuteronomist, the ministering Levites received their support. How much, however, this is at variance with the directions of the other books is obvious.

634. D.xi.6.

Here the destruction of 'Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben,' is mentioned; but nothing is said about the death of 'Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi,' who, according to N.xvi, perished fearfully at the same time, and who was, indeed, as appears from that narrative, the leader in the rebellion in question; nor is any notice taken of the destruction of the 'two hundred and fifty men, (Levites, apparently,) who offered incense.' *v.*5–11,35.

This, too, agrees with the practice of the Deuteronomist, in making no distinction between Priests and Levites. The sin of Korah and his company is stated to have been this, that, though

only *Levites*, they 'sought the *Priesthood* also,' N.xvi.10. This, it would seem, was considered to be not such a very grievous offence in the days of the Deuteronomist.

635. D.xi.14,15.

'*I* will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And *I* will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle, that thou mayest eat and be full.'

Here the writer passes unconsciously, from speaking in the assumed character of Moses, to speaking directly in the person of Jehovah. This single instance—(see also the similar instance in xxix.5,6,)—is sufficient to satisfy us as to the real nature of this book and its unhistorical character.

SCHULTZ observes here, *Deut. p.*379: —

'Moses knows himself to be so entirely at one here, in all that he says, with the Lord, that he involuntarily passes over to introduce the Lord Himself as speaking, without having expressly indicated Him. The discourse gains hence, exactly here in the promise, where it was very appropriate, a special emphasis.'

Ans. There are many such promises scattered throughout the book, and some much stronger than these now before us, as in xxviii.1–14. How is it that in none of those the writer 'involuntarily passes over' in this way?

The LXX has avoided the difficulty, which probably was perceived by the translators, and reads, 'And *He* will give you rain, &c.'

*636. D.xi.29,30.

I have already (242) drawn attention to the anachronism involved in the mention of the name 'Gilgal' in this passage, supposed to have been uttered by Moses in his address, before the name was given to the place by Joshua, as related in Jo.v.9.

One of my Reviewers, however, (*Guardian*, Feb. 11, 1863,) has remarked upon the above criticism as follows: —

'Here is a blunder so gross that the man, who could perpetrate it, ought to be for ever discredited as a caviller against Scripture. For nothing can be clearer than that there are two Gilgals, at least, mentioned in Scripture, one near Jericho, where Joshua crossed the Jordan, and the other mentioned in the above-cited passage of Deuteronomy, and also in Jo.xii.23. This last is identified and dis-

tinguished from the former Gilgal as 'beside the plains of Moreh.' The two places are scores of miles apart, and will be found set down quite distinctly in a good map of ancient Palestine. The site of the Gilgal 'beside the plains of Moreh,' over against Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, or in the neighbourhood of the 'coast of Dor,' Jo.xii.23, 'is still marked by the large modern village of Jilgilia to the left of the Nablûs road, about two hours north of Bethel.' (SMITH'S *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, Art. *Gilgal.*) Now we could easily pardon Bishop COLENSO'S ignorance of the fact that there were assuredly two Gilgals, though certainly, before a man comes forward to except against ancient documents of established credit, he might be expected to inform himself on such matters: we could regard with indulgence his slip as to the locality of the plains of Moreh, though Moreh be not an unfamiliar name, (*vide e.g.* G.xii.6, Ju.vii.1): but what shall we say as to the stupendous blunder, involved in the above extract, of supposing Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim to be on the banks of the Jordan? Between these two mountains was the famous Shechem, for a time the capital of Ephraim; on the latter of them was in later times the Temple, the chief seat of the Samaritan worship. Yet all, and with them the scene from our Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria, are by implication transferred by this D.D. to the place where Joshua crossed the Jordan! We don't doubt that the Natal Sunday Schools have more than one sharp Zulu scholar, 'a simple-minded, but intelligent, native—one with the docility of a child, but the reasoning powers of mature age,' who will be enabled to enlighten his Bishop about the geography of the Holy Land. We heartily wish that the exposure of this gross mistake may tend to make the Bishop more careful and more modest for the future.'

Ans. The Reviewer has evidently not observed that in (326) I have distinctly connected 'the plains (rather, oaks) of Moreh' with mount Gerizim, and have also spoken of that mountain as 'in a *central* situation, visible to all the country round.' It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that I 'have committed the stupendous blunder, of supposing Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim to be on the banks of the Jordan.'

Some, it is true, as KNOBEL (on D.xi.30), suppose that the Gilgal here spoken of is different from the Gilgal near Jericho. Even if this were true, the argument in (242) would still remain. If there had been such a place known to their fathers, when they left Canaan to go down to Egypt two hundred and fifty years before, (though no such place is named in the histories of Genesis,) yet how could Moses reckon upon it as still existing, and still called by this name, or how could he speak to the people as knowing these facts? Or, if we suppose *Moses* to have known of this place by special Divine Inspiration, yet how could it be here mentioned, as a place with which the *people* were quite familiar, and by reference to which they might determine the site of mounts Ebal and Gerizim?

But what valid reason is there for supposing that the Gilgal in D.xi.30 is different from that near Jericho, where Joshua pitched his camp? The only ground for this supposition, (except, of course, the anachronism which we are now considering,) seems to be that it is imagined that the description here given of the two

mountains would place them *near* Gilgal, and, therefore, near the banks of the Jordan, whereas their position was nearly central between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. But the expression in D.xi.30 does not imply at all that Gerizim and Ebal were *near* Gilgal. 'Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down (=towards the west), *in the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah over against Gilgal*, beside the oaks of Moreh?' The phrase 'over against Gilgal, מוּל הַגִּלְגָּל, *mul hag Gilgal*,' seems to be used to mark the position of those tribes of the Canaanites, which are here referred to, as not being in the *north* or *south*, but about the *middle* of the Holy Land. In fact, the very mention of 'the land of the Canaanites which dwell, &c.,' implies, not a place, but a *tract of country*, which might reach away from the Jordan to some distance, though capable of being described generally as 'over against,' = 'about the latitude of,' Gilgal. The more exact position of the mountains is defined by the words 'beside (near) the oaks (terebinths) of Moreh.'

Again, it is plain that some *famous* Gilgal must here be referred to,—not a place of lesser note, if any such there was, which might happen to bear the name of Gilgal. If there were *two*, or even *three* or *four*, Gilgals, as KNOBEL supposes, existing before the time of Moses and Joshua, the Gilgal here mentioned *must* surely have been the most distinguished of them all, or else it would not have been merely named, without any further definition, as a guide to the Israelites towards determining the site of the two mountains; and, indeed, unless the place were *very notable*, it would have been much more natural to have referred to these remarkable mountains as determining the situation of the place, instead of referring to the place in order to identify the mountains. Now the Gilgal near Jericho is, as KNOBEL himself says, (on Jo. xv.7,) 'very often mentioned, *e.g.* as the place where Joshua erected twelve stones, Jo.iv.19,20, which, in a later day, seem to have been replaced by *hewn* stones, Ju.iii.19,—where also he circumcised the Israelites, Jo.v.9,10, and had his camp for a long time, Jo.ix.6, x.6,7,9,15,43, xiv.6, Mic.vi.5,—where Samuel held public assemblies, and consecrated Saul, 1S.vii.16, x.8, xi,14,15, —where Saul undertook to offer sacrifice, 1S.xiii.4,7,8,12,15, xv.12,21,33,—whither David came on his return home, 2S.xix.15,40. As the first place where Israel encamped in Canaan it was a holy town.' KNOBEL considers also that the same place is referred to in Jo.xv.7. And he has here quoted *every* passage in Joshua, Judges, and the books of Samuel, where the name Gilgal is mentioned, and referred them all to the Gilgal by Jericho,—except *one*, Jo.xii.23, 'The king of Dor in the coast of Dor, one; the king of the nations of Gilgal, one;' and here he supposes another Gilgal to be meant, the same as in D.xi.30. His words are these (on D.xi.30): 'The Gilgal named for the definition of the site of Gerizim and Ebal must have been remarkable, and is, therefore, probably, the seat of royalty mentioned in Jo.xii.23. EUSEBIUS and JEROME speak of a *Galgulis*, six miles, or about two hours, north of Antipatris [on the sea-coast], the modern *Kefr-Saba*, west of Nablous. That would be the modern *Kilkilia*, a small tract north-east of *Kefr-Saba*, which, according to others, is called *Gilgoul*. There is also a *Jiljuleh* south-east of Kefr-Saba, on the road from Egypt to Damascus,

which formerly must have been remarkable. One of these two is meant here [*i.e.* in D.xi.30],—perhaps, also the district, since it was named after the place. Different from this is the Gilgal by Jericho, as well as the modern *Jiljilia*, south of Nablous, a large village which lies very high, and commands an extensive prospect. Probably this Jiljilia is the same as the Gilgal, from which Elijah and Elisha *went down* to Bethel, 2K.ii.1, and where Elisha was afterwards found, 2K.iv.38, the same also as the famous place of idolatrous worship, Hos.iv.15, ix.15, xii.11, Am.iv.4, v.5.'

We have now had brought before us *every single instance* in the Bible, where the word Gilgal is named. All the passages just quoted, however, are referred by Canon STANLEY to the Gilgal by Jericho, *Jewish Church*, *p.*230: 'Gilgal long retained reminiscences of its ancient sanctity. The twelve stones taken up from the bed of the Jordan continued at least till the time of the composition of the Book of Joshua, and seem to have been invested with a reverence, which came to be regarded at last as idolatrous, Ju.iii.19,26, Hos.iv.15,ix.15,xii.11,Am.iv.4,v.5.' Equally plain it seems to be that the Gilgal named in 2K.ii.1, iv.38, is the same 'Gilgal by Jericho.' It was a place where 'sons of the prophets' lived, 2K.iv.38–41, as they would be likely to do at a place so hallowed; and it was *near the Jordan*, 2K.vi.4, which seems at once to decide the question. It is not said that Elijah and Elisha 'went down' *from Gilgal* to Bethel; but 'Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal,' 2K.ii.1; and *on the way*, apparently, the conversation in *v.*2 is supposed to have taken place; and so 'they went down to Bethel.' They may be supposed, therefore, to have reached some place, where Bethel was either *below* or *to the south of* them; in which case they would be said to 'go down' to it.

On Jo.xii.23, KEIL writes as follows:—'*King of the Goyim at Gilgal.* The word גּוֹיִם, *Goyim*, 'nations,' generally means *Gentiles*; but this rendering does not seem appropriate here, since all the Canaanites were, of course, Gentiles. And from the fact that in G.xiv.1 a king of the Goyim (E.V. 'nations') is mentioned in connection with Shinar, Ellasar, and Elam, it seems most natural to suppose that there were certain tribes, called by the *Proper* Name of 'Goyim,' and that the inhabitants of Gilgal belonged to these tribes. The Gilgal mentioned here is not the city spoken of in Jo.ix.6, x.6, &c., and D.xi.30, which still exists in the village of *Jiljilia*; but is the town by the name of Galgulis about six miles north of Antipatris, which is still to be seen as a village in *Jiljule*.'

It will be seen that KNOBEL and KEIL, while both holding that the Gilgal of D.xi.30 is not the Gilgal-by-Jericho, yet are directly at variance with each other in determining *what* Gilgal it is. KNOBEL says it is the royal city in Jo.xii.23, and not *Jiljilia*; KEIL says it is *Jiljilia*, and *not* the place in Jo.xii.23. From what has been said, it can scarcely be doubted that it really is neither the one nor the other, but is meant to be the famous Gilgal-by-Jericho, to which so much celebrity was attached in all times of the Hebrew history.

As regards the 'king of the tribes at Gilgal,' it is possible that the place near Antipatris may be meant, as both KNOBEL and KEIL suppose, since the places named in the immediate context before and after, *v.*20–24, Shimron, Achsaph, Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor, Gilgal, Tirzah, were all in this neigh-

bourhood. There is, however, a great leap in the map from Kedesh or Kadesh-Naphtali to Jokneam, and still greater from Megiddo to Kedesh, the order of the places being so confused and retrograde that it can scarcely be believed that the list of conquered kings is intended to be regarded as expressing the *topographical* order of the places, and, indeed, KEIL observes, (on Jo.xii.15), 'Historical considerations prevail in this list above the geographical; and hence the fact, that two places are mentioned in immediate connection, does not involve their having originally stood close together.' Indeed, the leap from Dor to Gilgal-by-Jericho would be not much more than from Megiddo to Kedesh. It may be noted that in *every* instance where Gilgal is named, except in Jo.xii.23, it is always used with the *article*, הַגִּלְגָּל, *hag-Gilgal*; whereas in this particular instance we have simply מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל, *melek goyim lĕGilgal*, the 'chief of the tribes at Gilgal.' This may, perhaps, indicate a different place from *the* Gilgal. And, in fact, the LXX has *βασιλέα Γεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, 'king of *Gey of Galilee*,' which suggests that the original reading may have been מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגָלִיל, *melek goyim lĕGalil*, 'king of the nations of Galilee;' comp. גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, *Gĕlil haggoyim*, 'Galilee of the nations,' Is.viii.29(ix.1). But it is impossible to suppose that such an obscure place as this, whose very existence is doubtful, which is placed on the sea-coast, and is named only this once in the Bible, can be meant as a mark by which the two mountains, which were so remarkable in themselves, might be distinguished from other mountains.

KEIL, however, as we have seen, supposes that the modern village of *Jiljilia* is the site of Gilgal in Jo.ix.6,x.6, &c. as well as in D.xi.30, and he further identifies it with the Gilgal mentioned in Judges and 1Samuel—directly in opposition again to KNOBEL. His words are these (on Jo.ix.5): 'Gilgal, though regarded by the great body of commentators and geographers as the same place as that in which the Israelites first encamped, Jo.iv.19, is a different place altogether. It was no other than the Gilgal which we frequently meet with in Judges and 1Samuel, situated on the mountains in the vicinity of Bethel, and which still exists under the name of *Jiljilia*. . . . . Nothing but the fact of there being no other Gilgal in Canaan could justify us in supposing that the present Gilgal was situated in the valley of the Jordan. But, as there was another, and it is said moreover to have stood opposite to the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, D.xi.30, we assume without hesitation that Joshua pitched his tent there. *For we dare not for a moment attribute to Joshua the folly of going back, after he had penetrated to the very heart of the country, and again taking up his position on the extreme eastern border of the land, thus leaving the Canaanites at perfect liberty to move unfettered amidst the very cities and places that he had already conquered.*'

KEIL, it appears, assuming the *historical truth* of the narrative in the book of Joshua, finds that Joshua would have been guilty of a great act of 'folly,' if he had done what he is there said to have done; and, therefore, he makes no scruple of assuming that he *must* have changed his camp from one Gilgal to another Gilgal; though the first name was given by himself to the place of encampment, to commemorate the occasion of circumcising the people, Jo.v.9; and, therefore, if he did remove to a second Camp, called by the same name, it would be the natural and

almost necessary conclusion, that he himself gave it the name of Gilgal, in commemoration of the former Camp, in which case the arguments against the historical value of the record in D.xi.30 would remain as before, since this place, 'opposite the mountains Ebal and Gerizim,' could not have received its name of Gilgal, till Joshua's time. But, in truth, there is not the slightest pretence for supposing that the story intends this camp of Joshua to be removed from *the* Gilgal by Jericho.

He adds: 'It may be objected to this that we are not told that Joshua removed the camp to Gilgal [*i.e.* this *second* Gilgal] after the capture of Ai. This is true, but it proves nothing, as anyone may perceive who reflects that in Jo.viii.30 we find no account of his proceeding from Ai to the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, and that in fact the book does not give a consecutive account of all the marches and tactics of Joshua, but merely a cursory description, from the theocratic point of view, of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites under Joshua. It was, no doubt, the favourable opportunities, which Gilgal [this second Gilgal] afforded to Joshua for the execution of his plans both in the North and South of the land, that induced him to select it as his head-quarters. It was in the centre of the country, situated upon a steep hill with good table-land upon the top, and commanded a most extensive prospect of the large plain in the west, and also towards the north and east.'

But a reference to Jo.viii.30 will show that the cases are not at all similar, though we do not regard that record as historically true. In fact the account of Joshua's sacrifice in Jo.iv.30,31, comes in disjointedly and is obviously quite out of place, being suitable only to a time when the whole country had been conquered, not to the time at which it is placed. Who can suppose that 'all the congregation of Israel,' including 'the women and the little ones and the strangers,' *v.*30, had marched into the very heart of the country, when the army had done nothing beyond taking the towns of Jericho and Ai?

But it is impossible to believe that in Jo.v.10 it should be written, 'the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal,' and in Jo.ix.6, 'they went to Joshua unto the Camp at Gilgal,' and that no intimation whatever should be given that the places of encampment, though called by the same name, were entirely different. Besides, the Gilgal, in Jo.iv.19 seems to have been near 'the city of palm-trees,' Ju.iii.13, that is, Jericho, D.xxxiv.3. And so in 1S.x.8 Samuel speaks of 'Saul *going down* to Gilgal,' which would suit very well the Gilgal by Jericho, but could hardly have been used of such a place as KEIL supposes, 'situated on a steep hill,' near Ebal and Gerizim, and, therefore, lying to the *north* both of Samuel at Ramah and of Saul at Gibeah.

Upon the whole, we conclude that there is no reason to doubt that the Gilgal mentioned in D.xi.30 is Gilgal-by-Jericho, and that, consequently, we have here a remarkable anachronism in the narrative. It is open, of course, for any one to say that this verse is a later interpolation. But what did the Israelites know of *Ebal* or *Gerizim* at the time when the words in D.xi.29 are supposed to have been spoken?

CHAPTER VII.

DEUT.XII.1–XIII.18.

*637. D.xii.2–8.

'Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree; and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their Asheras (E.V. 'groves') with fire, and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Ye shall not do so unto Jehovah your God. But unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put His Name there, even unto His habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come; and thither ye shall bring your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, &c. . . . Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.'

Here we have the first time the announcement, which we find in none of the earlier books of the Pentateuch—not even in N.xxviii, xxix, where the laws of the offerings at the different festivals are laid down, it is supposed, by the Divine Being himself, only a few months previously,—but which is repeated again and again in this Book of Deuteronomy, *viz.* that there should be one special place, which Jehovah would 'choose out of all the tribes to put His Name there.' All this—(if we assume that Deuteronomy was written at a later age than the rest of the Pentateuch)—is indicative of such a time as that of Hezekiah, 2K.xviii.4, or, more probably, Josiah, 2K.xxiii.4–20, for the composition of this book.

638. The idea, indeed, of *drawing* the affections of the people to Jerusalem, existed, no doubt, in the time of David and Solomon. But the notion of requiring them to bring to the

Temple all their 'burnt-offerings, sacrifices, tithes, heave-offerings, and vows,' *v.*11, and making attendance at Jerusalem *compulsory* three times a year, xvi.16, could scarcely have arisen in an age, when Solomon, though he 'loved Jehovah, walking in the statutes of David his father,' yet 'sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places,' 1K.iii.3, and specially at the 'great high place' of Gibeon, *v.*4, (whereas the Ark, the symbol of God's Presence, was at that time in the Tabernacle on Mount Zion,) nor in an age when the people of the Ten Tribes would have had to travel all the way to Jerusalem for that purpose. We do not read that the prophets of Israel, such as Elijah or Elisha, ever went to Jerusalem to keep the Passover, or obeyed the solemn command to go up thrice in every year to the 'place which Jehovah had chosen.' And the most pious kings, such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, Hezekiah's grandfather, still sacrificed without hesitation on the high places, and brought their offerings to other altars than that erected in the Temple,—which they would not have done, we must believe, if this law existed, and was known to be of Divine, or even of Mosaic, origin.

639. RIEHM observes, *Gesetzgebung in Lande Moab*, *p.*40:—

It was certainly impracticable that every Israelite out of the *whole* land should come to Jerusalem to make atonement for every trespass wittingly or unwittingly committed.

According to the older law in L.v,vi, sacrifices were to be offered for trespasses of every day occurrence, *e.g.*—

'If a soul touch any unclean thing, whether it be a carcase of an unclean beast, or a carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean creeping things, and *it be hidden from him*, he also shall be unclean and guilty,' L.v.2;

'If he touch the uncleanness of man, whatsoever uncleanness it be that a man shall be defiled withal, and *it be hid from him*, when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty,' *v.*3;

'If a soul commit a trespass, and *sin through ignorance*, in the holy things of Jehovah, then he shall bring for his trespass unto Jehovah a ram, &c.' *v.*15;

'If a soul sin, and commit any of those things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of Jehovah, *though he wist it not*, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity; and he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock

for a trespass offering, unto the Priest . . he hath certainly trespassed against Jehovah,' *v.*18,19.

In short, comparing *v.*2, above quoted, with L.xi.29,30, where among 'unclean creeping things' are registered the 'mole,' 'mouse,' 'tortoise,' 'frog,' 'snail,' and certain lizards, anyone who accidentally touched the carcase of one of these, by that act 'had certainly trespassed against Jehovah,' and must offer a trespass offering.

640. It is impossible to believe that such laws were ever expected literally to be carried out, much less that they were ever uttered by the Almighty, as in that case they must have so entirely confused all principles of right and wrong in the minds of the people. They were laid down, as we believe, and shall hereafter give our reasons for believing, in the days of Solomon, when the Temple Services were first instituted, and some directory was needed for the guidance of the Priests in such matters as these, as well as for regulating the supply for the Priests themselves from the offerings of the people. And thus we find the prescriptions laid down, not as for the wilderness only, but especially for the settled life in the Holy Land, by the express mention of 'turtle doves' and 'young pigeons' as victims in *v.*7,11.

641. There is no sign, however, that such laws were *promulgated* among the people at large: though, doubtless, pious persons were taught by the Priests their duty in this respect, and some would at all times wish to be cleansed, by the appointed course of sacrifice, from any special pollutions of this kind, which they had contracted. But it cannot be supposed that for each such offence, however trifling, it was needful for every Israelite, who desired to obey strictly the (supposed) Law of Jehovah his God, to go up with a sacrifice to Jerusalem, whether from the distant Dan, a journey of two hundred miles, or from the trans-Jordanic lands, when that river 'overflowed its banks in time of harvest.' And, though the Deuteronomist seems to include all manner of sacrifices in

*v.*6, yet he seems afterwards, in *v.*13,14, to restrict the command to 'burnt-offerings' only, and allows that the places, 'which Jehovah would choose to put His Name there,' might be 'too far' for them to allow of their going up to it in order to kill, when they wished to 'eat flesh,' *v.*15,21.

642. But, doubtless, the Temple, with its comparative grandeur and its choral services, *was* the means of drawing many from all parts of the land to Jerusalem,—more especially as the older Sanctuaries at Ramah, Bethel, Mizpeh, &c. seem to have been discontinued at the time when David erected his Tabernacle on Mount Zion. The 'high places,' indeed, were still left standing at Gibeon and elsewhere; and it is possible that many still continued the custom, which the older laws seem to have allowed, E.xx.24, xxiii.14,17, of presenting themselves before Jehovah three times a year, by frequenting the high place nearest to their own neighbourhood. But others, no doubt, would be attracted by the new Temple and its services, which probably surpassed even those of David's Tabernacle. The presence of the Court would be an additional inducement. And, doubtless, also, there was a continual *pressure*, though, perhaps, of a gentle kind, exerted upon the people, to draw them more and more to Jerusalem. Hence we find Jeroboam fully aware of the political tendency of this practice, 1K.xii.27,—

'If this people go up to do sacrifice in the House of Jehovah at Jerusalem, then shall the hearts of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Judah.'

And, accordingly, he says to the Ten Tribes, 'It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem,' and sets up the calves in Dan and Bethel, marking these as the principal places of concourse for his people on festal occasions.

643. In Solomon's days, however, the time was not yet ripe for a formal command that 'all the males' should go up to Jerusalem at each of the great Feasts. Rather, the announcement of such a law seems to point to a time, when the Ten Tribes had

been carried off into captivity, and *there remained only the small centralised kingdom of Judah.* In that case, the injunction, that all the males should go up to Jerusalem three times a year from all parts of the land, would not have been so utterly extravagant, or so impossible to be obeyed, as the people could all be living within a day or two's journey of the capital. But even then the inconveniences must have been so very great, that it is incredible that such a law could ever have been strictly and habitually acted on, as its language requires. Nor is there any indication in the history of its ever having been put in practice, except once in the days of Josiah, when, probably, as we have seen (571), this very Book of Deuteronomy had just been found in the Temple.

644. And this view is confirmed, as we have said (620,638), by the fact that the best of the kings of Judah, down to the time of Hezekiah, are spoken of in the Books of Kings—and without any very *strong* word of censure, though the Chronicler, writing in a much later day, condemns their conduct in this respect—as allowing the people still to sacrifice in the high places, while the Ark was now set up at Jerusalem, as Asa, 1K.xv.14, Jehoshaphat, xxii.43, Joash, 2K.xii.3, Amaziah, xiv.4, Uzziah, xv.4, Jotham, xv.35. In each of these cases there is some decisive language used in commendation of the king's conduct: thus —

Asa's 'heart was perfect with Jehovah all his days,'—

Jehoshaphat 'walked in all the ways of Asa his father, he turned not aside from it, doing that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah,'—

Joash 'did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, all his days *wherein Jehoiada the Priest instructed him*,'—

Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham,—each 'did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, yet not like David his father; he did according to all things as his father had done.'

And in each case it is added,—

'Howbeit the high places were not removed; the people sacrificed and burned incense still in the high places.'

645. It can hardly be believed that the stringent commands of the Book of Deuteronomy, to 'utterly destroy' all the high places

of the heathen, and sacrifice to Jehovah only at Jerusalem, could have been read and studied by these pious princes, much less *copied*, as D.xvii.18–20 directs, by each of them with his own hand, when seated upon the throne of his kingdom. More especially does this apply to the case of Joash, who began to reign when seven years old, 2K.xi.21, and for the greater part of his life was directed wholly by the High Priest, Jehoiada.

646. Hezekiah, 2K.xviii.4, seems to have been the first of the kings of Judah, who set himself to destroy the high places, which, although originally intended for the worship of Jehovah, were probably perverted, more or less, to the practice of idolatry, and, as such, had become fruitful nurseries of vice. In his time, or shortly before it, the prophets, Hosea in Israel, Isaiah and Micah in Judah, had condemned, in strong terms, the worship on high places.

'They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains,
And burn incense upon the hills,
Under oaks and poplars and elms,
Because the shadow thereof is good;
Therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom,
And your daughters-in-law shall commit adultery.
I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom,
Nor your daughters-in-law when they commit adultery;
For themselves are separated with whores,
And they sacrifice habitually with harlots.' Hos.iv.13,14.

'Ye shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have desired,
And ye shall be confounded for the gardens which ye have chosen.' Is.i.29.

'For the transgression of Jacob is all this,
And for the sins of the House of Israel.
What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria?
And what are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem?' Mic.i.5.

647. It is probable that such prophetic words as these were sharpened by the fact of the Ten Tribes having been carried captive in the sixth year of Hezekiah, by which his *zeal also* may have been stimulated to destroy the high places, and check the other idolatrous practices of Judah, 2K.xviii.4. But the very expressions in D.xii.8,—

'Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes,'—

wholly inapplicable, as they must surely be considered to be, to any conceivable condition of the people of Israel, in the 'plains of Moab,' with Moses himself in their midst, correspond thoroughly to the feelings of a Prophet writing in the age of Josiah, after the godless reigns of Manasseh and Amon. As RIEHM observes, *Gesetzgebung*, &c. *p.*30: —

The writer, in these words, betrays his consciousness that the attaching all public worship to one Sanctuary was *in his time* somewhat *new*, and that he is putting into the mouth of Moses what he himself could say of his own contemporaries, who sacrificed, as they chose, in various places. It seems to me certain that Moses himself could not have spoken such words as these in D.xii.8, if the real substance of L.xvii.1–9 and other laws of sacrifice are really his.

648. Upon the whole, it may be concluded that such a law as this, confining all sacrifices to Jerusalem, could not have been written before the age of Hezekiah. The destruction of the high places would be a practical measure, which would draw more direct attention to the Temple. In the reign of his son Manasseh, these high places were rebuilt, 2K.xxi.3, and idolatry, again prevailed throughout the land. The short reign of Amon, for two years only, 2K.xxi.19, continued the same corrupt practices. And then, as we suppose, may have been the time, in the early years of Josiah,—when the young king's piety, and the limited extent of his kingdom, together favoured the idea of realising such a unity of worship, by which idolatrous practices (it was supposed) might be effectually and for ever done away,—at which the attempt was made to *enforce* attendance at the Temple for all sacrifices, by the authority of a (supposed) Mosaic and Divine law.

* 649. D.xii.12.

'And the Levite that is within your gates.'

We must here draw special attention to the fact that the Deuteronomist in this verse, and throughout the whole book, instead of speaking of the Priests and Levites as about to be

settled in their forty-eight cities, N.xxxv.1–8, and as sure to be abundantly supplied with the necessaries of life from the sacrifices, tithes, and freewill offerings of the people, represents them everywhere — the *Levites*, at all events, and we have seen that in the term 'Levites' he includes the 'Priests' — as likely to be generally in a very necessitous condition, living as stragglers about the land, in 'any of the gates' of the people. It is true that in xviii.1–8 he makes some provision from the sacrifices for 'the Priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi,'— though here also, as we shall see (716—720), he is strikingly at variance with the older document. And in xvii.9–13, xix.17, xxi.5, certain judicial duties are assigned to them, at variance again (700, 703, 704) with the provisions of the older law. Further, in xxxiii.10,11, he speaks very highly of the office and dignity of the Levites: —

> 'They shall teach Jacob Thy judgments,
> And Israel Thy Law;
> They shall put incense before Thee,
> And whole burnt sacrifice upon Thine altar.
> Bless, O Jehovah, his substance,
> And accept the work of his hands;
> Smite through the loins of them that rise against him,
> And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.'

But he makes not the least allusion to their being settled in cities of their own; he takes it for granted that they will be mostly living 'within the gates' of others, and that the ordinary condition of a Levite—at least, of any that had *not* volunteered to 'come from any of the gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which Jehovah should choose,' xviii.6—would be one of utter poverty and dependence.

650. Thus, throughout the Book of Deuteronomy, the Levites are coupled continually with the poor and destitute, 'the widow, the stranger, and the fatherless.' Not a word is said of their having any divine right to *demand*, or, at least, to *expect*, the payment of *tithes* from the people, according to the provision,

supposed to have been made by Jehovah himself, N.xviii.21, only a few months before, through Moses, who is now represented to be speaking —

'Behold, I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance.'

But they are spoken of, again and again, as depending, like other necessitous persons, mainly upon the charity of others.

'And ye shall rejoice before Jehovah your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and *the Levite that is within thy gates*, forasmuch as he hath no part nor inheritance with you,' xii.12; so also *v.*18.

'Take heed to thyself that thou *forsake not the Levite*, as long as thou livest upon the earth,' xii.19.

'And *the Levite*, (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,) and *the stranger*, and *the fatherless*, and *the widow, that are within thy gates*, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied,' xiv.29.

'And thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and *the Levite that is within thy gates*, and *the stranger*, and *the fatherless*, and *the widow*, that are among you,' xvi.11.

'And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and *the Levite*, and *the stranger*, and *the fatherless*, and *the widow, that are within thy gates*,' xvi.14.

So we have 'the Levite and the stranger that is among you,' 'the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,' xxvi.11–13; and in xviii.6 the Levite is actually spoken of as one of the גֵּרִים, *gerim*, 'strangers' or 'sojourners' within the gates of others. And all this, as we have said, is supposed to be said by Moses only a few months after the laws had been laid down by Jehovah Himself, which provided for them abundant supplies of food, and cities of their own with their suburbs, thirty-six for the Levites, twelve for the Priests!

Not a trace of this poverty is found in the other books of the Pentateuch.

651. D.xii.15,16.

'Notwithstanding thou mayst kill and eat flesh in all thy gates, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, according to the blessing of Jehovah thy God, which he hath

given thee; the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roebuck and as of the hart. Only ye shall not eat the blood; ye shall pour it on the earth like water.'

It is obvious that this Law is directly at variance with L.xvii. 3,4, where it is said,—

'What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp, and bringeth it not unto the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, to offer an offering unto Jehovah before the Tabernacle of Jehovah, blood shall be imputed unto that man, he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people.'

652. RIEHM, *Gesetzgebung*, &c., *p.*29, observes on this point as follows:—

Although the Deuteronomist and the more ancient legislations agree in this, that they restrict the lawful, public, worship of God to one place, yet are they distinguished in this respect, that the latter knows nothing of a *fixed, permanent* place of the one Sanctuary, while the Deuteronomist speaks constantly of the one Sanctuary in such a manner that he sets forth the *permanence* of the place, and, as such, does not, indeed, expressly name Jerusalem, but yet indicates it plainly enough. The Deuteronomist, then, wishes to attach all public worship to the Temple at Jerusalem. On this account, also, he orders the destruction of all Canaanitish idol-places. Since, however, through this the law, that *all* animals, of the kinds used for sacrifice, should be slaughtered as thank-offerings in front of the Sanctuary, could no longer be carried out, the writer *expressly removes it*, in that he allows the slaughtering and eating of animals at pleasure in the separate towns, and only prescribes that they shall treat the food as *common*, not as *consecrated*, food—'the unclean, as well as the clean, shall eat thereof,' as of ordinary game.

653. He adds also, *p.*410:—

The blood, as the seat of life, is throughout the whole Law always treated with the greatest respect and reverence. Hence the oft repeated warning against eating blood, G.ix.4, L.iii.17, vii.26,27, xvii.10–14, xix.26, appears again in Deuteronomy, where permission is given to slay and eat cattle at will. But yet that religious consideration for blood seems somewhat weakened. For, whereas formerly it was so great, that even the blood of an animal killed in hunting must be *covered with earth*, L.xvii.13, (see Job xvi.18, Ez.xxiv.7,8,) that it might not cry to God for vengeance, the Deuteronomist only provides that the blood of an animal slain for private use shall be *poured out upon the ground like common water*, D.xii.16,24, xv.23.

654. D.xii.17–19.

'Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil, or the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, or heave offering of thine hand. But thou

must eat them before Jehovah thy God, in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates; and thou shalt rejoice before Jehovah thy God in all that thou puttest thine hands unto. Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the earth.'

But the *tithes* above mentioned belonged *wholly* to the Levites, according to the law in N.xviii.21,24,26, supposed to have been laid down only just before, in the very same year in which this 'last address' of Moses was delivered; and the *firstlings* belonged wholly to the Priests, N.xviii.15–18.

And here the *people* are to feast upon them, and not to 'forsake' the Levite within their gates, but admit him to a share in their enjoyment!

The most complete contradiction obviously exists between the two sets of laws, supposed to be uttered, the first directly by Jehovah Himself, the second by Moses, within a few months of each other.

655. SCOTT, with other commentators, imagines a *second* tithe, and supposes that —

Either the *female firstlings*! [where has one ever heard of these?] or some other of their young cattle, [but the text says distinctly 'firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks,' the same expression exactly as in D.xii.6,17, xv.19, and the same word, בְּכוֹר, *bĕchor*, 'firstling,' is used in E.xi.5, xii.12,29, xiii.2,15, L.xxvii.26, N.iii.41, and, especially, N.xviii.15,17,] being presented as peace-offerings, were thus to be feasted on before the Lord.

But the notion of 'firstling females' being here intended is at once set aside by the plain words of D.xv.19,20:—

'All the *firstling males*, that come of thy herd and of thy flock, thou shalt sanctify unto Jehovah thy God. Thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep; thou shalt—[have the blood sprinkled, and the fat offered, and leave the flesh for the Priests, as commanded in N.xviii.17,18? no, but]—*eat* it before Jehovah thy God, year by year, in the place which Jehovah shall choose, *thou and thy household*.'

But SCOTT is not discouraged even here, and writes directly in the teeth of the above text,—

The firstling, *being a male*, was sacrificed, and those parts, which were not burnt upon the Altar, were eaten by the Priests. But, *if it were a female*, it was offered as a peace-offering, and feasted upon by the offerer and his friends.

656. As to the supposed 'second tithe' it must be said: —

(i) The 'tithes' are here spoken of just in the same way as the 'firstlings.' If the latter are the same as those spoken of in the old legislation, it is reasonable to suppose that the same is true of the former also.

(ii) If the 'firstlings' are no longer to be given to the Priests, it is not reasonable to suppose that the 'tithes' of the old Law would be left for the Levites;

(iii) Not a hint is given of the (supposed) *first* tithes in Deuteronomy, nor of the *second* tithes in the law of N.xviii, supposed to be laid down by Jehovah a few months previously;

(iv) Not a word is said in D.xviii,3,4, of the *tithe of the first tithe* forming any portion of the income of the Priests, as commanded in N.xviii.28.

657. D.xii.27.

'And the blood of thy *sacrifices* shall be *poured out upon the altar* of Jehovah thy God.'

But, according to the Levitical Law, the blood, in the case of *burnt*-offerings, *peace*-offerings, or *trespass*-offerings, was to be '*sprinkled* round about upon the altar,' L.i.5,11, iii.2,8,13, vii.2, or, if the offering was a bird, 'wrung out at the side of the altar,' i.15; in the case of *sin*-offerings, some of it was to be sprinkled before the vail, some put upon the horns of the altar, and the rest poured at the bottom of the altar, L.iv.6,7,17,18,25,30,34, or, if a bird, 'sprinkled upon the side,' and the rest 'wrung out at the bottom' of the altar, *v.*9. In *no* case was it ordered that the blood should be 'poured out *upon*' the altar.

658. D.xiii.12–16.

'If thou shalt hear say in one of thy cities, which Jehovah thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying, Certain men, children of Belial, are gone out from among you, and have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known; Then shalt thou enquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and behold, if it be truth, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought among you, thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword. And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof, every whit, for Jehovah thy God; and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again.'

SCOTT remarks on this passage as follows: —

Many distinctions have been made, both by Jewish and Christian expositors, to abate the severity of this law: but the text gives no countenance to any of them. It should not, indeed, be supposed that the crime was charged on the city, unless a majority of the inhabitants concurred in it, or that any individuals, who had entirely escaped the general contagion, might not separate from their guilty neighbours; and, perhaps, space might on some occasions be allowed for repentance. The destruction of the spoil would evince that the prosecution and execution were not the effect of avarice, but of zeal for the honour of God and religion; and nothing can be conceived more suited to restrain the people from idolatry than this statute. But *we never read that it was carried into execution*, and have reason to think that this neglect was a national sin, which hastened the Babylonish Captivity. Had some mortified limbs been cut off, the life of the state might have been prolonged.

659. Such a law, it is plain, could never have been carried out in this legal form. How were they to put a city on its trial, for the offence in question, so as to give it an opportunity of clearing itself of the charge? And was every city to be destroyed, and utterly exterminated in this way, where, perhaps, an unruly mob—the majority—might have become for a time too strong for the better souls among them, and were these, too, to be involved in the general ruin? For, as SCOTT says, the text gives no countenance to any abatement of the severe rigour of the law.'

Probably, this law merely represents the strong feeling of the Deuteronomist upon the subject of idolatry. If it were possible, this is what he would have done to a city guilty of such abominations, which brought down the wrath of God upon Israel; this is what such a city deserved in the eyes of God and of all good men. In this way he seeks to stir up a pious horror of the accursed sin. And the text points to a time when such guilt was prevalent.

660. HENGSTENBERG, ii.75, maintains that this law of Deuteronomy *was* carried out upon the Benjamites and Jabeshites in Ju.xx,xxi. But, in order to bring the offence in each case under the denomination of 'worshipping other gods,' we require, he says, 'a spiritual, but not an arbitrary (!), interpretation,' according to which any city, for any public offence whatever,

might have been brought in guilty of idolatry, and put under the curse. But then, he adds, there are special *verbal coincidences* between D.xiii.1,5, and Ju.xx.48, which imply that the law of Deuteronomy, as already existing, is referred to in the latter story. For they each contain the expression 'with the edge of the sword,' (which occurs 34 times in the Bible, *e.g.* Jer.xxi.7,) and the first commands to 'smite the inhabitants and the cattle thereof,' while the second says, 'they smote them, as well the men of the city, as the beast,' (and so Jer.vii.20, xxi.6, &c.); and D.xiii.16, orders 'Thou shalt burn with fire the city,' while Ju.xx.48, has 'They set on fire all the cities that they came to!'

The above is one of HENGSTENBERG's decisive arguments to show that the laws of the Pentateuch were actually in force in the time of the Judges.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEUT. XIV. 1–29.

661. D.xiv.3–20.

We have here a repetition of the animals, allowed and disallowed for food, as in L.xi. The laws laid down are almost identical, except that the Deuteronomist —

(i) mentions by name the clean beasts, *v.*4,5, which the other writer does not;

(ii) introduces among the birds some bird of prey, Heb. דַּיָּה, *dayah*, *v.*13;

(iii) omits mention of the locusts, as allowed for food, and of eight unclean animals, named in L.xi.29,30, where are reckoned together, in the same category as 'creeping things,' the 'weasel, *mouse*, *tortoise*, ferret, chameleon, *lizard*, *snail*, and *mole*,' of which those italicised are identified by Hebrew scholars, while there may be doubts about the others. KNOBEL observes on L.xi.29—

> The writer mentions only those of the 'creeping things,' which were usually eaten, and forbids them. The Deuteronomist passes them over, and seems in his more advanced time to have found it no longer necessary to forbid them.

In fact, the statement in D.xiv.19, 'every creeping thing that flieth (כֹּל שֶׁרֶץ הָעוֹף, *kol sherets hahoph*,) is unclean unto you, they shall not be eaten,' is at variance with that in L.xi.21–23, where we read, 'These ye may eat, of every creeping thing that flieth, (מִכֹּל שֶׁרֶץ הָעוֹף, *mikkol sherets hahoph*,') and four forms of the locust are mentioned.

662. In L.xi.5,6, D.xiv.7, the *coney* (*shaphan*=jerboa?) and *hare* are spoken of as 'chewing the cud.' This, as KNOBEL says, is a mistake, which has probably arisen from the fact of these animals moving their jaws when they eat, as if they were chewing the cud, 'whence to all outward appearance they seemed to the ancients as ruminants.'

663. I have already quoted elsewhere on this point the authority of Prof. OWEN, who says,—

'The Hare does *not* chew the cud: it has not the stomach of a ruminant.'

For the following information I am indebted to Mr. A. D. BARTLETT, the superintendent of the Royal Zoological Gardens, London.

I have several hares living in the collection; and, having for some years carefully studied these animals in every stage of their existence, in order, if possible, to obtain a cross between this animal and the rabbit, to which it is nearly allied, I have in consequence become well acquainted with its habits and structure, both external and internal. My frequent examination of the stomach and intestines has convinced me that these animals have not the power to ruminate, and consequently that they 'do not chew the cud.'

The structure of the stomachs of all ruminating animals is remarkable, and well known to comparative anatomists. And this peculiar structure does not exist in any of the Order 'Rodentia,' to which the hare belongs.

But these animals possess very fleshy lips, and the muscles of the mouth are largely developed. By these means the parts are moved with great ease, and are kept in almost constant motion; and this, when noticed by persons whose knowledge of the subject is limited, might easily lead them to believe that the animal was chewing. This has, doubtless, led to the mistake made by the early writers.

664. D.xiv.22-27.

'Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year. And *thou shalt eat* before Jehovah thy God, in the place which He shall choose to place His Name there, *the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks*; that thou mayest learn to fear Jehovah thy God always. And, if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, or if the place be too far from thee, which Jehovah thy God shall choose to set His Name there, when Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee, then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose. And thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul desireth; and thou shalt

eat there before Jehovah thy God, and *thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household, and the Levite that is within thy gates*; thou shalt not forsake him; for he hath no part nor inheritance with thee.'

665. In this passage, the permission is given that, if the way was too long, the whole of the *tithes* and *firstlings* might be turned into money; and the person must go up with this money in his hand, 'to the place which Jehovah shall choose,' and there buy with the money 'what his soul lusteth after, oxen, sheep, wine, strong drink, whatsoever his soul desireth;' and the good things thus provided were to be 'eaten before Jehovah' by the man and his household, and 'the Levite that is within thy gates—thou shalt not forsake him.'

666. But no such provision is made for the conversion of the *firstlings* into money, in N.xviii.17, a law supposed to be given by Jehovah Himself only a few months previously, which says:—

'The firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt *not* redeem; they are holy; thou shalt *sprinkle their blood upon the Altar*, and shalt *burn their fat for an offering made by fire*, for a sweet savour unto Jehovah.'

And, as before observed (654), all the meat of the firstlings was expressly given to the *Priests* by the law in N.xviii.18, where we read,—

'And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right shoulder are thine.'

So, too, the *tithes* were expressly to be consumed by the Levites (except a tenth of them which they were to give to the Priests) by the law in N.xviii.25–32, where it is said, *v.*31—

'Ye (the *Levites*) shall eat it *in every place*, ye and your households; for it is your reward for your service in the Tabernacle of the Congregation.'

667. Here, however, in D.xiv.22–27, it is ordered, in direct contradiction to the above laws, issued, according to the story, *from the mouth of Jehovah Himself*, N.xviii.8,20,25, a few months previously, that the man who offers, and his family, and 'the Levite that is within his gates,' shall make a feast upon the produce of both the Priests' firstlings and the Levites' tithes,

at *Jerusalem*, xii.6,17–19, xiv.22–27, xv.19–23, whereas the Levites were to have eaten them at their homes 'in every place.'

SCOTT, as we have seen (655), takes refuge in the notion of 'female* firstlings,' and a 'second tithe.'

These verses require a second tithe from the produce of the land, which, with that appropriated for the maintenance of the Levites, amounted to a fifth part.

This certainly agrees with JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*iv.8.8:—

Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the Priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country; but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices, that are to be celebrated in the holy city.

But, if this be a *second* tithe, how is it, we repeat, that the Deuteronomist gives no intimation of this fact, and *makes no mention whatever of the first tithe*, to be contributed for the support of the Levites? Nor, when summing up the income of the Priests in D.xviii.1–5, does he take any account of the *tenth of the tithes*, which they were to receive from the Levites, N.xviii.25–32, or mention anywhere the tithe of *cattle*, L.xxvii.32,33.

668. The fact seems to be, as we have intimated, that the book of Deuteronomy only represents the state of ecclesiastical matters, which existed in the *later* days when that book was written. As already observed, the Priests are called by the later Prophets, as they are by the Deuteronomist, 'Levites,' simply, Jer.xxxiii.18,21,22, Ez.xliii.19, xliv.10,15, xlv.5, xlviii.13, or 'sons of Levi,' Ez.xl.46, Mal.iii.3, comp. Mal.ii.4,8,—and never 'sons of Aaron;' and so Jeroboam is censured, 1K.xii.31, for making Priests of men, 'which were not of the sons of Levi.' The name of Aaron, in fact, is but incidentally mentioned *once* by all the Prophets, Mic.vi.4; and Ezekiel calls

* SCOTT may have been misled by the feminine form בְּכוֹרוֹת, *bĕchoroth*, which is used in D.xii.6,17; xiv.23, G.iv.3; but its meaning is masculine; since in the only other place where it occurs, Neh.x.37, we have וְאֶת־בְּכֹרוֹת בָּנֵינוּ, *vĕeth bĕchoroth banenu*, 'and the firstborns of our *sons*.'

the *faithful* Priests by the title 'sons of Zadok,' xl.46, xliii. 19, xliv.15, xlviii.11.

669. It is probable, indeed, that we very greatly overestimate the *number* and *importance* of the Priests in the time of the kings, taking for granted that they really enjoyed the privileges and dignities assigned to them by the laws of the Pentateuch. Yet, if we carefully examine the more authentic history of the later kings, which we find in the Second Book of Kings, we shall perceive indications that their number was but small and their influence inconsiderable. In the days of Josiah there were a 'chief Priest,' some 'Priests of the second order,' and others who are called 'keepers of the door,' 2K.xxiii.4. These 'door-keepers' are expressly called 'Priests' in 2K.xii.9; and in the time of Josiah's son, Zedekiah, there were only *five* 'Priests' ministering in the Temple, 2K.xxv.18, *viz.* one 'chief Priest,' one 'second Priest,' (כֹּהֵן מִשְׁנֶה, *cohen mishneh,*) or 'Priest of the second order,' (see 2K.xxiii.4, כֹּהֲנֵי הַמִּשְׁנֶה, *cohăne hammishneh,*) and three 'keepers of the door.'

670. This office of 'door-keeper,' however, is so totally unlike any assigned to the Priests in the earlier books of the Pentateuch, that the question is naturally suggested whether these 'Priests of the second order' do not, in reality, correspond to the *Levites* of those books, from among whom, we should suppose, the door-keepers would be taken. At any rate, it is easy to see how the Deuteronomist, if writing in these later days, would make no distinction between the higher and lower clergy, but would call them all by one common name, 'Priests' or 'Levites.' How very little regard, indeed, was paid in those days to the rank and authority of the Priests is shown by the fact that, when the King of Babylon carried Jehoiachin captive in the eighth year of his reign, and placed his uncle Zedekiah on the throne of Judah, we are told of his carrying with him 'all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, and all the craftsmen and smiths,' 2K.xxiv.14,—but

not a word is said about the Priests; yet it is plain that some Priests were carried off, since Jeremiah addresses them (Jer. xxix.1), and this may partly account for their being only *five* in number as we have said, in Zedekiah's time, shortly afterwards, 2K.xxv.18.

671. There is no indication, however, that they were ever very much more numerous. It is common to suppose that there must have been always a large body of Priests and Levites in attendance at the Temple, because the size of the Temple, as well as that of the City itself in Solomon's time, is very commonly over-estimated. As to the City, 'its *circumference*,' says BARTLETT, *Walks about Jerusalem*, p.28, 'at the best never exceeded *four miles*,' and *three* Temples of Solomon* might have been placed on the ground now occupied by the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in LONDON. We cannot wonder that in Solomon's, as in David's, time we read of only *two* Priests, 1K.iv.4, who had, doubtless, some attendants, or that in Zedekiah's time the whole body of ecclesiastics employed at the Temple was only *five*. Indeed, if two or three clergymen can discharge the duties of St. Martin's Church and Parish in London, two Priests and three door-keepers may very well have sufficed for a Temple one-third as large, and for a population so small as the ordinary population of Jerusalem must have been, considering that, at its widest extent, it was not two-thirds of a mile from the centre to the circumference.†

* The Temple was 60 cubits long and 20 cubits wide, 1K.vi.2, that is, since a cubit = 1.824 ft., its area was 108 ft. by 36 ft. = 3,991 sq. ft. That of the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is 137 ft. 8 in. by 81 ft. not including the steps and portico, (*Lib. of Entertaining Knowledge, Egypt. Ant.* i.p.89,) = 11,151 *sq. ft.*

† I take no account here of the data of the books of Chronicles, which we have seen to be so very untrustworthy, when unsupported by other evidence. Thus it is stated that 'there came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him,' 4,600 Levites and 3,700 Priests of the sons of Aaron, 'and with them Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two captains,' 1Ch.xii.26–28; and yet, although 'David consulted with the captains of thousands and hundreds, and with every leader,' about bringing up

672. It would seem, however, that even for this small body of Priests and Levites the supplies of food were sometimes deficient; and it is very probable that the 'tithes' and 'firstlings' never were duly contributed for their support, as the earlier laws of the Pentateuch direct. Either these laws in Leviticus and Numbers had never been published extensively, which is most likely, or, if known to many among the people, they were not regarded as having any special authority, human or divine. And so the Priests and Levites appear to have fared but badly, like clergy in a colonial diocese upon a voluntary system. Having no Levitical cities nor pasture-lands, but living for the most part in a dependent condition, scattered about the land, 'in the gates' of others,—having no regular, abundant, supply from tithes, first-fruits, or firstlings, but deriving their sustenance almost entirely from the casual offerings and sacrifices, which pious persons brought to the Temple,—they seem, under the later kings, to have been often in real distress for the very necessaries of life. It is reasonable to believe that, in the time of David and Solomon, a portion of the royal revenues was applied directly to the support of Divine Worship. Even Saul had such a revenue, as we may gather from the language used in 1S.viii.15, 'he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his eunuchs and to his servants;' though these words were, no doubt, written at a much later

the Ark, 1Ch.xiii.1, and 'gathered all Israel together' for the purpose, *v.5*, including, of course, and above all, these 8,300 Priests and Levites, he made use of *laymen* to remove the Ark in the first instance; and when, warned of his fault by the death of Uzzah, 1Ch.xv.12,13, he 'gathered all Israel,' again, *v.3*, and specially 'assembled the sons of Aaron and the Levites,' *v.4*, under such solemn circumstances, for so momentous an occasion, only *two* Priests and 862 Levites are reported as answering to the call, *v.5–10*.

We shall have occasion hereafter to consider more closely the details of the Chronicler's narrative, *upon which, in fact, mainly rests the notion that the laws of the Pentateuch were really carried out in Judah before the Captivity*. But not a hint is given in the more trustworthy history, 2S.vi, of the presence of these Priests and Levites on either occasion.

date, perhaps in the days of Solomon, and may express, rather, the practice of *that* time.

673. But under the later kings—at all events, in the record of the Chronicler—we have unmistakable indications of the poverty of the Priests. We find such indications in the disorderly and impoverished state, in which the Temple itself was found in the days of Hezekiah, at the end of the idolatrous reign of his father Ahaz.

'They have shut up the doors of the porch,' and put out the lamps, and have not burnt incense nor offered burnt-offerings in the holy place unto the God of Israel. . . . . And the Priests went into the inner part of the House of Jehovah to cleanse it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the Temple of Jehovah . into the court of the House of Jehovah. And the Levites took it, to carry it out abroad into the brook Kidron.' 2Ch.xxix.7,16.

Ahaz himself, the Chronicler tells us, had 'shut up' the Temple, 2Ch.xxviii.24, which he could hardly have done, if the Levites had been an important and influential body. At all events, their receipts from tithes, &c., must, according to this account, have been very small in his reign.

674. Moreover, we are told that Hezekiah ordered afresh the courses of the Priests and Levites, and provided for their maintenance, by enjoining that tithes and firstfruits should be brought in, and they were brought in abundantly 'in heaps.'

'Then Hezekiah questioned with the Priests and Levites concerning the heaps. And Azariah, the chief Priest of the House of Zadok, answered him and said, *Since the people began to bring the offerings into the House of Jehovah, we have had enough to eat,* and have left plenty.' 2Ch.xxxi.10.

It would seem from the above that, *before* the order in question was issued, the Priests and Levites had *not* enough to eat. And this is the testimony of the Chronicler, whose tendency to magnify the office and position of the Priesthood and Levitical body is evident throughout his narrative.

675. But the numerous passages in Deuteronomy, which include the Levite with the poor and destitute, 'the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger,' furnish far more satisfactory evidence

of the generally needy condition of the ecclesiastical body in the time of the later kings, supposing, as we may now do, (with the evidence which we have had already before us, and which we shall find still further confirmed as we proceed,) that this book was written about the time of Josiah. This being the case, it can scarcely be doubted that the laws which we are now considering D.xii.17–19, xiv.22–27, were intended to secure some better provision for the support of this necessitous priesthood. The original tithe-system, as laid down in the book of Leviticus, was evidently no longer effective, if, indeed, it was ever at any time fully put into operation, which seems very doubtful. Here, however, it would seem, an attempt is made to exchange it for one much more likely to be popular, and practically effective; since the tithes on this system were to be consumed in feasting by the tithe-payer and his family, the poor Levite 'within their gates' being included only as a guest. It is evident that any single *wealthy* farmer, who made it a religious duty to obey such a law as this, when promulgated under the combined influence of priestly, prophetical, and royal authority, would be likely to bring many firstlings of his cattle and sheep annually, far more than he himself and his family could consume in feasting. Thus the ecclesiastics at the Temple would have a reasonable probability of *sharing*, at all events, in the enjoyment of these good things; though, according to the Levitical Law, they *had a right to the whole.*

676. D.xiv.28,29.

'At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates. And the Levite, because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come and shall eat and be satisfied; that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.'

On the above direction KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*265:—

This tithe at the end of every three years is with this writer the *principal* tithe. For both here and *in* xxvi.12, he speaks of it as '*all* the tithe' of that year, and

in the latter passage he speaks of the third year itself as the 'year of tithing.' The annual tithe was hardly a whole tithe, though called so. According to xiv.22, it was to be brought 'year by year,' and, therefore, could not be discontinued in the third year. If we reckon it as *two-thirds* of the whole, then this *annual* tithe [in three years], together with the *full* tithe in the third year, would only make up three whole tithes.

SCOTT, however, maintains here also the notion of a 'second' tithe, and quotes from MEDE as follows:—

Two years together they paid the *Levites'* tithe and the *festival* tithe. But in the third year they paid the *Levites'* tithe and the *poor man's* tithe, that is, what was wont in other years to be spent in feasting [was now spent on the poor at home].

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* iv.8,22, explains the matter by a *third* tithe, to be paid in the third year, and introduces Moses as saying:—

Besides these two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a tithe to be distributed to those that want, to widows also, and to orphans.

677. Thus we have three different ways of explaining the difficulty. But the last two are at once set aside by the fact that, if the tithe named in D.xii.17,18, xiv.22–27, be the 'second' tithe, and that in D.xiv.28,29, the 'third' tithe, both of which were to be *shared* by the Levite with others, then in all the book of Deuteronomy no mention whatever is made of the 'first' tithe, which belonged wholly to the Levites. Nor is there any real foundation for the supposition of KNOBEL, that the 'annual' tithe may have been two-thirds of a full tithe, and so the deficiency in three years may have been complemented by the third year's additional full tithe; since the direction for the annual tithe is very explicit in xiv.22, and implies that it was to be a *full* tithe:—

'Thou shalt truly tithe *all* the increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year.'

678. The fact seems to be, as has been said, that those, who speak of a 'second' and 'third' tithe, merely *assume* that the 'first' or Levites' tithe was actually paid, because it was enjoined in N.xviii.20–24; though there is not a trace of

any such payment having been made throughout the whole history of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and in the books of Chronicles, as we have seen, there are distinct indications of the contrary; and though, further, not a word is said about this Levites' tithe throughout the whole book of Deuteronomy, either in xviii.8, where the provision for the Levites out of the sacrifices is mentioned,—'they shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony,'—or still less in xiv.28, where it is expressly ordered that 'the Levite,' as well as 'the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow,' shall 'come and eat' of this third year's tithe, or, as MEDE calls it, 'the poor man's tithe'—having already, it is supposed, received their own full tithe, 'the Levites' tithe,' that year—'and be satisfied.'

679. But there is no real ground, as it appears to me, for supposing that more than *one* tithe is meant throughout,—the same which in N.xviii is ordered to be given wholly to the Levites, as the firstlings were to be given to the Priests. And it seems not unlikely that the Deuteronomist,—though he had laid down the directions in xii.17,18, xiv.22–27, for the annual tithe and the firstlings to be spent in feasting at Jerusalem, with the view (675) of securing for the Priests and Levites in this way some share, at least, in those good things, which *ought* to have been given wholly to them, but which in his own time, at all events, were not so given,—yet was not very sanguine even of this modification of the original direction being generally obeyed. Hence, it may be, he introduced this additional provision for the third year's tithe to be eaten *at home*, expecting, perhaps, that this mode of disposing of the tithe would be more popular, and more likely to be observed, than the more strict one of taking it up to Jerusalem. This command, at all events, might be pretty generally obeyed, if the other was disregarded.

680. This view of the case seems rather confirmed by the fact,

which KNOBEL has noticed (676), that this 'third year's tithe' is most insisted on by the Deuteronomist, and the 'third year' itself is called the 'year of tithing.' It would seem that each pious person, who might be disposed to carry out this law, was to be left at liberty to reckon his third year as he pleased. KNOBEL, indeed, suggests that these triennial tithes were meant to fall due in the *third* and *sixth* years after each Sabbatical year. But this is only conjecture; and, if this had been intended, it is reasonable to believe that some such definition of this 'third' year would have been made in the text. In fact, in that case, the writer would, most probably, have mentioned explicitly *both* the 'third' *and* the 'sixth' year.

681. It may, indeed, be thought that this 'third year's tithe' was meant to be given *wholly* to the poor, since it is not expressly said here, as in xii.18, that the householder and his family were to feast upon them as well as the Levite, &c. But the language used with reference to this same tithe in xxvi.13,14, seems to imply that the giver was expected to partake of them himself,—and if so, then, of course, in common with the members of his family,—but only on proper occasions of festivity, not for unlawful or unbecoming uses: since he is made to say,—

'I have consumed (בִּעַרְתִּי, *biharti*, E.V. 'brought away') the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, &c; I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I consumed (E.V. 'taken away') ought thereof for the dead.'

It would surely have been said, 'I have not consumed ought thereof *at all, for any purpose*,' if it had been intended that the tithe should be given *wholly* away.

682. In Am.iv.4 we read as follows:—

'Come to Bethel, and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, *your tithes after three years*; and offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven, and proclaim and publish the free-offerings: for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith Jehovah Elohim.'

These words appear to have been addressed *ironically* to the people of the Ten Tribes, who are represented as substituting

outward observances—and these, perhaps, idolatrous—for purity of heart and life. It is difficult, however, to see what is exactly meant by the expression לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים מַעְשְׂרֹתֵיכֶם, *lishlosheth yamim mahsĕrothechem*, (E.V. 'your tithes after three years'). The LXX render them, *εἰς τὴν τριημερίαν τὰ ἐπιδέκατα ὑμῶν*, 'your tithes for the three-days' feast.' HENGSTENBERG, i.142, says that they are equivalent to saying, 'If ye would bring every three days the tithes, which the Lord required to be given every three years, it would avail you nothing.' But, at any rate, they cannot imply that the command for the triennial tithe in D.xiv.28 was actually carried out in the Kingdom of Israel,—(which, indeed, under any circumstances, could hardly have been expected,)—since D.xiv.28 expressly enjoins that the third year's tithe should be feasted on *at home*, 'within thy gates,' whereas here the tithes, whatever they may be, are taken to the sacred place, Bethel or Gilgal.

683. If that of the E.V. be the correct translation of the Hebrew, we might suppose that, among the Ten Tribes, tithes were really paid at this time with some readiness, once in three years, perhaps for the support of the Priesthood which Jeroboam had appointed, and perhaps by his order or suggestion. And this might also be held to imply that in the immediately foregoing time of Solomon the annual tithe-system, enjoined in the book of Numbers, and, as we believe, first laid down in that reign with a view to the maintenance of the Priests in attendance at the new-built Temple, was really carried out to some extent, which example Jeroboam copied for the maintenance of his own Priesthood, though he modified it to a *triennial* tithe; and from this modification may even have been derived the idea of the later law of the Deuteronomist in xiv.28.

684. In the story of Tobit, indeed, we have a full account of *first*, *second*, and *third* tithes, *every* year, and of other dues, being paid in the most regular manner, and of the Feasts being

regularly kept, and of his going up to Jerusalem to keep them, before the captivity of the Ten Tribes.

'Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nepthali, sacrificed unto the heifer Baal. But I alone went *often* [why not *always*, as the Law enjoined, E.xxiii.17, xxxiv.23?] to Jerusalem at the Feasts, as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree, bearing the first-fruits and tenths of increase, with that which was first shorn; and them gave I at the altar to the Priests the *sons of Aaron*. The first tenth of all increase I gave to the *sons of Aaron*, who ministered at Jerusalem, [the command in N.xviii.21 says it should be given to the *Levites*;] another tenth part I sold away, and went and spent it every year at Jerusalem, and the third I gave unto them to whom it was meet.' i.5,8.

But the story of Tobit is notoriously a mere fiction, written long after the Captivity. The above statement, however, accords with the well-known fact that, after the return from the Babylonish Captivity, great efforts were made to carry out more strictly the laws of the Pentateuch—those of the earlier books, as well as those of Deuteronomy. The difficulty, which we have been considering about the *tithes*, was probably then perceived, and, perhaps, by some pious persons obviated in the way described by Tobit. But, as we have noted above, the Law gave the tithes to the *Levites*, not to the Priests 'the sons of Aaron.'

685. BLEEK, while maintaining that the Law in N.xviii is genuine Mosaical, writes with reference to the law in Deuteronomy as follows, *p.*215 :—

No one, upon an unprejudiced comparison of these two laws, can mistake the fact, that they vary much from one another, as regards both their contents and character. In the last, strictly speaking, no mention whatever is made of a special *legal* provision by way of tax for the benefit of the Levites, but only of a free-will act of benevolence, which the Israelites are required to show to the landless Levites, just as to other needy persons. Hence they are placed in one and the same rank with the other destitute people, and their whole position is entirely changed. That *Moses himself*, with reference to the maintenance of the Levites, should have delivered two laws, so different from each other as is their whole character [*within the space of a few months*], cannot well be believed, especially as the former law, just as much as the latter, refers to the time when the tribes of Israel would find themselves in possession of their promised land. We cannot but assume, that if the one law is

Mosaic, the other belongs to a later time. And here there can be no doubt that the law in Numbers is the original, which also has all the character of a Mosaic law. On the other hand, in Deuteronomy, we probably possess it in a form, to which it was changed in a later time, — probably at a time when the original law, with so many other Mosaic directions, had long ceased to be followed, and when the relations also had so settled themselves, that no more hope could be entertained that they ever would again be followed. Then, probably, it was sought in this way, at all events, to awaken the compassion of the Israelites for the, perhaps, in part, very necessitous Levites.

CHAPTER IX.

DEUT.XV.1–XVI.22.

686. D.xv.1–11.

The Deuteronomist here enjoins that every *seventh* year shall be a 'year of release,' with reference, no doubt, as most commentators suppose, to the Sabbatical Year; though, if he really meant and expected that this law should be *practically carried out* in the Sabbatical Year, it is reasonable to believe, as before observed (680), that he would have more strictly defined the meaning of the expression 'at the end of seven years.' KNOBEL observes —

The Jews and others erroneously understand the law to speak of an *entire remission of debts* in each Sabbatical Year. The word 'release' (שְׁמִטָּה, *shamat*) does not of itself imply this, and the expression 'exact,' *v.*2,3, indicates that by 'release' is meant nothing more than 'not exacting.' This is also shown by the analogy of the lands, which were only left to *rest* in the Sabbatical Year, and afterwards were again tilled. A law of this kind also would have been quite contrary to the object aimed at, since with such a prospect before him no one would have lent anything to the needy person. We must only, therefore, think of the *not pressing* of claims — the allowing of debts to *rest* — during the Sabbatical Year.

687. It is true that the expression 'at the end of seven years,' מִקֵּץ שֶׁבַע־שָׁנִים, *mikkets shevah shanim*, may mean, according to the Hebrew idiom, 'in the last of seven years'; see Jer.xxxiv.14; and, therefore, KNOBEL'S view of the case may be admissible. Or the fact may be that the writer, ever tender-hearted and considerate for the poor and needy among his countrymen, (as is shown by such a multitude of passages throughout the book,) has availed himself of one of

the older laws about the Sabbatical Year, E.xxiii.11, L.xxv.1–7, (in neither of which passages, however, let it be noted, is a single word said about releasing debts,) to recommend compassion to creditors, and *suggest* to them the duty of remitting debts, which pressed heavily upon their debtors. He may have connected this duty with that portion of the older document, which instituted the Sabbatical Year, (seeking in this way to gain, as it were, the authority of Moses for such remission, after a debt had been long due,) *even if the practice of observing the Sabbatical Year itself had altogether ceased*, or, perhaps, had never even been practised at any time in Israel.

688. For, in the whole history of the Hebrew people, there is no sign of this law of observing the Sabbatical Year having been ever once obeyed. Rather, there is a passage, 2Ch.xxxvi.21, which would tend to prove the contrary, where it is said that 'the land enjoyed her Sabbaths, for, as long as she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath,' the reference being plainly to the expressions in L.xxvi.34,43. So in his note on 2K.xix.29, SCOTT remarks: —

> The devastations of the Assyrians had, probably, prevented the land from being sown that year; and the next is *supposed* to have been the Sabbatical Year; though *this is the only intimation, in all the history of Israel, that any regard was paid to that institution.*

The passage referred to by SCOTT, 2K.xix.29, is this: —

> 'And this shall be a sign unto thee: Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, and in the second year that which springeth of the same, and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof.'

It is evidently a mere conjecture that reference is here made to the Sabbatical Year, without any supporting ground for it.

689. KNOBEL observes, *p.*541: —

> The Sabbath-Year was prescribed by all lawgivers; before the exile, however, it was either not at all, or, at least, not regularly observed, but was first carried out in the post-captivity time.

And so KALISCH remarks, on E.xxiii.10,11: —

When the cycles of the Sabbath-Year commenced is uncertain. The *Sedar Olam Rabbah* states that they were first introduced fourteen years after the entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan, immediately after the distribution of the land, which, like its conquest, lasted, according to tradition, seven years. It is, however, known that the observance seems to have been almost entirely neglected before the exile L.xxvi.34, 2Ch.xxxvi.21, from which passage it has been concluded that it was not observed during a period of about 500 years, but that it was really carried out after the return from the Babylonian captivity, Neh.x.31.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*xi.8.6, says that the Samaritans applied to Alexander with the petition that he would remit their taxes in the seventh year, because they did not sow their fields in that year.

690. D.xv.12–18. This is very nearly a repetition of the law in E.xxi.2–6, with the exception that the Deuteronomist—

(i) Names the Hebrew *maid*-servant, as well as the *man*-servant,—

(ii) Commands that some means of sustenance shall be given to the bondman set free,—

(iii) Is silent about the ear of the servant, who wished to remain with his master, being bored through with an awl *in the presence of the judges.*

KNOBEL observes on this last point, *Deut. p.*268:—

The judicial action, prescribed in E.xxi.6, seems at the time of the writer to have been no longer in practice; the master might perform the act at home.

The fact may be, however, that the 'ear-boring,' which may have suited the earlier and more barbarous age, in which the original law in E.xxi.6 was, most probably, laid down, may have been wholly out of place in the time of the later kings, and, though the Deuteronomist repeats the ancient law, it is more for the purpose of enjoining such release of bondservants, than with a view of this obsolete practice being revived.

691. In Jer.xxxiv.8–22 we have an account given how king Zedekiah—

'had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem to proclaim liberty unto them, that every man should let his manservant, and every man his

maidservant, being a Hebrew or Hebrewess, go free — that none should serve himself of them, to wit, of a Jew his brother.'

Accordingly, we are told, they did so release them, but afterwards —

'turned, and caused the servants, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and for handmaids.'

Whereupon Jeremiah prophesies thus, *v.*13–17 :—

'Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel: I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen, saying, At the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother an Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee, and, when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee: but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me in the House which is called by my Name. But ye turned and polluted my Name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith Jehovah, Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbour. Behold, I proclaim a liberty to you, saith Jehovah, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth.'

692. Upon the above passage we may remark as follows :—

(i) It is plain that, neither before nor after the time here referred to, was it the practice to manumit their Hebrew slaves in the seventh year. And, consequently, this passage, as far as it goes, shows that the command in question was *not* obeyed, even in Judah,— much less in Israel.

(ii) The king and princes seem to have had some strong influence brought to bear upon them, probably, by the urgent representations of Jeremiah himself, and at first to have complied with the injunction, either regarding it as Divine, or perhaps only as a proper and humane institution.

(iii) For some reason they afterwards changed their minds, and made no scruple of retracing their steps, either because they had become satisfied, in the interim, that the law in question was *not* of Divine origin, or because more selfish motives prevailed over their religion and humanity.

(iv) The Prophet, in the passage before us, refers not to the older law in E.xxi.2, but to the later Deuteronomistic version of it, D.xv.12, as appears by his quoting from it three expressions:—

(i) יִמָּכֵר לָךְ, *yimmacher lĕcha*, 'be sold unto thee,' (instead of E.xxi.2, כִּי תִקְנֶה, *ki thikneh*, 'if thou shalt buy;'

(ii) וְעָבַדְךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים, *vahăvodcha shesh shanim*, 'and he shall serve thee six years,' (instead of E.xxi.2, שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים יַעֲבֹד, *shesh shanim yahăvod*, 'six years shall he serve;')

(iii) תְּשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ חָפְשִׁי מֵעִמָּךְ, *tĕshallĕkhennu khophshi mehimmach*, 'and thou shalt let him go free from thee,' (instead of E.xxi.2, יֵצֵא לַחָפְשִׁי חִנָּם, *yetse lakhophshi khinnam*, he 'shall go out free for nothing').

(v) Hence it can scarcely be doubted that Jeremiah had been setting before the king and princes the language of the book of Deuteronomy, then recently found in the Temple in the days of Zedekiah's father Josiah, and written, it may be, with the full cognisance, if not by the hand, of Jeremiah himself, and that this was the influence, which he had brought to bear for a time upon them, whether they believed in the Divine authority of that book or not.

693. In fact, this prophecy of Jeremiah was uttered about B.C. 595, in Zedekiah's time, Jer.xxxiv.8; and the book of Deuteronomy, as we suppose, was first publicly produced and acted on by the whole people in the eighteenth year of Josiah, B.C. 624, about thirty years before, and, therefore, it might very well be referred to by the prophet as a well-known document. It is noticeable that Zedekiah and his princes and people made a solemn covenant, at first, to carry out this command to release their servants, as if moved to it by some appeal of the Prophet, representing it as having issued from Jehovah Himself, which *virtually*, no doubt, as a command founded upon the principles of humanity and brotherly kindness, he himself believed it did. But, afterwards, 'they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and for handmaids,'

as if they had by this time begun to doubt the Divine authority of this injunction.

694. D.xv.19–23.

Here, again, as in (654), the firstling males of the herd and of the flock are to be feasted on by the offerer and his household, instead of their flesh being given to the Priest.

As to this point KALISCH observes on E.xiii.2:—

The firstborn animals also belonged to God, to whom they were to be offered as sacrifices; and it was therefore ordained that all clean firstborn male beasts should be offered from the eighth day of their birth within their first year. Now the flesh was, according to D.xii.17,18, xv.19,20, to be consumed in the holy places by the offering Israelites; whereas in N.xviii.18 it seems to be assigned to the Priests, —'and the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right 'leg"[(717) E.V. 'shoulder'] are thine.'

This apparent contradiction had already been felt by AUGUSTINE, who, however, attempted no reconciliation. EBN EZRA and JARCHI believe that the commands in D.xii.15 are addressed to the *Priests*, which is completely against the context and the words. Not happier are the opinions of GERHARD that they refer to *female* firstborn animals, or of J. D. MICHAELIS, whom JAHN and BAUER follow, that the *first* firstborn animal belonged to the Priests, the *second* firstborn (!) to the Israelites, or of EICHHORN, who simply supposes—a mistake. But the addition in N.xviii.18,—'as the wave breast and as the right leg, it shall be thine,'—fully decides the question. The *blood* and the *fat* belonged to God, *v.*17; and, if we compare herewith L.vii.28, &c. we find that the *breast* and the *right leg* were the portions of the Priest; *all the other parts were retained and consumed by the Israelite.* And thus exists the greatest harmony between the different precepts concerning the firstborn of animals.

695. But we have only to read the whole context in N.xviii.15–18, to see how impossible it is that this solution of the difficulty can be correct. L.vii.28, &c. speaks only of *freewill* 'peace-offerings,' of which the Priest was to have the breast and right leg; and N.xviii.15, &c. makes the dedication of 'firstlings' *compulsory*, and says that they shall be as entirely the Priest's, as the breast and right leg of the peace-offering. When we find such words as these,—

'Every thing that openeth the matrix in all flesh, which they bring unto Jehovah, whether it be of men or beasts, *shall be thine.* Nevertheless, the firstborn of man

shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. But the firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy; thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto Jehovah. And *the flesh of them shall be thine*, as the wave breast and as the right leg are thine,' N.xviii.15–18—

it is surely impossible to doubt that the firstlings are in this passage given *wholly* to the Priests, and not their breasts and right legs only.

696. D.xvi.

In this chapter the regular observance of the three great Feasts is enjoined, the addition being now made for the first time, 'three times a year shall all thy males appear before Jehovah thy God *in the place which He shall choose*,' *v.*16. According to the original command, the Passover sacrifice was always to be a 'lamb' or a 'kid,' E.xii.3,21; whereas here we read, *v.*2,—

'Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the Passover unto Jehovah thy God of the flock and of the *herd* (צֹאן וּבָקָר, *tson uvakar*), in the place which Jehovah shall choose to place His Name there.'

Hence KNOBEL writes on E.xii.5 —

In a later age *cattle* also were allowed for Paschal animals, D.xvi.2, and thus they appear in large numbers at the Passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah, 2Ch.xxxv.7–9; they were, as well as the lambs, destined 'for Passovers (לַפְּסָחִים, *lappĕsakhim*), and were manifestly not merely used for *sacrifices*, but also for the Paschal Feast, which thus received an extension at variance with the original direction.

And so writes Dr. M'CAUL, *Examination*, &c. *p.*60:

If the Israelites had not *lambs* enough, they could take *kids*; and, if both failed, we learn from D.xvi.2 that even *oxen* might be used. From 2Ch.xxx.24, xxxv.7, it appears that in the Passover of Hezekiah and Josiah bullocks were actually employed as well as lambs and kids.

If so, there was certainly a departure in these later days from the law laid down in E.xii.1–10.

697. D.xvi.7.

'And thou shalt roast and eat it in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; and thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents.'

Upon these words RIEHM observes, *p.*51:—

'That the writer is here speaking of the morning following the night in which the Passover was to be eaten, that is, of the morning of the fifteenth day, is plain from the context. But that he here allows those, who had come from other towns to Jerusalem for the festival, to go away *home* on the morning of the fifteenth, is impossible, since then there could not be held the 'solemn assembly,' (עֲצֶרֶת, *hătsereth*, 'day of restraint,') *v.*8, on the seventh day. We can only therefore assume that the Paschal lamb was slaughtered at the Temple,—(and what else could have been sprinkled with the blood, except the Altar, if it was slain at all at Jerusalem? comp. 2Ch.xxxv.11)—and eaten in the fore-court of it, and that the writer in the above words allows every one to return in the morning from the Temple-court, to the hostel in Jerusalem in which he was living during the feast.

698. The above seems to be the true explanation of the passage; and in this very way, probably, the famous passover in Josiah's time was actually carried out. This, of course, excludes the notion of so many sheep and cattle being killed, and cooked, and eaten, in the Temple-court on this occasion, as the Chronicler states, *viz.* 37,600 lambs and kids, and 3,800 oxen, 2Ch.xxxv. 7,8,9. The more trustworthy historian—perhaps, Jeremiah himself—says nothing of all these, but merely writes, 2K.xxiii. 22—

'Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, wherein this passover was holden to Jehovah in Jerusalem.'

The Deuteronomist also, as we have said (545), makes no mention whatever of the 'Feast of Trumpets' and 'Great Day of Atonement,' the celebration of which is enforced in L.xxiii as solemnly as that of the three Great Feasts.

CHAPTER X.

DEUT.XVII.1–20.

699. D.xvii.2–7.

'If there be found among you . . . man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of Jehovah thy God, in transgressing His covenant, and hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, . . . then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman, . . . and shalt stone them with stones, till they die. . . . So thou shalt put the evil away from among you.'

In this passage the Deuteronomist again expresses strongly his abhorrence of all manner of idolatry, and especially, *v.*3, of the worship of 'the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven,' of the prevalence of which, as we have said (605), the first intimation, in the more authentic history of the kings of Judah, is found in the reign of Josiah's father, Manasseh, 2K.xxi.3,5.

700. D.xvii.8–13.

'If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, . . . then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come unto the Priests the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days, and enquire, and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment. . . . And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the Priest . . . or unto the Judge, even that man shall die; and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel, and all the people shall hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously.'

KUENEN, *p.*150, is of opinion that we have here a reference to the High Court of Judicature, said by the *Chronicler* to have been established by Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem, 2Ch.xix. 8–11:—

'Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the *Levites*, and of the *Priests*, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of Jehovah, and for controversies, when they returned to Jerusalem. And he charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of Jehovah, faithfully, and with a perfect heart. And what cause soever shall come to you of your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgments, ye shall even warn them that they trespass not against Jehovah, and so wrath come upon you, and upon your brethren: this do, and ye shall not trespass. And, behold, Amariah the Chief Priest is over you in all matters of Jehovah; and Zebadiah, the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king's matters: also the *Levites* shall be officers before you. Deal courageously, and Jehovah shall be with the good.'

Assuming KUENEN'S view of the case to be true, the fact of Jehoshaphat having been the *first* to establish such a Court would rather tend to show that the law in Deuteronomy was *not* Mosaic and Divine, since Jehoshaphat's act is spoken of as quite a novel one, without any reference to this law.

701. But KUENEN goes on to observe:—

It is plain that D.xvii.8–13 *assumes* the existence of the Court of Judicature at Jerusalem, and does not establish it. . . . . This all leads to the conclusion that the law in Deuteronomy, and, consequently, the whole Book, whose unity is generally recognised, came into existence *after* Jehoshaphat's reign, perhaps, even a considerable time after Jehoshaphat, when the Court of Justice set on foot by him required no more the sanction of the great Lawgiver for its establishment, but was so thoroughly interwoven with the customs of the people, that its existence could be simply assumed.

It seems doubtful, however, if there is really any reference in D.xvii.8–13 to such an ecclesiastical Court, as that supposed to be described in 2Ch.xix.8–11, or to any regular Court at all. The very language used by the Deuteronomist,—

'Thou shalt come unto the Priests the Levites, *and unto the Judge that shall be in those days*,'—'the man that will not hearken unto the Priest that standeth to minister there before Jehovah thy God, *or unto the Judge*'—

is so vague and uncertain, as rather to imply the contrary.

702. It may be doubted also, perhaps, whether the Chronicler, as KUENEN and most critics suppose, is here giving an account of some one particular High Court of Judicature first established by Jehoshaphat, or whether his statements, so far as we can depend upon them, should be understood as saying more than

that Jehoshaphat, like our HENRY II, was traditionally famous as a judicial reformer. It is possible, indeed, that his *name*,—יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *Yĕhoshaphat*, 'Jehovah *judges*,' may have some connection with this account of his judicial arrangements. It may have had a real historical connection with them in Jehoshaphat's lifetime, or it may have given rise to the tradition of this king's having taken a lively interest in such matters, or it may have suggested to the Chronicler himself the probability of his having set the courts of justice in his time in active operation, as described in the narrative.

703. Of course, in the later days of the monarchy, and above all in the time of Josiah, who came to the throne at eight years of age, 2K.xxii.1, the chief and other principal Priests must have been persons of some consequence in Jerusalem, and would naturally be called to take a part in the decision of important causes, especially any connected with matters ecclesiastical.

And so in D.xix.17,18, we read,—

'Then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before Jehovah, before the Priests and the Judges, which shall be in those days; and the *Judges* shall make diligent inquisition,' &c.

If, however, reference *is* here supposed to be made to a regular Court, then, as KNOBEL observes, it deserves to be noted (as a token that the writer is not Moses himself) that the Court is not here introduced as one established by Moses, to be called into operation hereafter, but is set forth as already existing.

704. It need hardly be said that the notion of referring all difficult matters to the Priests the Levites,—'by whose word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried,' D.xxi.5,—could never have arisen in the days of David and Solomon, or any of the more powerful kings of Judah, who, we may be certain, decided themselves, as a Supreme Court, either in person or by their judicial officers, all such questions. Thus we are told that David 'executed judgment and justice unto all

people,' 2S.viii.15; and Solomon prays for 'an understanding heart,' that he may be able to 'judge so great a people,' 1K.iii.9. And, accordingly, we have very soon an instance of his deciding personally in such a case between the two women, 1K.iii.16–27; and it is added, *v.*29, 'And all Israel heard of the judgment, which the King had judged; and they feared the King; for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment.'

705. And this is confirmed when we observe the very subordinate position which the principal Priests occupy in the lists of the great officers of David and Solomon. Here, instead of finding—as we might expect from what we observe in the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, (where Aaron always ranks *next* to Moses, and Eleazar to Joshua, or even *before* him, Jo.xiv.1,) —that the High Priest is named, as first in honour and highest in rank and dignity, next to the King, we have mentioned, first, the chief captain, Joab—then the recorder, Jehoshaphat,—*then* the Priests, Zadok and Ahimelech, the scribe, Seraiah, the captain of the guard, Benaiah,—and, last of all, it is added,

'And David's sons were *chief rulers*,' 2S.viii.16–18.

And so in 1K.iv.1–6 we find them in a still lower position:—

'So King' Solomon was king over all Israel. And these were the princes which he had,—Azariah, the son of Zadok, *chief officer*,—Elihoreph and Ahiah, the sons of Shisha, secretaries,—Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, the remembrancer,—and Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, was over the host,—and *Zadok and Abiathar were the Priests*,—and Azariah, the son of Nathan, was over the officers,—and Zabud, the son of Nathan, was *principal officer* and the king's friend,—and Ahishar was over the household,—and Adoniram, the son of Abda, was over the tribute.'

706. It is also very noticeable that the word translated 'chief rulers' in 2S.viii.18 is in the original 'Priests.' It stands distinctly 'David's sons [*of the tribe of Judah*] were (כֹּהֲנִים, *cohănim*,) *Priests*.' The Hebrew word is the same as is used everywhere else for Priest, *viz.* כֹּהֵן, *cohen*,— the same exactly as that used for Aaron, Eleazar, or Phinehas. So in 2S.xx.26 we read, 'And Ira also, the Jairite, was a *Priest* (E.V. 'chief

ruler') about David.' And in the passage just quoted from 1K.iv.1-6, the word translated 'chief officer' is הַכֹּהֵן, *haccohen*, '*the* Priest,' and that rendered 'principal officer' is כֹּהֵן, *cohen*, 'Priest.'

On this point KALISCH writes, on E.ii.16 :—

The sons of David are called *Cohanim*, which, it is asserted, cannot mean *Priests*,—as these were only the descendants of Aaron,—but must here mean *civil officers*. But, as *David himself certainly offered sacrifices, and blessed the people, which are, undoubtedly, Sacerdotal functions*, he could as well confer upon his sons some of these ministrations. We, therefore, rather accede to EBN EZRA'S opinion. that every minister, even one of an idolatrous religion, is called Priest (*Cohen*). In E.xviii.12 pontifical functions are ascribed to Jethro. '*Cohen*' *means in a more extended sense public servant or officer, and might signify either a civil or clerical dignitary, or both at the same time; for it is well-known that the functions of Sovereign and Priest were, in ancient polities, united in the same person.*

707. With the latter portion of the above note we entirely agree. But when we observe that—not the sons of David alone, but—'Ira, the Jairite,' also, 2S.xx.26, and 'Zabud, the son of Nathan,' 1K.iv.5, are each designated by this name 'Cohen,' and that 'Azariah the son of Zadok' was '*the* Cohen' in Solomon's days, 1K.iv.2, it can scarcely be supposed that the Hebrew word is used exclusively of 'Priests' in the ordinary sense, or that David's sons are called 'Cohanim,' because he had empowered them to exercise certain sacerdotal functions. It is true, undoubtedly, as KALISCH observes, that both David and Solomon *did* discharge Priestly functions on various occasions; and this is one of the numerous evidences, which the history, as contained in the books of Samuel and Kings, when closely examined, (as it shall be, we trust, in the course of this work,) betrays of the non-existence of the laws of the Pentateuch in their present form in the days of David and Solomon, or, at least, of their not being in operation, and so of their not being regarded in those days as authoritative and Divine.

708. But it is clear that the word 'Cohen' was not used in those times, nor even in the yet later time when the above passages were written, exclusively with reference to religion. The very

fact, that it could be employed thus freely of *laymen*, shows that the more restricted use of the word, which afterwards prevailed, when the Priestly office became more dignified, had not yet come into vogue. It would be strange that a word, *already appropriated* to denote such a high sacred office, should be so lightly used of mere laymen. And, in, fact, we do not find the word so used in the later ages of the Jewish history. The Chronicler, indeed, says, 1Ch.xxvii.5,—

'The third captain of the host for the third month was Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the *chief priest*; (הַכֹּהֵן רֹאשׁ, *haccohen rosh*, E.V. *margin*, 'principal officer').'

It is impossible to say what he exactly means by this expression, whether that Benaiah, or Jehoiada, was 'Cohen Rosh.' But he probably has adopted the phrase from the passages just quoted, 2S.viii, 1K.iv. At all events, he never uses it again; and, instead of saying that the sons of David were 'Cohanim,' he writes, 1Ch.xviii.17, 'the sons of David were at the hand of the King.' In other words, they were, probably, 'Councillors of State,' and Azariah the son of Zadok, '*the* Cohen,' was, perhaps, the 'President of the Council.' In course of time, as the Priestly office gained ground, more and more, in position and influence,—though not in wealth,—the word Cohen became restricted to those who were set apart for sacred offices, and had charge of the ministrations of the Sanctuary,—just as if in England the word 'Minister' should no longer be used for 'ministers of state,' but be restricted to 'ministers of religion.'

*709. D.xvii.14–17.

'When thou art come unto the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it; and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom Jehovah thy God shall choose; one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother. But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses; forasmuch as Jehovah hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall

he multiply wives unto himself, that his heart turn not away, neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.'

It is plain that this passage, which distinctly allows the appointment of a king, and, indeed, would have been enough to *suggest* it, if the desire for one had not otherwise arisen,—which, so far from disapproving of the introduction of the kingdom, rather promises a special blessing, and a permanent continuance of royalty, to any pious king and his children,—could not have existed, as the declaration of the Divine Will, in the time of Samuel, or in the still later time of the author of the history of the election of the first king of Israel.

710. There we find Samuel charging it upon the people as a *great sin*, that they had desired a king,—

'That ye may see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of Jehovah, in asking for a king . . . . And all the people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto Jehovah thy God, that we die not; for we have added unto all our sins this evil to ask us a king.' 1S.xii.17–19.

Nay, Jehovah himself is introduced as saying to Samuel, 1S.viii.7—

'They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.'

Throughout the whole narrative, not the least reference is made to this law, as surely must have been the case if it was really in existence in those days; since either Samuel might have been expected to quote it, as laying down the conditions of the kingdom, if they were determined to have it, or the people would naturally have adduced it, as sanctioning, or, at any rate, excusing, their wish for a king.

711. Solomon, as we know, was the first king who 'multiplied' horses brought out of Egypt:—

'And Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen,' 1K.iv.26;

'And Solomon gathered together chariots and horsemen; and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, whom he bestowed in the cities for chariots, and with the king at Jerusalem, 1K.x.26;

'And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt . . . And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and an horse for an hundred

and fifty; and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria did they bring them out by their means,' 1K.x.28,29.

In later days Jotham also, Hezekiah's grandfather, did this, as Isaiah tells us, ii.7:—

'Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land is also full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots.'

And Hezekiah did the same:—

'Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are strong!' Is.xxxi.1;

'How wilt thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?' Is.xxxvi.9.

712. But, later still, Jeremiah condemns the kings of Judah strongly in his days for going down again to Egypt for help:—

'And now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Sihor? . . . Why gaddest thou about so much to change thy way? thou also shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria,' ii.18,36.

And he speaks with special emphasis against the people's 'returning' to Egypt to sojourn there.

'Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, the God of Israel: If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt, and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass that the sword, which ye feared, shall overtake you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, shall follow close after you there in Egypt: and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there. They shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence; and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, the God of Israel: As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt; and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach; and ye shall see this place no more. Jehovah hath said concerning you, O ye remnant of Judah; Go ye not into Egypt; know certainly that I have admonished you this day.' xlii.15–19.

While, therefore, in forbidding the multiplication of wealth and of wives, special reference may be made by the Deuteronomist to the well-known causes of Solomon's declension, 1K.x,xi, yet such a passage as that before us might very well have been written in the age of Josiah, and by the hand of such a Prophet as Jeremiah.

713. D.xvii.18–20.

'And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this Law in a book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites; and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear Jehovah his God, to keep all the words of this Law and these statutes, to do them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left, to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children, in the midst of Israel.'

We observe here, first, that the Book of the Law is said to be '*before the Priests the Levites*,' which seems to imply that, as we have been supposing, the roll, containing the Mosaic story, was left in the custody of the Priests all along, before and after the 'discovery of the Law' in Josiah's days.

714. But upon this passage SCOTT observes:—

It is probable that this law was very seldom observed by the kings of Judah, and never by the kings of Israel.

In another note, upon 2K.xxii.8–11, he says,—

It seems to have been *entirely neglected*, as well as the command to read the Law publicly to the people every year at the Feast of Tabernacles.

It is possible that Josiah, *after* the discovery of this book by Hilkiah the High Priest in the Temple, did actually proceed to carry out the direction, and begin, at all events, to copy the Book of the Law with his own hand. But what sign is there that either David or Solomon each made a copy for himself of this Law, or that any of the best kings did so,—even Joash, as a youth, under the 'direction' of the chief Priest Jehoiada? If they did, pious kings as they were, how is it to be explained that they completely neglected its precepts in so many points, as we know they did,—for instance, in sacrificing at Gibeon and other high places, 1K.iii.3,4, and in not duly keeping the Passover, 2K.xxiii.22?

715. On the other hand, if they did *not* make a copy of the Law, why was *this*? Can it be believed that they *knowingly* omitted to do so,—that is to say, that, having the Law itself (as is supposed) in their hands, with Pro-

phets and Priests to remind them of their duties, they wilfully or negligently passed by so solemn, and, indeed, so essential, a part of their duty, to themselves and to their people? Rather, have we not here also a proof, that the book of Deuteronomy, at all events, was not known to these kings, or to the Priests and Prophets of their day,—and, therefore, probably, did not exist, or, at least, if it did, was not recognised as having Divine authority? Indeed, if, instead of writing out the Law, these kings, or any of their Priests and Prophets, had only *heard* it or *read* it, as a Divine Law, it would be equally impossible to explain their surprising disregard of its most plain and positive injunctions, as we have seen in the instances above noted, and as we shall see more fully, when we come to consider hereafter, in another part of this work, the facts recorded in their history.

CHAPTER XI.

DEUT.XVIII.1–22.

716. D.xviii.1–5.

'The Priests the Levites,* all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel; they shall eat the offerings of Jehovah made by fire, and his inheritance. Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren; Jehovah is their inheritance, as He hath said unto them. And this shall be the Priest's due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep; and they shall give unto the Priest the *shoulder* and the *two cheeks*, and the *maw*. The firstfruit also of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the *first of the fleece of thy sheep*, shalt thou give him. For Jehovah thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes to stand to minister in the Name of Jehovah, him and his sons for ever.'

Here, again, the Priests and Levites are treated as identically the same. Jehovah is the 'inheritance' of the whole tribe of Levi; whereas in N.xviii.20, He is spoken of as the inheritance of Aaron and his sons only, and, accordingly, in N.xxxi.28,29, as we have seen (631), 'Jehovah's tribute' is given to the Priests alone, and the Levites are supplied from the share of the booty which belonged to the people.

Here, also, as in x.8, '*Levi* and his sons'—not '*Aaron* and his sons'—are said to have been 'chosen out of all the tribes to stand to minister in the Name of Jehovah.'

717. Again, we have here the income of 'the Priests the Levites' laid down, and in this account also there are some notable variations from the original directions.

* As before observed, the translators of the E.V., by inserting 'and' before 'all the tribe of Levi,' have here modified greatly the meaning of the original.

(i) The firstfruits of *wool* are added *v.*4; comp. N.xviii.12.

(ii) The *tithes* are altogether omitted, of which one-tenth belonged to the Priests, and the rest to the Levites.

(iii) A much more sumptuous provision than here is made for the Priests in E.xxix.28, L.vii.31–34, x.14, N.vi.20, xviii.18, *viz.* the breast or *brisket*, and the *hind-leg* (שׁוֹק, *shok*, E.V. 'shoulder,')—

'The wave-breast and the heave-hind-leg have I taken of the children of Israel from off the sacrifices of their peace-offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the Priest and unto his sons, by a statute for ever from among the children of Israel.' L.vii.34.

Here, however, the Priest is only to have 'the *shoulder*' (זְרוֹעַ, *zĕroăh*, 'fore-arm'), the two cheeks, and the maw.' SCOTT remarks—

The two cheeks, (probably, the whole head with the tongue,) and the maw are supposed to have been at this time *first granted* out of the peace-offering, *in addition* to what had before been allotted to the Priests and Levites; for they are not mentioned in the preceding laws.

But, if this provision for the Priests is an *additional* one, why then is nothing said about the former?

It seems probable that the more moderate provision was thought to be more suitable to the circumstances of the times in which the Deuteronomist lived.

718. KNOBEL, *Deut.p.*274, considers that—

D.xviii.1–4 belongs, perhaps, to the laws indicated in D.iv.44, while the rest of the chapter is Deuteronomistic.

He supports his view, however, only by observing that the Deuteronomist says 'with *you*,' xii.12, or 'with *thee*,' xiv.27,29, instead of 'with *Israel*,' as here, *v.*1, and that the expressions 'tribe of Levi, שֵׁבֶט לֵוִי, *shevet Levi*, and 'offering made by fire,' אִשֶּׁה, *ishah*, are strange to him.

Ans. (i) In the older ordinances the expression is 'in the midst of the *children of Israel*,' N.xviii.20,23,24; and the use of 'Israel' to express the whole people is very usual with the Deuteronomist, i.38, ii.12, iv.1, v.i, vi.3,4, ix.1, x.12, xvii.4,12, xix.13, xx.3, &c.

(ii) The Deuteronomist has שֵׁבֶט לֵוִי, *shevet Levi*, in x.8; and, in fact, the expression occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch; in the other books, we have always מַטֵּה לֵוִי, *matteh Levi*, N.i.49, iii.6, xviii.2.

(iii) אִשֶּׁה *ishah*, is here merely a technical expression, and could not well have

been avoided by any writer, who wished to state what the Priests were to receive of the 'sacrifices made by fire.'

719. Some have supposed that the sacrifices here meant are merely the ordinary slaughterings of cattle for private use; and reference is made to N.vi.19,20, where, in the case of a Nazarite's offering, the Priest is to receive a 'wave-shoulder' of the ram, besides the 'wave-breast and heave-leg.' But these last were only exceptional cases: and the law, which we are now considering, is manifestly intended to provide for the Priests a regular income. And so KNOBEL further remarks, *p.*275:—

The Jews, as JOSEPHUS and PHILO, whom some moderns follow, understand the passage not of sacrificial offerings, but of private slaughterings, at which the pieces in question were always to be given [to the Priests]. But *v.*3 is manifestly a more full explanation of the 'offerings of Jehovah made by fire' in *v.*1, and the Deuteronomist at such private slaughterings requires nothing, xii.25–27, but the maintenance of the law against eating blood. Could it then have been here prescribed in addition that the Hebrews should at every slaughtering send off those pieces to the often distant places of abode of the Priests and Levites? Or must they only slaughter in the presence of a Priest, and he himself carry off his portion to his home?

720. D.xviii.6–8.

'And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which Jehovah shall choose, then he shall minister in the name of Jehovah his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before Jehovah. They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.'

On the above we make the following remarks:—

(i) By 'Levite' is meant, as usual in this book, 'Priest.' This appears from the mention made of 'his brethren, the Levites,' as '*standing before Jehovah*,' a phrase only used of the Priests (615). Besides which he is spoken of as having a right, like the rest, to have his 'portion' to eat of the sacrifices, which it was only lawful for the *Priests* to partake of, L.vi.18,29, vii.6, though they might, probably, invite others, as an act of favour, to share in the Priest's portion of the *peace*-offerings, L.vii.34.

(ii) We have here again the representation of the 'Levite,' or 'Priest,' living 'in the gates' of others, with no reference of any kind to his living in a Levitical or Priestly city.

(iii) The impression left by the language used in this passage is that the Levites, as a body, were *not* very desirous of being employed at the Sanctuary,—that they did not generally come with 'all the desire of their mind' unto the place which Jehovah had chosen. This corresponds with the general declension of religion, and the impoverished state of the ecclesiastical body, which must have existed towards the close of Manasseh's, and in the beginning of Josiah's, reign.

721. D.xviii.15–22.

'Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And Jehovah said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that, whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my Name, I will require it of him. But the Prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my Name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that Prophet shall die. And, if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which Jehovah hath not spoken? When a Prophet speaketh in the name of Jehovah, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jehovah hath not spoken, but the Prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him.'

KURTZ declares himself 'unconditionally in favour of the exclusive reference [of these words] to one distinct individual, *viz.* the Messiah.' But he complains, iii.*p*.475:—

Wherever we have looked among the theologians of the present day, we have nowhere found the opinion reproduced, which prevailed both in the Synagogue and the Church down to modern times, *viz.* that we have here a pure and express prophecy of Christ. Thus HÄVERNICK is of opinion that 'the writer had in mind the various occasions, on which the people would stand in need of a Prophet, and announces accordingly, that on every such occasion a Prophet would be raised up. *A Prophet will I raise up*, that is, whenever circumstances require it.'

HENGSTENBERG finds here again that something or nothing, which he calls an ideal person. 'The Prophet here is an *ideal* person, comprehending all the true Prophets, who appeared between Moses and Christ, inclusive of the latter.' BAUMGARTEN alone comes round towards it, but without breaking away from the collective idea. He says, 'Moses speaks of the Prophet in such a way, that he may very well have had a plurality of Prophets in his mind, *viz.* as many as Israel might need for its guidance.'

722. It is needless to discuss the arguments, which KURTZ gives at considerable length in support of his view, that Moses is here distinctly referring to one individual, the Messiah; because we believe that it must now be considered to be a certain conclusion of criticism, that this book of Deuteronomy was written at a much later date than the others, so that these words can no longer be regarded as words recorded by Moses from the mouth of Jehovah Himself. They appear to embody a promise of Divine help for the people, in any of their future difficulties, as is shown by their connection with the preceding context. 'The Israelites are not to consult diviners, soothsayers, and necromancers, as the heathen do: Jehovah will not leave them under any necessity or with any excuse for doing this. But He will Himself supply them with counsel and comfort, when they need it, by sending some Prophet such as Moses, who, like him, should stand between them and God, should hear the words of God, and deliver them to the people. This is what they desired at Horeb, and they promised to listen, and diligently obey such Divine commands, if only God would speak to them by human mediation, and not with that terrible voice. Jehovah granted their request then, and will do so still, when Moses their present guide is gone. They shall never be without a divinely-instructed Teacher, if only they will obey him.'

723. Such seems to be the meaning of the above passage, which the Deuteronomist has very naturally put into the mouth of the aged lawgiver, before he bids farewell to his people.

In Hos. iv. 5 we have נָבִיא, *navi*, 'Prophet,' in the singular without the article, used, as here, collectively,—

'Therefore shalt thou fall in the day, and the prophet also (גַּם־נָבִיא, *gam-navi*) shall fall with thee in the night.'

The same idea of 'raising up (הֵקִים, *hekim*) a Prophet,' or of 'a Prophet rising (קָם, *kam*),' occurs only in D.xiii.1(2), xviii.15,18, xxxiv.10, and Jer.xxix.15; comp. Am.ii.11.

724. KNOBEL observes on this passage, *Deut.p.*276:—

'While other nations have had recourse to magicians and astrologers, Jehovah has not allowed this to Israel. Rather, He will awaken, cause to come forth, out of the midst of Israel, out of his brethren, Prophets, and them shall Israel hear—Prophets such as I am, who receive revelations from Jehovah, to declare them to the people.'

The passage applies to Prophets generally. For the writer has in his eye the whole post-Mosaic time, from the conquest of Canaan down to his own age, and promises for them the Prophet, upon whom they may rely. He contrasts him also with the different kinds of heathen soothsayers, and intends him manifestly in *v.*20 to be considered as a plurality [since he there speaks of *lying* Prophets, who are to be put to death]. He regards the Prophets, however, as connected together, or as a collective whole, which comprises all the successors of Moses, as the body of post-Mosaic Divine messengers,—the 'Prophetdom,'—and hence uses the singular. So we have the phrase, 'servant of Jehovah,' used collectively of all pious worshippers in Isaiah; and similar collective nouns are יוֹשֵׁב, *yoshev*, 'dwellers,' G.iv.20, אָב, *av*, 'fathers,' E.iii.6, [Is.xliii.27,] מִזְבֵּחַ, *mizbeakh*, 'altars,' E.xx.24.

CHAPTER XII.

DEUT. XIX. 1–XXII. 30.

725. D.xix.1–10.

'When Jehovah thy God hath cut off the nations, whose land Jehovah thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities and in their houses, thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of the land, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee to possess it. *Thou shalt prepare thee a way*, and divide the coasts of thy land, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every slayer may flee thither. . . . Wherefore I command thee saying, *Thou shalt separate three cities for thee.* And, if Jehovah thy God enlarge thy coast, as He hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which He promised to give unto thy fathers, . . . *then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, beside these three*, that innocent blood be not shed in thy land, &c.'

It seems plain that the writer contemplates only *six* cities of refuge altogether; first, 'thou shalt separate three cities for thee,' *v.*2, and then, when their land should be enlarged, 'thou shalt add three cities more for thee, *besides these three*,' *v.*9.

And so we have the command to the same effect in N.xxxv. 9–15:—

'And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall appoint you cities to be cities of refuge for you. . . . Ye shall give three cities on this side Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the land of Canaan, which shall be cities of refuge. These *six* cities shall be a refuge.'

Here also, as in the passage of Deuteronomy which we have now before us, the designation of the six cities is to be a *future* event, 'when ye be come over Jordan'; in both passages, first, the three cities on the East of Jordan are to be named, and then those on the West; and there is no sign whatever of more than six cities.

But then in D.iv.41–43 we are told, as of an act *already past*—

'Then Moses severed three cities on this side Jordan toward the sun-rising . . . namely, Bezer in the wilderness, in the plain country, of the Reubenites, and Ramoth in Gilead, of the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan, of the Manassites.'

726. SCOTT supposes *nine* cities to be intended, when the territory of Israel should have reached its full extent:—

Three cities of refuge had already been allotted on the East of Jordan; and the other three were ordered to be set apart, as soon as the people were settled in the country West of Jordan; and, in case their boundaries should in after ages be enlarged, three more were to be added.

But this explanation, however at first sight plausible, is not consistent with the language of the Deuteronomist, *v.*2,7,9, which clearly speaks only of *six* cities, in accordance with N.xxxv.9–15. Besides which, it can hardly be thought that, if he himself had written D.iv.41–43, he would have written also the passage now before us, without making any allusion to the three cities already set apart.

727. But, assuming now that the later origin of this book has been demonstrated, the explanation of the matter may be as follows. We have seen already (611) that D.iv.41–43 is a fragment of the older narrative, which has been inserted here by the Deuteronomist. It would seem that the older writer meant these six cities to be named, as soon as the Conquest was complete, and to be reckoned at once as *Levitical* cities, to which forty-two more were to be added out of the different tribes. Now, as the conquest of the territories on the East of Jordan was already made, this writer went on to represent Moses himself as separating before his death three cities for this purpose. The Deuteronomist has removed this passage from its original connection, and placed it at the end of the *first* of the addresses, which he puts into the mouth of Moses. Here, perhaps, he may have originally intended to have *brought his work to a close.* But, afterwards, he begins again abruptly, v.1, another address, in the course of which he introduces the direc-

tions for the six cities being severed, xix.1–10, without noticing, apparently, the contradiction thus caused with the passage of the older writer, iv.41–43, which he had previously inserted, and, perhaps, had retained by an oversight.

728. However this may be, it is plain that the anachronism exists. It may be observed also that no notice is taken in D.xix of the fact, that in the older document, N.xxxv.6, it is expressly ordered, that these six cities shall be 'among the cities which he shall give to the Levites'; and these cities are limited to *forty-eight*, which are afterwards mentioned by name in Jo.xxi, all situated in the districts lying immediately east and west of the Jordan. He *adds* the direction to 'prepare (keep in order) a way' to the refuge-cities, and *omits* all reference to the slayer's abiding in the city, which he had safely reached, 'unto the death of the High Priest, which was anointed with the holy oil,' N.xxxv.25.

729. There is no indication in the history that such cities of refuge ever really existed. But the Deuteronomist shows in this chapter, and elsewhere, (xix.10,13, xxi.8,9, xxii.8, xxvii.25), great earnestness in warning against the shedding of 'innocent blood,' by which the land would be defiled, and guilt lie upon them, with special reference, we may believe, to the crying sins of his own time. And *Jeremiah* refers repeatedly to such offences as common in his days, vii.6, xix.4, xxii.3,17, xxvi.15; and so we read, (perhaps, recorded, as we have said (574.v.), by the very same hand that wrote the solemn warnings of the book of Deuteronomy,)—

'Moreover, Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another,' 2K.xxi.16;

'Surely, at the commandment of Jehovah came this upon Judah, to remove them out of His sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed, for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which Jehovah would not pardon.' 2K.xxiv.3,4.

730. D.xix.14.

'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which *they of old time have*

set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that Jehovah thy God giveth thee to possess it.'

This language is that of one writing long after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, notwithstanding the reference to a future time in the last clause of the verse. Unless, however, we had already proved sufficiently the later age of the Deuteronomist, it would be unsafe to infer it merely from such a text as the above, as the Hebrew would, probably, allow of the translation, 'which they of old time *shall* have set, &c.'

731. D.xx.5,6.

'And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? Let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? &c.'

The Deuteronomist is plainly here referring to his own times, when houses were built and vineyards planted, and has lost sight of the fact that the wars, in which the people would be engaged for some years, according to the story, would be wars of conquest. And so writes BLEEK, *p.*210:—

It is plain that this law could only refer to the later times, when the relations of the Israelitish people were already settled in the land. Here, however, there is no reference whatever to this; but the law is given in general terms, as if it were capable of immediate application. We might certainly assume that if Moses had laid down such a regulation at a time (as it would seem from Deuteronomy) when the people were yet on the other side of Jordan, and had still to drive out the Canaanitish tribes from the land promised by Jehovah, it would have been uttered quite differently, and that, if the lawgiver had here been regarding at the same time the later relations, he would at all events have distinguished the two, and would have especially made prominent what he laid down for the immediate pressure of the circumstances of the people.

732. D.xx.10–15.

'When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it. And, when Jehovah thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword. But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in

the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which Jehovah thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.'

'It is well that we are no longer obliged to believe that the above frightful command emanated from the mouth of the Most Holy and Blessed One. This does not apply to the cities of Canaan only. But *any* city, which the Israelites might decide for any cause to 'fight against,' if it did not surrender on the very first summons, 'make an answer of peace,' and open to the foe, on the condition of becoming 'tributaries and servants,' was, according to this injunction, to be besieged and captured, and to this end the express aid of the Almighty is promised; and then all the males, except young children, are to be put ruthlessly to death.

733. SCOTT has, evidently, some difficulty in making his comments on the above.

We must suppose, in the cases here intended, that the Israelites had some warrantable cause of levying war, which covetousness, ambition, and the thirst of dominion could not be. When, therefore, they had been injured or assaulted by any foreign nation, they were required to proceed in the manner here prescribed; for the Lord purposed by these means to enlarge their dominions, whilst they continued obedient. There were, doubtless, wise reasons why they were not only *allowed*, but, as it seems, *commanded*, to put to death all the males who were capable of resistance. The lives and property of all men are the Lord's, forfeited to His Justice, to be disposed of at His Pleasure, and for His Glory. These regulations, however, are not to be the rule of our conduct, which must be directed by the general *law of love*; and that prohibits unnecessary bloodshed and plunder, in war as well as peace.

734. D.xx.16–18.

'But of the cities of these people, which Jehovah thy God doth give thee for thine inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against Jehovah your God.'

'Here also it is well for us to know that these are the words of the later Deuteronomist, and that such commands were never

really carried out, (as we know by the cases of Uriah the Hittite and Araunah the Jebusite,) nor ever meant by the writer to be carried out, but express, rather, his burning zeal against the idolatrous vices of his own countrymen in his own age, which he desired thus to brand with infamy, and to represent as worthy only of death. A people, that could practise these abominations, was only fit to be exterminated; and that would surely be the fate of Israel, if they persisted in them, according to the doom here denounced upon the nations of Canaan.

735. D.xxi.7,8.

'And they shall answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it. Be merciful, Jehovah, unto Thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israel's charge.'

We have instances of similar 'liturgical' formulæ in several places in Deuteronomy, *e.g.* xxi.7,8, xxvi.3,5–10,13–15, xxvii. 15,16; comp. xx.2–8, xxii.16,17, xxv.7–10. The only instance in the other books of the Pentateuch is N.vi.24–26; comp. N.x.35,36. It may be doubted whether such formulæ were ever really in use, or intended to be used. But, in the case before us, the Deuteronomist gives another indication of the horror which he had of the shedding of 'innocent blood' (729).

736. D.xxi.10–14.

'When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and Jehovah thy God hath delivered them into thine hand, and thou hast taken them captive, and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife; then shalt thou bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and mother a full month; and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife. And it shall be, if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go whither she will; but thou shalt not sell her at all for money, thou shalt not make merchandise of her, because thou hast humbled her.'

Here also we have the manners and customs of the writer's age exhibited, and not the justice, mercy, and purity, which would have marked a command really emanating from the Divine Wisdom

and Goodness. The Persian Cyrus or the Roman Scipio, though heathens, taught by their lives a higher morality than this, which, besides the inhumanity involved in it, practically sanctions concubinage and polygamy, as do also the following words, *v.*15–17—

'If a man have two wives, one beloved and another hated, &c.'

737. SCOTT remarks here—

By taking the captive into the house, and there keeping her retired, her disposition would be discovered more easily; and, if that proved disagreeable, the passion might abate. The becoming attire and ornaments, in which she might be taken captive, being changed for the mean habit of a mourner, might tend to diminish her attractions (!); 'shaving her head' would certainly have this effect; and the words, rendered 'paring her nails,' seem rather to mean 'letting them grow.' Some, however, think that she was in the interim to be instructed in the Law; and that these were external tokens of her renouncing idolatry, and embracing the religion of Israel.

Only 'one full month' was to be allowed for the captive maiden to bewail her parents, and, when 'humbled,' she was not to be sold. Probably, the practices of the times, to which the Deuteronomist is here referring, were even more unrighteous and inhuman than this, and the law, which he has here laid down, may have been designed to remedy such evils to some extent.

738. D.xxi.18–21.

'If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious; he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die; so shalt thou put evil away from among you, and all Israel shall hear and fear.'

It can hardly be believed that the above command was ever carried out, or written with a view to its being carried out, as it involves a number of inconsistencies, which will appear sufficiently by considering SCOTT'S comment upon the passage.

This law has great wisdom and mercy couched under its apparent severity; and it could not fail of producing most salutary effects, *as far as any regard was paid*

to it. The parents were the only prosecutors; both must concur in the prosecution; [no notice is taken of the case of a widower or widow having a rebellious son, or of a son being disobedient to one parent, and, perhaps, encouraged in his faults by the other, or of a rebellious and dissolute *daughter*, or of, perhaps, the most common case of all, when a son has been corrupted by the example of *vicious* parents, or ruined by the mismanagement of *weak* ones;] and the elders of the city must decide the cause. The prosecution could not be admitted but for stubbornness and rebellion, connected with gluttony and drunkenness, and persisted in after rebukes and corrections; and these vices tended directly to ruin families and communities. [How much more the vices or weaknesses of the *parents*, which had brought up such a child to the injury of the State!] The offender must be convicted and proved incorrigible, by evidence sufficient to induce the judges to denounce the sentence, and the men of the city to execute it. [There is nothing to indicate that any evidence was needed beside the simple assertion of the parents.] Natural affection would *seldom* be so overcome even by *the basest crimes*, as to admit *both* parents thus to join in prosecuting a son, much less to do so without sufficient cause. And in the very few instances, in which hasty rage, or implacable resentment, might induce parents to attempt such a *horrid unnatural murder*, as a needless prosecution must imply, the most effectual precautions were taken to prevent the consequences. [Where is there any sign of such 'precautions'?] The execution of the law must, of course, very seldom take place; and, if ever it did, it could not fail to excite general attention and alarm, and prove a salutary warning to tens of thousands. Its very existence, *as far as known*, would exceedingly strengthen the authority of parents, give weight to their commands, reproofs, and corrections, and create an additional fear of provoking their deep resentment. It would fortify young men against the enticement of bad companions, and the force of strong temptations, and thus check the progress of wickedness. Moreover, it would be a constant admonition to parents to watch over their children, and not improperly to indulge them or withhold correction, but to establish their authority over them while young, to pray for them, to check the first buddings of vice, and to set them a good example. [It is difficult to see how such a law as this could tend to produce this effect on the *parents*. A law to punish *them*, for the misconduct of their children of either sex, might in many cases have been at once more just and more beneficial.] This statute, therefore, so *harmless* and beneficial in its operations, yet so contrary to human policy [and the laws of natural affection], rather *proves* than *invalidates* the Divine authority of the book in which it stands recorded. No impostor would ever have thought of enacting such a law.

739. As before observed, there is no reason to suppose that the above law, though *imagined* by the Deuteronomist, was ever really meant to be acted on. It was, as SCOTT says, very 'harmless' in its operations, as regards any actual execution of its injunctions.

But it may be that the writer intended to teach a great lesson to the people of his time and of all times, by thus insisting on the paramount dignity of the parental authority. Besides the fact that, in a profligate age, 'disobedience to parents' is sure to be one of the prominent signs of the general corruption, Rom.i.30, the guilt of which attaches as much to the parents themselves as to the children, the Deuteronomist may have had a special purpose in marking *this* sin as deserving condign punishment, inasmuch as it shadowed forth the crying sins of the people of his time in their relations to Almighty God.

740. Accordingly, we find *Jeremiah* continually appealing to the Fatherhood of Jehovah, and condemning in the strongest terms the disobedience of His Children, the people of Israel. Thus he complains of their 'saying to a stock, Thou art my Father, to a stone Thou hast brought me forth,' ii.27.

And he writes:—

'Wilt thou not from this time cry unto me, My Father, Thou art the Guide of my youth?' iii.4.

'But I said, How shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage, of the hosts of nations? And I said, Thou shalt call me, My Father, and shalt not turn away from me,' iii.19.

'I am a Father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn,' xxxi.9.

'I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus: Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke . . . Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore my bowels are troubled for him, I will surely have mercy upon him, saith Jehovah,' xxxi.18–20.

And in ch.xxxv he compares the obedience of the sons of 'Jonadab, the son of Rechab,' with the stubborn and unruly conduct of His own children: comp. the following passages:—

'I have spoken unto them, but they have not heard; and I have called unto them, but they have not answered,' Jer.xxxv.17;

'If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them, &c.' D.xxi.18.

In this view of the case, the words of D.xxi.21 would have a great significance, 'and all Israel shall hear and fear.'

741. D.xxii.1–12.

KNOBEL observes on this passage, *Deut. p.*286.

We have here various commands, which seem to belong in part to the law indicated in iv.44. For in the language there is much, *e.g.* (i) אֲבֵדָה, *ăvedah*, 'lost thing,' *v.*3, (ii) כְּלִי, *kĕli*, 'article,' *v.*5, (iii) מְלֵאָה, *mĕleah*, 'fulness,' *v.*9, and (iv) כְּסוּת, *kĕsuth*, 'vesture,' *v.*12, which are not found elsewhere in Deuteronomy, and *v.*6–8 is, apparently, an insertion in the midst of the laws forbidding the mixture of various things. The author has, however, so worked together his own and the older passages, that it is impossible to separate them with certainty.

Ans. It is true that (i) אֲבֵדָה, *ăvedah*, is only found besides, in the whole Bible, in E.xxii.9(8), L.vi.3,4(v.22,23),—(ii) מְלֵאָה, *mĕleah*, in E.xxii.29(28), N.xviii.27,—while in the Pentateuch we find (iii) כְּלִי, *kĕli*, used in the above sense only in E.xxii.7(6), and (iv) כְּסוּת, *kĕsuth*, in E.xxi.10, xxii.27(26).

But it is plain from *v.*1,4, in which the writer quotes almost the very words of E.xxiii.4,5, enlarging upon them, that he has his eye especially on the laws contained in E.xxi,xxii,xxiii, and is reproducing some of them. Hence we may easily account for his employing the four unusual words above referred to, which are all found near each other in E.xxii.7,9,27,29,(6,8,26,28).

Also the direction in *v.*5, 'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are an abomination unto Jehovah thy God'—does *not* appear to be of the same class exactly, as those in *v.*9–11—'Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds. . . . Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together'—that is to say, it does not merely forbid the 'mixing' male and female garments, but seems rather to be based upon the idea of *indecency* in the practice forbidden; and most probably refers to some obscene practices in the idolatrous worship of the times, to which also we find allusion in D.xxiii.17,18. There is, consequently, as it appears to us, no sufficient ground for supposing with KNOBEL that *v.*6–8 is an interpolation, breaking the connection between *v.*5 and *v.*9–11.

Upon the whole, therefore, we conclude that there is no reason to assign any part of this section to any other writer than the Deuteronomist himself.

742. D.xxii.13–24.

Upon this passage also KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*287:—

Here also enactments from the law indicated in iv.44 seem to lie at the bottom, as we may conjecture from some expressions otherwise strange to the language of the Deuteronomist:—

(i) קָרַב, *karav* 'come near' (of sexual intercourse), *v.*14;

(ii) עָנַשׁ, h*anash*, 'amerce,' *v.*19;

(iii) בְּעֻלַת־בָּעַל, *behulath bahal*, 'possessed by a husband,' *v.*22;

(iv) עַל דְּבַר, h*al dĕvar*, 'because of,' *v.*24.

Scarcely, however, does the author give us all which he found in the older document, but only so much of it as seemed to him to be still necessary after L.xviii.20. On the other hand, he has probably made additions, *e.g.* 'put evil away from among you,' *v.*21,22,24.

Ans. The last-mentioned phrase is certainly peculiar to the Deuteronomist, xiii.5, xvii.7,12, xix.13,19, xxi.9,21, xxii.21,22,24, xxiv.7.

With respect to the others we observe as follows:—

(i) The Deuteronomist uses בּוֹא, *bo*, 'go in' to a woman, in xxi.13, xxv.5, but not, as KNOBEL observes, *instead of* קָרַב, *karav*: a little consideration will show that the latter word is used in a more restricted sense than the former; thus Ezekiel uses both, as we believe the Deuteronomist does, under different circumstances: *e.g.* 'Yet they went in (בּוֹא) unto her, as they go in (בּוֹא) unto a woman that playeth the harlot; so went they in (בּוֹא) unto Aholah and Aholibah, the lewd women,' Ez.xxiii.44.

Here בּוֹא, *bo*, is used of *visiting*, for improper purposes, a dissolute woman: but קָרַב, *karav*, is used more definitely by the same writer:—

'Neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near (קָרַב) to a menstruous woman.' Ez.xviii.6.

So in D.xxi.13, xxv.5, the context required בּוֹא only, but in xxii.14, קָרַב.

(ii) עָנַשׁ, h*anash*, 'amerce,' appears to have been adopted, as the four words in (741), from E.xxi.22, where it occurs twice: it is a rare word in the Bible, occurring only elsewhere in Am.ii.8, Pro.xvii.26, xxi.11, xxii.3, xxvii.12, 2Ch.xxxvi.3; but עֹנֶשׁ, h*oncsh*, 'tribute, fine,' is used (perhaps, by Jeremiah the Deuteronomist) in 2K.xxiii.33.

(iii) בְּעֻלַת־בָּעַל, *behulath bahal*, occurs only once besides in the Bible, *viz.* G.xx.3. It is impossible to found any argument upon it, more especially as it seems to be a kind of *technical* phrase for a married woman or *femme coverte*. The *verb* בָּעַל, *bahal*, is found in D.xxi.13, xxii.22, xxiv.1, Jer.iii.14, xxxi.32, and eleven times besides in the Bible.

(iv) עַל דְּבַר, h*al dĕvar*, occurs also in xxiii.5, which, however, KNOBEL reckons also to the older document, but, apparently, without sufficient reason (743). We find the plural form, עַל־דִּבְרֵי, h*al divre*, in the same sense in Jer.xiv.1.

Upon the whole, we conclude that this passage also is due to the Deuteronomist.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEUT. XXIII. 1–XXVI. 19.

743. D.xxiii.1–8(2–9).

Here again, says KNOBEL, *Deut.p.*290:—

'These words also belong probably to the Law indicated in iv.44. For the unfavourable notice in *v.*4 does not suit the Deuteronomist; and the expressions קְהַל יְהוָה, *kĕhal Yehovah*, 'congregation of Jehovah,' *v.*1,2,3,8, and עַל דְּבַר, h*al dĕvar*, 'because of,' *v.*4, are elsewhere unknown to him; however, *v.*4(*b*)–6 may be his... . The second clause of *v.*4,—where, in variation from the first clause, 'because they met *you* not with bread and water,' Israel is spoken of in the *singular*, 'and because they hired against *thee* Balaam. . . to curse *thee*,'—seems to be a Deuteronomistic addition. The statement, that Jehovah would not listen to Balaam, and had turned his curse into a blessing, stands here quite superfluous, and is due to the Deuteronomistic speaker. Only he in the Pentateuch uses אָהַב, *ahav*, of Jehovah 'loving' Israel (552.x), and the phrases, 'Jehovah thy God,' (554) and קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse' (552.xviii), are especially current with him.'

Ans. We have a similar change of *numbers* in other places of Deuteronomy, *e.g.* xii.5, 'unto His habitation shall *ye* seek, and thither *thou* shalt come,' *v.*7, '*ye* and *your* households, wherein Jehovah *thy* God hath blessed *thee*,' xxix.5, '*your* clothes are not waxen old upon *you*, and *thy* shoe is not waxen old upon *thy* foot.'

We have already considered עַל־דְּבַר (742.iv); and as to קְהַל יְהוָה, we have it *six* times in this passage, and only besides in the Bible in N.xvi.3, xx.4, Mic.ii.5; 'congregation of Elohim' occurs in Ju.xx.2, Neh.xiii.1, 'congregation' in Lam.i.10, and in the last two passages reference is made to these words of Deut.: comp.1K. xi.2. But קָהָל, *kahal* (548.xii), is the only word used by the Deuteronomist for 'congregation,' and, as we have seen, *Jeremiah* uses it in Lam.i.10, with express reference to this very command in D.xxiii.3, and the complete formula is used by his near predecessor, Micah.

Also דָּרַשׁ (לְשָׁלוֹם) אֶת־שְׁלוֹם, *darash* (*lĕshalom*) *eth-shalom*, 'seek the peace,' is found only here, D.xxiii.6(7), and Jer.xxix.7, xxxviii.4, Ezr.ix.12, in which last reference is made to D.xxiii.6(7); comp. Esth.x.3.

There does not appear, therefore, to be any sufficient reason

for *not* ascribing this passage, like the rest, wholly to the Deuteronomist; though there appears to be a contradiction, as KNOBEL observes, between the statement *here* made, *v.*4, that neither Ammonite nor Moabite 'met the people with bread and water' on their way out of Egypt, and the fact incidentally mentioned with respect to the Moabites in ii.29, which may be the result of inadvertence on the part of the writer.

744. The superstitious rules in xxiii.1,2, (the like to which have even been repeated in the Christian Church,) cannot certainly be ascribed without irreverence to the Gracious God and Father of all. Especially, the exclusion of a 'bastard' *to the tenth generation* from the privileges of the Sanctuary, while the *father*, the guilty cause of his child's illegitimate birth, was not excluded, and when children by a concubine, — by one, perhaps, of many belonging to the same man, — had also free access to the sacred place, — seems, to our modern sense of right and equity, most unjust. The law was evidently designed to act as a check on promiscuous fornication and adulterous connexions, while polygamy and concubinage were allowed. But its action would have been directly opposed to the principles of Divine government, as announced by Ezekiel,xviii.20, and, indeed, by the Deuteronomist himself in another place, xxiv.16,—

'The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin;'

whereas this law punished the child and his descendants for centuries for the sin of the parent.

745. The 'Ammonite' and 'Moabite' are mentioned here, in connection with the 'bastard,' &c. with manifest reference to the story of the incestuous origin of Moab and Ammon in G.xix. 30–38; and these also are to be excluded from the 'congregation of Jehovah' unto their tenth generation, *v.*3. There is, doubtless, here a reference also to the inveterate enmity which existed between these nations and Israel in the writer's own time. We have already quoted passages (594, 596), which show

that both the Moabites and Ammonites were independent and powerful communities in the days of *Jeremiah*; and in 2K.xxiv.2 bands of each nation are spoken of as harassing Judah, together with the Chaldees and Syrians, shortly after the death of Josiah. We may infer that both these kindred peoples entertained the same spirit of hostility towards the people of Jehovah, which we find expressly ascribed to Moab in Jer.xlviii.26,27,42:—

'Make ye him drunken, for he magnified himself against Jehovah; Moab also shall wallow in his vomit, and he also shall be in derision. For was not Israel a derision unto thee? . . . Moab shall be destroyed from being a people, because he hath magnified himself against Jehovah.'

It may be with reference to this permanent state of ill feeling, which existed between Israel and these two nations, that the Deuteronomist charges the Israelites with respect to them, *v.*6—

'Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever.'

746. D.xxiii.7,8.

'Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother. Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land.'

The singular reason here given for 'not abhorring the Egyptian,' after all the afflictions which the people had suffered in the 'iron furnace,' the 'house of bondage,'—*viz.* 'because thou wast a stranger in his land,'—points, probably, as we have said (712), to some close connection with Egypt in the days of the Deuteronomist. Josiah himself was killed by Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, 2K.xxiii.29. But it is very probable that, in the earlier part of his reign of 31 years, there was a much better feeling between Judah and Egypt.

747. In the time of his grandfather Hezekiah there must have been an alliance between them; since Rabshakeh says, 2K.xviii.21,—

'Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this broken reed, even upon Egypt.'

And though the Prophet did not approve of this connection, yet there was evidently a great deal of friendliness between the two peoples in the days of Isaiah. Thus he writes:—

'Woe to the rebellious children . . . that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt. . . . For the Egyptians shall help in vain and to no purpose.' Is.xxx.2,7.

'Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help. . . . Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit.' Is.xxxi.1,3.

And, as observed above (746), the language of Jeremiah in ii.18,36, implies that in the early part of his reign Josiah expected friendly help from Egypt:—

'What hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Sihor? . . . . Thou also shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria.'

748. Egypt also was a place of refuge for many Jewish fugitives after the destruction of Jerusalem, in spite of the strong remonstrances of the Prophet, whom they carried with them, Jer.xliii.6,7. The reason for his opposition to this movement was, evidently, the certainty which he felt that the people would there give themselves up to gross idolatry, as, in fact, they did, Jer.xliv.7,8:—

'Wherefore commit ye this great evil against your souls, to cut off from you man and woman, child and suckling, out of Judah, to leave you none to remain; in that ye provoke me unto wrath with the works of your hands, burning incense unto other gods in the land of Egypt, whither ye be gone to dwell?'

749. Of Judah's relations with Edom we know nothing from the history in the reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah. In the days of Ahaz, Hezekiah's father, the Edomites had come, and smitten Judah, and carried away captives, according to the Chronicler, 2Ch.xxviii.17. There may have been peace with them afterwards,—at all events, at the time when the Deuteronomist was writing; and, indeed, we hear nothing of their troubling Judah any further, till they seem to have triumphed at the Fall of Jerusalem, Lam.iv.21, Ob.10–14.

750. D.xxiii.16–26.

Here also KNOBEL observes, *Deut.*p.291:—

These verses probably belong in part to the Law indicated in iv.44; at least

in *v.*16–19 there is much which elsewhere is foreign to the language of the Deuteronomist, *e.g.* (i) the plural form, אֲדֹנִים *ădonim*, 'lord,' *v.*15(16), used of men, (ii) הוֹנָה, *honah*, 'oppress,' *v.*16(17), (iii) קְדֵשָׁה, *kĕdeshah*, 'prostitute,' *v.*17(18), (iv) 'House of Jehovah,' *v.*18(19).

Ans. (i) אֲדֹנִים, *ădonim*, is used, it is true, of a human master in G.xxiv.9,51, xxxix.2,3,7,8,16,19,20, xl.1,7, &c., E.xxi.4,4,6,6,8,32; but the same writer uses also the singular form in G.xlii.10, xliii.20, xliv.5,7, &c., E.xxi.5, so that the plural form is not characteristic of his style. In Deuteronomy the plural occurs *twice* in the passage now before us, and *twice* also in x.17 in the phrase 'Lord of lords;' but the Deuteronomist does not employ the word again either in the singular or plural, so that it is impossible to say that this form is 'foreign' to his style. From the facts before us we should infer rather the contrary; perhaps, he would have used both forms, as the other writer has done; or, in the case before us, the word may really be used with a plural meaning, 'thou shalt not deliver unto his masters the servant which is escaped from his masters,'—the case supposed being evidently that of a slave escaped, not from a Hebrew master, but from a foreign country.

(ii) הוֹנָה, *honah*, occurs in E.xxii.21(20), which the Deuteronomist may have had in view, also in L.xix.33, xxv.14,17, and in Jer.xxii.3; and the root יָנָה, *yanah*, is used in the same sense in Jer.xxv.38, xlvi.16, l.16.

(iii) קָדֵשׁ, *kadesh*, 'sodomite,' fem. קְדֵשָׁה, *kĕdeshah*, is a word unlikely to be repeated in Deuteronomy; the former occurs in 1K.xiv.24, xv.12, xxii.46(47), 2K.xxiii.7, (perhaps, by the hand of Jeremiah, [?] the Deuteronomist), and Job xxxvi.14; the latter is only found besides in G.xxxviii.21,22, Hos.iv.14. It cannot be said to be 'foreign' to the Deuteronomist.

(iv) 'House of Jehovah' occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch, except in E.xxiii.19, so that no argument can be built on this expression; but the entire phrase 'the House of *Jehovah thy God*' would seem to be decidedly Deuteronomistic (554).

On the whole, there appears to be no sufficient reason for not ascribing this whole passage to the Deuteronomist, more especially as KNOBEL himself observes —

The phrase 'in one of thy gates,' *v.*16, seems to be a Deuteronomistic addition; unless, indeed, this whole direction generally, *v.*15,16, is due to the Deuteronomist.

In *v.*19,20, the law against usury, as laid down by the older writer in E.xxii.25–27, is qualified in a way which indicates the growth of *commercial intercourse* in the writer's time. 'A Jew may lend on usury to a stranger, but not to his brother Jew.'

751. D.xxiii.17,18.

'There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog (='re-

ward of sodomy'), unto the House of Jehovah thy God for any vow: for even both these are abomination unto Jehovah thy God.'

The words קָדֵשׁ, *kadesh*, קְדֵשָׁה, *kĕdeshah*, here translated 'sodomite' and 'whore,' mean literally 'consecrated.'

It appears from the above that the practice, which prevailed among the Aramæan tribes, of maidens and boys prostituting themselves in honour of their deities, existed also in the writer's time among the Hebrews, and was not thought incompatible with the worship of Jehovah. This no doubt arose from the mixture of Jehovah-worship with idol-worship in the 'high places,' and accounts for the energy with which the Deuteronomist declares himself against them, and the strong effort he makes to abolish them throughout the land. Reference is most probably made to these vicious practices in the account of the sins of Israel, committed with the 'daughters of Moab' in N.xxv. But the older legislation, apparently, did not find it necessary to forbid these abominations, which were the growth of a more advanced state of corrupt civilisation.

752. D.xxiv.5,6.

These verses also, according to KNOBEL, *p.*295, may belong to the older document, since for יָצָא בַצָּבָא, *yatsa vatsava*, 'go out in the host,' the Deuteronomist uses the phrase יָצָא לַמִּלְחָמָה, *yatsa lammilkhamah*, 'go out to the war,' xx.1, xxi.10. Also here the newly-married man is *not* to go out; whereas in xx.7 the rule is laid down that the man betrothed must join the forces, but be dismissed at the muster to go home.

Ans. xx.7 speaks of a man only betrothed, who 'hath not yet taken' his wife; while xxiv.5 says 'when a man hath taken a new wife, &c.': so that there is really no contradiction in the two injunctions. As to the use of לַמִּלְחָמָה instead of בַצָּבָא, the former is used in N.xxxi.21, and the latter by the *same* writer in *v.*36, and for 'men of war' he uses אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה, *anshe hammilkhamah*, *v.*49, and אַנְשֵׁי הַצָּבָא, *anshe hatsava*, *v.*53.

There seems no sufficient reason, therefore, for not ascribing these verses to the Deuteronomist.

753. D.xxiv.8,9.

'Take heed in the plague of leprosy that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the Priests the Levites shall teach you; as I commanded them, so

ye shall observe to do. Remember what Jehovah thy God did unto Miriam by the way, after that ye were come forth out of Egypt.'

This is the only *direct* reference to the older statute-book, which we find in Deuteronomy; and here we have no longer his usual phrase, 'as I command thee this day.' It is plain from the above that the older document, with its laws about leprosy, &c. *did* remain, as we have supposed, in the keeping of the Priests, in a book that was 'before the Priests the Levites,' D.xvii.18, and served as a kind of directory for their proceedings in all matters of this kind, and as a record from which they might instruct the people. This is in accordance with the words of the old Law, L.x.11, addressed to the Priests—

'And that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which Jehovah hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses.'

And this explains also the allusions in the Prophets to the Priests being the professed teachers of the Law, *e. g.*—

'The Law shall not perish from the Priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the Prophet,' Jer.xviii.18;

'And they shall teach my people (the difference) between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean,' Ez.xliv.23;

and see also Hag.ii.11–13, Mal.ii.7.

754. D.xxv.5–10.

This law, that a brother must take to wife his dead brother's widow, must in all cases, where the surviving brother was already married, not only have permitted and sanctioned, but actually encouraged, nay, even enjoined, polygamy, under the penalty of a lasting disgrace attaching to the man who refused to take this additional wife,—not to speak of the consequences of his disregarding a (supposed) Divine command. Even if unmarried, it would have been a great hardship to have had his brother's widow forced upon him, as his *only* companion for life. It cannot be supposed that such a man would generally have been content with her alone, especially as polygamy was permitted. She might be old, ill-favoured, ill-tempered, sickly;

and his dead brother might have left him more wives than one to be taken in this way.

Regarding the law, however, as of human origin, it may be observed that a similar practice prevails among the Zulus and other South African tribes.

755. HENGSTENBERG observes, ii.*p*.87:—

'That Deuteronomy is more ancient than the book of Ruth appears from the circumstance that the writer of the latter describes the symbolic action of taking off the shoe as one that has grown obsolete in his time, while in Deuteronomy it is spoken of as in actual use, and requiring no explanation.'

Ans. The 'symbolic action' described in Deuteronomy has not the slightest resemblance to that spoken of in R.iv.7,8. In the latter passage we read, 'Now this was the manner in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirm all things—a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a testimony in Israel.' The writer is expressly speaking of a symbolic practice in effecting a sale of land: the seller gave his shoe to the buyer, in token that he gave him the right of walking over it. But here in D.xxv.8,9, the case is that of a man who refuses to marry his dead brother's wife; and we read, 'If he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her, then shall *his brother's wife* come unto him in the presence of the elders, *and loose his shoe from off his foot*, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man, that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.'

The two 'symbolic actions,' therefore, are entirely different in their object and nature.

756. D.xxv.17–19.

We have here the command enforced upon Israel—

'Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it.'

We hear nothing of the Amalekites in the more authentic history of the later kings. But in Ps.lxxxiii.7, written, as we suppose, in David's time, we find mention made of Amalek, as joined with the other neighbouring nations, Edom, Moab, Ammon, the Philistines, and the Syrians, in a grand confederacy against Israel. And in 1Ch.iv.41–43, we read of certain Simeonites in the days of Hezekiah, who 'went to Mount Seir,' and 'smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day.' They may have survived as a

people down to the days of the Deuteronomist, though, perhaps, they existed in his time as a small and inconsiderable tribe, dwindling away to nothing.

757. D. xxvi. 12–15. Upon this passage see (654).

It can scarcely be supposed that this diffuse formula was ever really intended to be used. It was meant most probably to remind the pious Israelite of his duty towards the poor and the Levite; and, as before noticed, the stress is here distinctly laid upon the due employment in works of charity of the tithe of the *third* year, 'the year of tithing,' which was to be spent *at home* in general feasting, to which, besides all the members of the family, the needy and destitute of all kinds were to be invited. It seems as if the writer *did* hope that this law with respect to the tithes might be carried out, whatever might be the case with the others.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEUT. XXVII. 1–26.

758. D.xxvii.1–8.

'And Moses, with the elders of Israel, commanded the people, saying, Keep all the commandments, which I command you this day. And it shall be on the day, when ye shall pass over Jordan into the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster. And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law, when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, *a land that floweth with milk and honey*, as Jehovah, the God of thy fathers, hath promised thee. Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in *Mount Ebal*, [Sam. '*Gerizim*,' LXX. '*Ebal*'], and thou shalt plaster them with plaster. And there shalt thou build an altar unto Jehovah thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of Jehovah thy God of whole stones; and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto Jehovah thy God; and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before Jehovah thy God. *And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this Law very plainly.*'

759. The Samaritan Pentateuch has the following addition after E.xx.17, that is to say, immediately after the Ten Commandments:—

'And it shall be, when Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, then thou shalt set thee up great stones; and thou shalt plaster them with plaster, and shalt write upon the stones all the words of this Law. And it shall come to pass, when ye are passed over Jordan, that ye shall put these stones, which I command you this day, upon *Mount Gerizim*. And thou shalt build thee an altar to Jehovah thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of Jehovah thy God of whole stones; and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto Jehovah thy God; and thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before Jehovah thy God. That mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the

champaign, (properly, desert, Arabah,) over against Gilgal, beside the plain of Moreh, near Sichem.'

In short, the second passage is almost identically the same with the first, except that it has *Mount Gerizim* as the place, where the stones of the Law were to be set up, instead of *Mount Ebal.*

760. The following are the particulars, more precisely, in which the passage in Deuteronomy differs from that in the Samaritan Pentateuch after E.xx.17 :—

(i) In *v.*2, for 'It shall be when Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it,' the Deuteronomist writes, 'It shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee.'

(ii) In *v.*3, after 'the words of this Law,' he has added, 'when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, a land that floweth with milk and honey, as Jehovah thy God hath promised thee.'

(iii) In *v.*4, he has changed 'Mount Gerizim' into 'Mount Ebal,' and repeated superfluously the command, 'Thou shalt plaster them with plaster,' already given in *v.*2.

(iv) He has omitted the last sentence of the Samaritan passage, and inserted it, slightly modified, in D.xi.30.

761. Upon this point, KENNICOTT writes as follows, *Diss.i.p.*96 :

It must have appeared strange, surprisingly strange, during the reader's perusal of the preceding remarks, that it is not more clearly expressed *what* this Law, thus to be engraved, *was*,—that a point of so much importance should not have been, somewhere or other, very accurately noted, and very particularly circumscribed by Moses, partly for the more secure direction of Joshua, and partly to render this awful transaction more intelligible through future ages. But all this surprise ceases—all this puzzle is unravelled—all this uncertainty is at once removed—if we allow the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch, if we will but grant that there may have been in the Hebrew text a certain passage, which is now found in all the copies of the Samaritan Text and Version, and which is also found, exactly as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in that Arabic version of it, in the Arabic character, which has been before mentioned, and which is a very valuable, because a very literal, version. For in E.xx, as soon as the Tenth Commandment is concluded, we read in the Samaritan Pentateuch the five following verses—'And it shall be, &c.' [as above.]

Here, then, according to this truly venerable copy of the Book of Moses, all is clear. The whole is perfectly regular, and in harmonious proportion. We have seen the several circumstances, concurring to render it highly probable that the

Ten Commandments constituted the Law, which was to be engraved. And, as it can scarcely be conceived that such a point could have been quite omitted by Moses, it makes greatly for the honour of the Samaritan Pentateuch, to have preserved so considerable a passage. *Why* the ancient Jews should omit this passage, can be a matter of no doubt at all with those, who mark the honour it does to Mount Gerizim. And, therefore, the same men who corrupted D.xxvii.4, have but acted with uniformity, if they have also corrupted E.xx, *omitting* Gerizim in the latter instance just as honestly as they *altered* it in the former.

But that some few verses *did* formerly follow after the Tenth Commandment in E.xx.17, and before *v.*18, we have not only the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch, (which, together with the several foregoing confirmations, may be thought satisfactory,) but we have also the authority of an ancient Syrian MS., which contains a version of the O.T., and is catalogued in the Bodleian Library, 3,130. Between *v.*17 and *v.*18, at the very place where the passage is now found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in this Syriac MS., though translated from a *Hebrew* copy, there is left, in the middle of the page, a vacant space, just equal to the five verses expressed in the Samaritan. And *no such vacant space* is left anywhere else through the whole MS., excepting a space somewhat larger in Ecclus.xxvii and one somewhat less in 2Macc.viii. The inference from this very remarkable circumstance I leave to the learned reader.

That the Samaritan Text should be condemned as corrupted *merely* for having more in it than the Hebrew, no man of learning will maintain. Certainly, the Jews *might omit*, as easily as the Samaritans *might insert*. And I presume that it has been, and will be hereafter more fully, proved, that several whole passages, now in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew Pentateuch, are not interpolations in the former, but omissions in the latter.

762. In addition to the above remarks of KENNICOTT we may observe:—

(i) If the Samaritans *introduced* the passage after E.xx.17, in order to do special honour to their sacred Mount Gerizim, they must have copied it from the passage in Deuteronomy already existing, only changing Ebal into Gerizim.

(ii) But in that case they would not surely have omitted the very characteristic expression, 'a land that floweth with milk and honey,' which occurs in the latter, *v.*3.

(iii) There was a reason why, *after* the Captivity, when such hostility existed between the Jews and Samaritans, and the latter had built their opposition Temple on Mount Gerizim, the *Jews* should have corrupted the Text of these Scriptures, as KENNICOTT supposes.

(iv) But there was no reason why any Jewish writer, living in any age *before* the Captivity, should not have chosen the splendid Table-Mountain* of Gerizim (326.i), in the very centre of the land of Canaan, and visible afar off, as the site on which the stones should be set up, containing the record of God's covenant with Israel, in sight, as it were, of all the people of the land.

(v) And we actually find Gerizim chosen—and, as we shall see (770), probably, by the Deuteronomist himself—as the Mount of *Blessing*, xxvii.12, on which Joshua himself was to take his stand, with the principal tribes of Levi, Judah, Joseph, and Benjamin; whereas Ebal was to be the Mount of Cursing, *v.*13, on which the inferior tribes were stationed.

763. There seems, therefore, every reason to believe that KENNICOTT'S suggestion is well founded, *viz.* that—

(i) The passage D.xxvii.2–8 has been copied by the Deuteronomist from the passage which stood originally in the Hebrew MS. after E.xx.17;

(ii) He has inserted in it the phrase 'a land that floweth with milk and honey,' which is one of his favourite phrases (793.iv.);

(iii) The later Jews have altered in *v.*4 the name Gerizim, which the Deuteronomist wrote, into Ebal, and have struck out also altogether the original passage after E.xx.17.

764. Hence we can explain the origin of the expression 'all

* It seems doubtful if LUDOLF'S description of the fertility of Gerizim and comparative barrenness of Ebal, quoted from KENNICOTT in (326.ii), can be altogether relied on. ROBINSON writes, *Bibl. Res.* iii. *p.* 96: 'Mounts Gerizim and Ebal rise in steep rocky precipices immediately from the valley on each side, apparently some 800 feet in height. The sides of both these mountains, as here seen, were to our eyes equally naked and sterile; although some travellers have chosen to describe Gerizim as fertile, and confine the sterility to Ebal. The only exception in favour of the former, so far as we could perceive, is a small ravine coming down opposite the western end of the town, which, indeed, is *full of fountains and trees.* In other respects, both mountains, as here seen, are desolate, except that a few olive-trees are scattered upon them.'

the words of this Law,' *v.*3,8, which in the context, in which they now stand, can only, as KNOBEL says, be referred—

not to the 'blessings and curses,'- nor to the 'law of Deuteronomy' only, but to the whole Mosaic Law, though the writer means only the actual prescriptions of the Law,—according to the Jews, 613 in number,—and not, at the same time, all narratives, warnings, admonitions, speeches, reasonings, &c.

But to engrave on stones even the 'blessings and curses,' if by this is meant the matter in D.xxvii.15–xxviii.68, would have required an immense amount of labour and material,—much more the whole Law of Deuteronomy, or the 613 precepts.

SCOTT says on this point:—

Some expositors think that the whole book of Deuteronomy was written on these plastered stones, and that they were twelve in number, according to the tribes of Israel; others restrict the writing to the *preceptive* part of it; others to the *Ten Commandments* only; while many are of opinion that the latter part of this chapter alone is meant. Indeed, as the stones were placed on Mount *Ebal*, whence the *curses* were denounced, it is probable that these were added. But we may conclude that at least the Ten Commandments, and the great outlines of the whole Law, were likewise inscribed in the most legible manner.

765. Applied, however, as the direction appears to have been in its original position, only to the 'Ten Commandments,' the 'ten words,' E.xxxiv.28, which are expressly 'called *the* Law, הַתּוֹרָה, *hatTorah*, E.xxiv.12, (not 'a Law,' E.V.) the phrase 'all the words of this Law' is quite intelligible. The Deuteronomist appears to have transferred the direction from the end of the Ten Commandments to the end of (what may be considered to be) his *expansion* of the Ten Commandments, without observing that in that connection it was incongruous and impracticable, as, in fact, he never really contemplated its being actually carried out.

766. KNOBEL is of opinion that —

In *v.*5–7(*a*) we have an older notice, retouched by the Deuteronomist, while the rest is pure Deuteronomistic matter.

He does not, however, give his reason for this. Certainly, the command is given in *v.*5,6, to 'build an altar of stones, of *whole* stones—thou shalt not lift up any tool upon them,' which seems more suited to the age of the older document, where it is

expressly forbidden, E.xx.25, to build an altar of *hewn* stone—'for, if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it,'—than to the later days of the Deuteronomist, when such altars, made with tools, must have been common. But this direction is accounted for upon KENNICOTT'S theory. In the original position of the words, after E.xx.17, the command in question was most appropriate, in close connection with the words immediately following in E.xx.25; and the Deuteronomist has only repeated the same language. We may observe also, that in *v.*7 the expression 'peace-offerings' is used, which is found nowhere else in Deuteronomy. But this also *may* have been merely copied from the original passage, when it would have stood in close connection with the words, 'thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings,' in E.xx.24. If, however, as KNOBEL says, the 'rest of the passage,'—or, as we believe, the *whole* of it, since throughout, in *v.*2,3,5,6,7,7, we find the favourite Deuteronomistic formula, 'Jehovah thy God,'—is 'pure Deuteronomistic matter,' the question remains to be considered hereafter, when we examine closely the book of Exodus, whether the *original* passage after E.xx.17 may not have been a Deuteronomistic insertion in the earlier narrative. 'Peace-offerings' are named in 1K.iii.15, viii.63,64,64, 2K.xvi.13, and the complete phrase 'burnt-offerings and peace-offerings' in 1K.ix.25; so that the Deuteronomist *might* have used it.

767. D.xxvii.11–26.

'And Moses charged the people the same day, saying, These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are come over Jordan,—Simeon, and *Levi*, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin; and these shall stand upon Mount Ebal to curse,—Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali. And the *Levites* shall speak, and say unto all the men of Israel with a loud voice, Cursed be the man, &c. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen.'

It is not easy to see what is the exact meaning of the above direction, as it now stands. Six tribes are to *bless*, and six to *curse*, and among the *former* is placed the tribe of *Levi*; then,

afterwards, the *Levites*, who should be standing with the other five *blessing* tribes, are to pronounce the *curses*, and *all* the people are to 'say, Amen.' It is true, these 'Levites' are most probably the 'Priests,' whom we find so continually mentioned as 'Levites' in Deuteronomy; and, if the whole passage is due to one hand, we may suppose that the whole *tribe* of Levi was to stand on Gerizim to bless, while the small body of Priests were to take their place, perhaps, in such a position as to command both parties, and 'give out' the words both of blessing and of cursing. Still it seems strange that the *same* writer should have left such a confusion in his story as now exists, setting the '*tribe of Levi*' to *bless*, in *v.*12, and the '*Levites*' to pronounce the *curse*, in *v.*14, without any kind of explanation. Nor is there any indication whatever of the original direction being carried out, of six tribes blessing and six cursing. And the 'blessings,' which follow in xxviii.3–6, are not given at all in the same way as the curses. In fact, ch.xxviii begins abruptly, in such a manner, that it is impossible to say from the *context* who is supposed to be speaking, though from the *contents* we may infer that it is Moses.

768. It might be suggested that *v.*11–13 may be a fragment of the older document, in which Joseph is reckoned thrice as *one* tribe, and Levi numbered as a tribe with the rest, *viz.* G.xlix, E.i.2–5, N.xvii, instead of the twelve tribes, comprising 'all the people,' being made up without the Levites, by the two tribes of the house of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, as is so frequently done, N.i.5–15, ii,vii, xiii.4–16, xxvi. Yet this seems hardly to be the correct solution of the difficulty. There can be no doubt that *v.*9,10, are by the Deuteronomist, since they contain the expression 'the Priests the Levites,' which is *never* used by any of the other writers. And *v.*14–26 are also his, as appears from the expressions employed in it.

(i) *v.*14, כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, *kol-ish Israel*, 'all the men of Israel,' which only occurs again in D.xxix.10(9), undeniably due to the Deuteronomist;

(ii) *v.*15, 'work of the hands' (552.iv), בַּסֵּתֶר, *bassether*, 'secretly,' xiii.6(7), xxvii.15,24, xxviii.57, *nowhere else in the Pentateuch.*

(iii) *v.*16, מַקֵּלֶה, *makleh*, 'making light,' from קָלָה, *kalah*, xxv.3, *nowhere else in the Pentateuch*; in the corresponding passage, E.xxi.17, we have מְקַלֵּל, *měkallel*;

(iv) *v.*17, מַסִּיג, *massig*, 'removing,' xix.14, *nowhere else in the Pentateuch*;

(v) *v.*19, 'the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless' (552.xvi);

(vi) *v.*20, 'uncover his father's skirt,' as in xxii.30 (xxiii.1);

(vii) *v.*24, בַּסֵּתֶר, *bassether*, as above (ii);

(viii) *v.*25, דָּם נָקִי, *dam naki*, 'innocent blood' (552.xxiii);

(ix) *v.*26, 'the words of this Law.' (550.ix).

769. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the curses in *v.*14–26 are due to the Deuteronomist; and if so, it is unlikely that *v.*11–13 should be by a different hand, as in that case the Deuteronomist must have suppressed the curses of the original document, and replaced them by matter of his own. Further in *v.*13 we have קְלָלָה, *kĕlalah*, 'curse,' which occurs *eleven* times in Deuteronomy (552.xviii), and only besides in the Pentateuch in G.xxvii.12,13; and it seems plain that *v.*11–13 refer directly to xi.29:—

'And it shall come to pass, when Jehovah thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim and the curse upon Mount Ebal.'

770. We must conclude, therefore, that the whole passage, including *v.*11–13, is by the Deuteronomist, and that he means the whole body of the tribe of Levi to stand with the other five tribes on the Mount of Blessing, while the *Levites proper*, or Priests, were to stand by the Ark in some central position,—at one end, it may be, of the long narrow valley which parted the two mountains, on the slopes of which the twelve tribes were to be stationed. This appears to correspond with the description in Jo.viii.33:—

'And all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood, on this side the Ark and on that side, before the Priests the Levites, which bare the Ark of the covenant of Jehovah. . . half of them over against Mount Gerizim, and half of them over against Mount Ebal.'

This agrees, too, with the fact that the Deuteronomist speaks of Joseph as a single tribe in xxxiii.13, and it seems to be con-

firmed by the expressions in xviii.1–8, already considered (720, iii), which imply that, according to his view, only *some* of the tribe of Levi would be likely to enter upon the sacred office.

771. Still, however, the difficulty remains to conceive in what way the Deuteronomist meant this 'blessing' and 'cursing' to be conducted. I must confess that I cannot explain the matter in any way satisfactorily, or without some extravagant assumption as to what the writer has *omitted* to state. It may be suggested, for instance, that in *v.*14 it should be translated, 'And the Levites shall *answer* (ענה), *hanah*, and say unto all the men of Israel with a loud voice,' as if they were first to hear the curses from the party on Mount Ebal, and then repeat them to the whole community. But then there is no explanation of the way in which the 'blessings' were to be delivered. And it is plain that ch.xxviii passes away altogether from any formal utterance of the blessings like that of the curses, and shapes itself into a solemn address of the Lawgiver, abruptly begun without any introduction.

772. Upon the whole, it appears to me to be most probable that the writer has *departed* from his original intention. In xi.29 he meant the *tribes* to pronounce the blessings and curses, and made the arrangement for that purpose in xxvii.11–13; but he then decided to place them in the mouths of the Priests, and make the people say, 'Amen'; and this he actually did with the curses. But, instead of limiting himself in this way with respect to the blessings, he has insensibly been carried away by his subject, and poured out his full heart in the glowing and vehement words of ch.xxviii. This chapter he has now left without any introduction or explanation, without any intimation of its connection with the matter before or after. He may have intended that the Levites should be made to utter a series of short blessings, like the curses, such as those in xxviii.3–6, which correspond almost exactly to the curses in *v.*16–19, so that these cannot be themselves the blessings

intended in xxvii.13. But, if so, he was presently overpowered by his own intensity of feeling, and has thus left us the magnificent language of this chapter, in which blessings and cursings, both of the strongest kind, are mixed up together.

773. As it is plain that this whole transaction is only an ideal scene, which the author himself, apparently, has not even realised completely in his own imagination, it is hardly necessary to consider at any length the question of the physical possibility of such blessings and curses being uttered in this way, so as to be heard by the people and duly responded to. The length of the valley between the two mountains is said to be about three miles, and its breadth from 200 to 300 yards.

Professor STANLEY writes, *Sinai and Palestine*, *p.*237,—

> High above the fertile vale [of Shechem] rose the long rocky ridge of Mount Gerizim, facing the equally long and rocky range of Ebal,—

and he quotes also JEROME'S statement with respect to the two mountains,—

> They are a considerable distance apart; nor would the sounds of persons blessing or cursing in turns be heard from one to the other.

JEROME, accordingly, wishes to select two other mountains near Jericho. But, as STANLEY observes,—

> The positive statement, that the mountains were by the terebinths of Moreh, G.xi. 30, compels us to adhere to the common view. . . : The ceremony may have taken place on the lower spurs of the mountains, where they approach more nearly to each other. And I am informed that even from the two summits shepherds have been heard conversing with each other.

774. Doubtless, in peculiar states of the air, as when, perhaps, in a calm and still evening the dews are beginning to fall, shepherds may be able to hear and answer one another, and even to maintain, by special effort, a conversation at considerable distances; as the natives of Australia and Natal now do. But can such an exertion of the voice be thought of in connection with such a solemn ceremony as this? In this particular case, there is no possibility of evading the full meaning of the expression 'the whole congregation,' as implying the great body,

at all events, of the 600,000 warriors, and of substituting for them the 'elders,' since in Jo.viii.33, just quoted, where the transaction in question is described, we are told that—

'All Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the Ark and on that side, before the Priests the Levites, the bearers of [E.V. 'which bare'] the Ark of the covenant of Jehovah, as well the stranger as he that was born among them; half of them over against Mount Gerizim, and half of them over against Mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of Jehovah had commanded before, that they should *bless* the people of Israel.'

This immense host, surely, though posted (as STANLEY supposes) 'on the lower spurs of the mountains,' would have stretched along, we must suppose, for miles.

775. It is common, however, to suppose a magnificent scene, where the people would be standing as above, and the 'curses' in *v.*15–26 would be repeated by the Levites, and heard by those standing nearest to them. These might then begin the 'Amen,' which would be swelled by the tremendous thunder of the 'whole congregation,' who need not be supposed to have *heard* the words, as they knew them beforehand. But what are the 'blessings' to which special reference is made in the above quotation, as well as in D.xxvii.12?

CHAPTER XV.

DEUT.XXVIII.1–XXXI.30.

*776. D.xxviii.1–68.

This grand chapter appears to have been written by one who had already the ruin of the Ten Tribes before him, and who foreboded the same terrible calamity for Judah also, if it persisted in its idolatry and wickedness. The nation of 'fierce countenance and strange tongue from afar,' *v.*49,50, was either the Assyrian, if he wrote in the days of Hezekiah, or the Chaldee, if he wrote, as seems most probable, in the days of Josiah. It will be seen, as we proceed, that many of the expressions here used are used also by Jeremiah in his prophecies with reference to the Chaldæans. Thus the 'yoke of iron,' *v.*48, appears in Jer.xxviii. 14, the 'nation from afar,' *v.*49, in Jer.v.15, 'as the eagle flieth,' *v.*49, in Jer.xlviii.40, xlix.22, comp. iv.13, Lam.iv.19; and *v.*53 —

'Thou shalt eat . . . the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters . . . in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee,'—

is repeated in Jer.xix.9 —

'I will make them eat the flesh of their sons and the flesh of their daughters . . . in the siege and in the straitness wherewith their enemies shall distress them;

and, as we shall see hereafter, there are many other similar resemblances. According to the Chronicler, 2Ch.xxxiii.11, Josiah's father, Manasseh, was actually carried captive to Babylon; but this is not mentioned in the more authentic history. However, this prediction that, if they continued in their sins, the whole people with their king, *v.*36, would suffer

at the hand of the Chaldæans the same fate as their brethren of the Ten Tribes had experienced from the Assyrians, was written, no doubt, with reference to the king then reigning, whether Manasseh, Amon, or Josiah in his early years.

777. D.xxviii.36.

'Jehovah shall bring thee, and *thy king which thou shalt set over thee*, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known.'

Here the writer, as in xvii.14–20, represents Moses as assuming that they will 'set over' themselves 'a king' in later days, and referring to such a proceeding as a very natural one, instead of speaking of it as a 'rejection of Jehovah,' 1S.viii.7, a 'great wickedness,' xii.17: see (709).

RIEHM observes, *Gesetzgebung im Lande Moab*, *p*.81:—

The writer here—very probably, at least—sets forth the kingdom as already existing. For how should Moses have come to think of this, *viz.* that, while seeking to stimulate the people of *his own time*, (to whom, of course, his discourse is primarily addressed,) through threatenings of punishment, to a closer observance of the Law, he should threaten with evil a king who was first to be set over them in a *far later time*?

778. D.xxviii.68.

'And Jehovah shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.'

By these 'ships,' the writer may have meant either the *Phœnician* merchant-ships, which would carry off the Hebrew slaves, purchased from the Chaldæans to sell them in different countries, Joel iii.4–8, Am.i.6,9, Ez.xxvii.13, and, among others, in Egypt, where they would be bondmen a second time to the Egyptians, or, more probably, the famous *Egyptian* fleets of Pharaoh-Necho, HEROD.ii.159. It is not necessarily implied that there were already hostile relations with Egypt, or that danger was to be immediately dreaded from that quarter. On the contrary, as we have seen (746,747), the Deuteronomist recognises a certain amount

of friendliness on the part of the Egyptians towards Israel at the time of his writing, as he does also on the part of the Edomites. But this state of amicable relation might at any moment be disturbed; and so, in fact, we find that Josiah himself was killed by Pharaoh-Necho, 2K.xxiii.29, and his son Jehoahaz, after a reign of three months, was 'put in bands' by the King of Egypt, 'that he might not reign in Jerusalem;' and 'he put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver,' and he 'took Jehoahaz away, and he came to Egypt, and died there.'

779. HÄVERNICK writes on this verse as follows, *Pent.* *p.*349:—

'These words form the conclusion of a longer prophecy, descriptive of the curse that should light upon the nation, if it became disloyal to God's Law. They are especially threatened with a dispersion among all nations. Yet no nation, with which Israel had yet formed acquaintance as such, is named, with the exception of the 'land of bondage.' That country alone is adduced by name, as that which should anew have the mastery over Israel. A fiction-writer of a later age, who was here only attributing to Moses his own feelings fictitiously, could not possibly have spoken thus. . . . This, indeed, has been thought to refer to the time of Josiah, who was himself slain in battle against the Egyptians. But, in that very age, the people had already become acquainted with Assyria as the enemy, that had already accomplished upon them a part of these predictions [in the Captivity of the Ten Tribes.] At that period Egypt could not possibly have still been viewed in such a light,—either by a writer living before the death of Josiah, for, that Egypt was not then such an object of dread, is proved by the very circumstance that Josiah ventured to engage in battle with Pharaoh,—nor subsequently, for Egypt then became humbled by Babylon, and Israel was menaced by quite another enemy than Egypt. Let us admit it, that the way, in which Egypt is here designated, does not permit us to suppose that the prophecy was composed in any age but the Mosaic.'

Ans. Of course, no nation but Egypt could very well have been *named* by an author writing in the assumed character of Moses. But, though not named, the Assyrian or rather, as we believe, the Chaldæan, is plainly enough pointed out as the probable conqueror in this prophecy—'a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known.' Egypt is only referred to in the last verse, whether as the conqueror, or merely as the enemy, of Israel. And in the early part of Josiah's reign, as we have seen, it is very possible that the relations with Egypt, though still, perhaps, friendly, were already threatened with the disturbance, which ultimately led to the death of Josiah. Or the mention of 'enemies' may

be introduced only as an *aggravation* of their calamities, like the concluding words, 'and no man shall buy thee.' They should be sold to those who disliked them, and would, therefore, ill-treat them; but even these would not think them worth having.

780. D.xxix.4–8.

'Yet *Jehovah* hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear unto this day. And *I* have led you forty years in the wilderness [see D.viii.2]: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink; that ye might know that *I* am Jehovah your God. And when ye came unto this place, Sihon the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against *us* unto battle, and *we* smote them, and *we* took their land, and gave it for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of Manasseh.'

It is obvious that the writer has here inadvertently slid from speaking in the character of *Moses* in *v.*4, to speaking in that of Jehovah in *v.*5,6, and has again returned to that of Moses in *v.*7,8. The LXX, as we have already seen, appear to have perceived, and avoided, *this* difficulty. We have a similar and yet more noticeable instance (635) in xi.14,15.

781. D.xxix.10,11.

'Ye stand this day all of you before Jehovah your God; your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, all the men of Israel, your families (טַף, *taph*, E.V. 'little ones') your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water.'

Manifestly, the whole assembled host of two or three millions is here described as present before Moses at one time. If words have any meaning, surely this is what is meant here, and, therefore, as we may reasonably believe, in the other places also where Moses and Joshua are spoken of as addressing 'all Israel' at one time. Accordingly, KNOBEL observes here, *Deut.p.*314: —

Hereupon Moses directs their attention to the entrance into the covenant, which is now being ratified anew. Before Jehovah stands to-day 'all Israel,'—consequently their heads, tribes, elders and officers, their men, families, and wives, also their strangers down to the lowest, the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' Scarcely had Israel at that time very many strangers: the writer speaks according to his own time, and does not well maintain that of Moses.

*782. D.xxix.24–29.

'Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath Jehovah done thus unto this land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of Jehovah, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt; for they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom He had not given unto them; and the anger of Jehovah was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book; and Jehovah rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day. *The secret things belong unto Jehovah our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this Law.*'

In this way the writer would have the people of Judah, in his own time, look back upon the desolated kingdom of Israel. They had been grievously chastened for their sins, and cast into another land, 'as it is this day,' for an example to their brethren of the kingdom of Judah, lest they also provoke the righteous anger of Jehovah, and come at last to suffer the same terrible visitation. What mercy, indeed, may yet be in store, even for the afflicted Ten Tribes, the Prophet knows not, though there are expressions in this book which imply that he had still great hopes for them in their latter end, if only they would repent and return to the stronghold of their Hope, *e.g.* xxx.1–9:—

'And it shall come to pass,—when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither Jehovah thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto Jehovah thy God, and shalt obey His Voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart and with all thy soul,—that then Jehovah thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither Jehovah thy God hath scattered thee. . . . And Jehovah thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it, and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. . . . And Jehovah thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy land, for good; for Jehovah will again rejoice over thee for good, as He rejoiced over thy fathers.'

But these 'secret things belong unto Jehovah,' xxix.29; He will know what to do in His own good time for the restoration of His people. Meanwhile 'those things which are re-

vealed,'—the manifest signs, which we have had before us, of God's righteous judgment upon His sinful children,—'belong unto us and to our children for ever,' that we may lay them to heart with all earnestness, and 'do all the words of this Law.'

*783. D.xxix.28.

'And Jehovah rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, *as it is this day.*'

Upon which SCOTT observes —

Probably, the clause 'as it is this day' was added by Ezra, or by some scribe, who had witnessed the desolations of the Babylonish Captivity. But the emphasis of it, as the acknowledgment of the accomplishment of this ancient prophecy, supposing the words 'as it is this day' to be spoken by a modern Jew, after the long-continued dispersion of the nation, is inconceivably enhanced.

The words, as we believe, were written by one, who had before him the actual desolation of the Ten Tribes, who were carried away captive B.C. 721, and may very well have been described in Josiah's reign, about B.C. 630, some eighty or ninety years afterwards, as having been 'cast into another land, as it is this day.' This expression could not have been employed so naturally at a much earlier time,—for instance, by one writing in Hezekiah's reign, B.C. 727–698, in the sixth year of which the Captivity in question took place.

784. D.xxxi.1–9.

KNOBEL observes on this passage, *p.*319:—

This section [and *v.*10–13,] is purely Deuteronomistic matter, as we perceive by its relation to what precedes, and by its whole expression. But the statement in *v.*2, [where Moses is made to say, 'I am an hundred and twenty years old this day, *I can no more go out and come in,*'] does not agree with that in xxxiv.7, [where we read, 'Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; *his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated.*']

We shall find (832) that this latter passage is a fragment of the older document, from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed the datum as to the *age* of Moses, though he has not

adhered to the rest of the statement, as to his still retaining his eye-sight and vigour to the last.

785. D.xxxi.9

'And Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it unto the *Priests* the sons of Levi, *the bearers of the Ark* (הַנֹּשְׂאִים אֶת־אֲרוֹן, *hannosim eth-ăron*) of the covenant of Jehovah, and unto all the elders of Israel.'

The Hebrew participle in the above implies the *habitual practice* of the Priests in bearing the Ark, not that they bore it on the present occasion, as the E.V. 'which bare the Ark' might be supposed to imply. When, however, the same author writes again, on the very same occasion, *v.*25, 'Then Moses commanded the *Levites*, the bearers of the Ark,' he does not really contradict *himself*, though he does contradict the language of the other books of the Pentateuch; for his 'Levites,' *v.*25, as we have seen, are Priests, 'the Priests the Levites,' *v.*9, who, according to him, were the regular Ark-bearers, instead of the common Levites, 'the sons of Kohath,' to whom the duty of carrying it is assigned in the book of Numbers, iv.15, vii.9, x.21.

786. As to this 'Book of the Law,' SCOTT observes:—

Some understand this of the book of Deuteronomy alone. But it is far more reasonable to conclude that the whole Law was delivered to the Priests and Elders, *a copy perhaps to the principal person in each tribe*, besides one to be deposited in the side of [beside] the Ark. It may be supposed that afterwards many more copies would be taken, though they would not be greatly multiplied in that infancy, as it were, of writing.

There is, however, no sign that any such copies were taken, nor any indication that the 'whole Law' was known to David and the best kings of Israel, who habitually, and in their most earnest and pious days, transgressed so thoroughly its plain commandments. The writer, probably, referred to the book of Deuteronomy, as 'this Law'; for by this expression he repeatedly distinguishes it from that portion of the Law contained in the other books, *e.g.*—

'On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare *this Law*,' i.5;

'*This Law*, which I set before you this day,' iv.8;

'And *this* is *the Law*, which Moses set before the children of Israel ... on this side Jordan, &c.,' iv.44–46.

787. Moses is here spoken of as first 'writing this Law, and delivering it' unto the Priests and Elders, *v.*9, and even commanding the Levites to 'put it beside the Ark,' *v.*26, and still continuing to write on, as in ch.xxxii,xxxiii. Hence some, who maintain the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy, allow that these chapters, at least, must have been inserted into the book by a later hand, or else suggest that Moses must have taken it back again for the purpose of making these additions to it, or that the 'delivering it' to the Priests in *v.*9 may have merely a 'symbolical' action, and that he immediately resumed possession of it again. But then we find him in still *earlier* passages *speaking* of the book as already existing, before he had finished the addresses, of which it is mainly composed, and, of course, before he, or any one else, could have *written* them down; *e.g.*—

'If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this Law, that are written in this Book,' xxviii. 58;

'Every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the Book of this Law,' *v.*61;

'All the curses that are written in this Book,' xxix.20,21,27;

and in xvii.18 the king is commanded to—

'write him a copy of this Law in a book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites.'

All these are obvious indications of the later origin of the Book of Deuteronomy, and of the unhistorical character of the addresses recorded in it.

788. D.xxxi.10–13.

'And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which He shall choose, thou shalt read this Law before all Israel in their hearing.'

There is no indication in the history that this command was ever carried out till after the return from the Captivity, Neh.viii. Scott observes:—

Doubtless, this was not merely confined to one person or place; but numbers were engaged in different situations, so that everyone might have an opportunity of hearing. Though the men alone were obliged to attend at the festivals, it might be supposed that many of the women, children, and servants, would come on this occasion. A few (!) instances of the observation of this command are recorded; but the neglect of it seems to be one main cause why the nation was so soon carried away with idolatry and iniquity.

789. The *only* instances, to which SCOTT refers his readers, are *two*, (i) that in the time of Josiah, after the discovery of the 'Book of the Law,' when, probably, the book of Deuteronomy *was* read to the people,—but this was an accidental occurrence, *not* at the Feast of Tabernacles, and in no way to be regarded as an instance of obedience to the Law—and (ii) that of Ezra's reading after the return from the Captivity. There is not the slightest indication that Samuel, David, Solomon, or Hezekiah, paid any attention to this important Law. KNOBEL observes on this point, *p.*319:—

The writer can scarcely have meant the whole Law-Book, the reading of which would have been too great an undertaking: he leaves the choice, accordingly, to the rulers of the people. When this direction was complied with at a Feast of Tabernacles in Ezra's time, he only read, each day of the Feast, '*in* the Book of the Law of God.' Neh.viii.8. According to JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*iv.8.12, the High Priest was to read; according to *Mischn. Sota* 7.8, the King also did it, *e.g.* AGRIPPA, but confined himself, however, to some sections of Deuteronomy. *We know no more about the carrying out of this ordinance.*

790. D.xxxi.14–30.

KNOBEL observes on this passage, *p.*320:—

The greater part of what is here related has been recorded already by the Deuteronomist in *v.*1–13, and, therefore, he cannot be the writer of this section. He also never mentions the 'Tabernacle,' which here reappears in *v.*14,15, and in the language there is much which is foreign to him, [which we shall consider below.] The prophetic song which follows, D.xxxii, in its present form, no doubt, is due to this writer. But, probably, an older song lies at the foundation, which the writer regarded as Mosaic, and derived from a Divine communication to Moses in the Tabernacle, the usual place where God revealed himself.

Ans. There can be no doubt that *v.*14,15, in which the 'Tabernacle' is mentioned, are part of the older document. The Deuteronomist never refers to the Tabernacle,—perhaps, from the circumstance that he had it not daily before his

mind's eye, as he had the *Ark*, (which he names in x.1,2,3,5,8, xxxi.9,25,26,) the Tabernacle of David having long disappeared from the sight, and almost from the memories, of men, while the Ark was still in the Temple.

791. In this passage it will be seen that Moses and *Joshua* go into the Tabernacle, as in E.xxxiii.7–11, the Tabernacle, apparently, being supposed to stand, as then, *without* the camp, E.xxxiii.7; and Jehovah appears in the 'pillar of cloud,' which stands over the door of the Tabernacle,' *v.*15, just as in E.xxxiii.9. So, also, we read in N.xii.4,5,—

'And Jehovah spake suddenly unto Moses and unto Aaron and unto Miriam, *Come out*, ye three, unto the Tabernacle of the Congregation. And they three *came out*. And Jehovah came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the Tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forth.'

It seems plain that D.xxxi.14,15, is due to the same writer as E.xxxiii.7–11 and N.xii.4,5, whoever this may be.

792. But KNOBEL, *p.*320, produces certain verbal expressions in *v.*16–21, which, as he considers, are *not* Deuteronomistic. We shall first show that these expressions, although not *peculiar* to this writer, are yet used by him in certain places and also by *Jeremiah*.

(i) *v.*18, 'turn towards other gods:' for 'other gods' see (573.v.β); the complete phrase 'turn the face (פָּנָה, *panah*) unto other gods' is found nowhere in the Pentateuch or whole Bible, except in the passage now before us. It may, therefore, be the Deuteronomist's, especially as he uses the verb itself, פָּנָה, repeatedly, and in xxix.18(17) uses it in a sense very similar to that in which it is employed here—'whose heart *turneth* (פָּנָה) away this day from Jehovah our God, to go and serve the gods of these nations;' comp. Jer.ii.27, xxxii.33,

(ii) *v.*16, זָנָה, *zanah*, 'commit whoredom,' used of idolatry, E.xxxiv.*15,16,16, Jer.ii.20, iii.1,3,6,8: comp. Jer.iii.2,9, xiii.27.

(iii) *v.*20, נָאַץ, *naats*, 'despise,' D.xxxii.19, Jer.xiv.21,xxiii.17, xxxiii.24, Lam.ii.6.

(iv) *v.*16,20, הֵפֵר בְּרִית, *hepher bĕrith*, 'break a covenant,' L.xxvi.*15,44, Jer.xi.10, xiv.21, xxxi.32, xxxiii.20,21.

(v) *v.*17,18, הִסְתִּיר פָּנִים, *histir panim*, 'hide the face,' D.xxxii.20, Jer.xxxiii.5.

(vi) *v.*17,21, צָרָה, *tsarah*, 'trouble,' Jer.iv.31, vi.24, xiv.8, xv.11, xvi.19, xxx.7, xlix.24, l.43; and we have רָעָה וְצָרָה, *rahah vĕtsarah*, 'evil and trouble,' joined in Jer. xv.11 as in D.xxxi.17,21.

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* We use the asterisk to mark certain passages in other parts of the Pentateuch, which we shall show in Part IV to be Deuteronomistic interpolations.

(vii) *v.*21, בְּטֶרֶם, *bêterem*, 'before,' Jer.i.5,5.

(viii) *v.*16, 'lie down with thy fathers,' generally in Kings, as in 2K.xx.21, xxi.18, xxiv.6, &c. (probably written by Jeremiah?)

Upon the whole we conclude that there is no sufficient reason for *not* ascribing this section, *v.*16–21, to the Deuteronomist.

793. On the contrary, the above expressions, when closely examined, help rather to fix the passage upon him, as do also more decidedly the following.

(i) *v.*16, אֱלֹהֵי נֵכָר, *ĕlohe necar*, 'strange gods,' D.xxxi.16, xxxii.12, Jer.v.19, comp. Jer.viii.19.

(ii) 'forsake Jehovah,' (553.xi, 562.xi).

(iii) *v.*20,21, 'the land which I sware unto their fathers,' D.i.8,35, ii.14, vi.10,18,23, vii.13, viii.1, x.11, xi.9,21, xxvi.3,15, xxviii.11, xxxi.7,20,21,23, xxxiv.4, Jer.xxxii.22, and *eight* other cases in the Pentateuch.

(iv) 'that floweth with milk and honey,' D.vi.3, xi.9, xxvi.9,15, xxvii.3, xxxi.20, Jer.xi.5, xxxii.22, and *nine* times besides in the Pentateuch.

(v) אָכַל וְשָׂבַע, *acal vĕsavah*, 'eat and be full,' D.vi.11, viii.10,12, xi.15, xiv.29, xxiii.24(25), xxvi.12, xxxi.20, L.xxvi.*5,26, and *twice* besides in the Pentateuch, E.xvi.3, L.xxv.19.

(vi) 'and waxen fat, then will they turn to other gods,' D.vi.11-14, viii.12–19, xi.15,16, xxxii.15,16.

It is possible, however, that the first clause of *v.*16, 'And Jehovah said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt *sleep with thy fathers*,' (as we find this phrase in the Pentateuch only in G.xlvii.30,) may be the first words of an address, which the older writer put into the mouth of Jehovah, the rest of which the Deuteronomist has suppressed, and replaced by words of his own.

794. D.xxxi.22.

'Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel.'

If the preceding section, in which the first mention is made of the song, *v.*19,21, is by the Deuteronomist, as we have shown, then this verse also will be his. But KNOBEL observes, *p.*322: —

Manifestly, the writer found a Warning-Song already existing, which he held for true Mosaic, and worked up anew in ch.xxxii. With the same freedom have the Prophets handled older prophecies: comp. Jer.xlviii with Is.xv,xvi, and Obad. with Jer.xlix.7–22.

We shall see that there is no clear indication whatever of D.xxxii being an old song, retouched by the Deuteronomist. It will appear to be, in all probability, entirely his own composition, as, in our view, is the whole of the present chapter, except *v.*14,15, notwithstanding some confusion and repetition in parts of it.

795. D.xxxi.23–26.

KNOBEL, *p.*322, considers this to be the continuation of *v.*14,15, or, according to him, of *v.*14–16(*a*), and he writes,—

'Here, however, the older writer has left out something which Jehovah spake to Moses and Joshua, and supplied the blank by a divine speech out of his second original document. The subject of וַיְצַו, *vaytsav*, 'and he commanded,' can, according to the contents of the discourse, ['*I* sware unto them,' '*I* will be with thee,'] be only Jehovah; according to the present connexion it seems to be Moses. The older writer would have had to insert יְהוָה, *Jehovah*, after וַיְצַו.'

Ans. *v.*23 contains decidedly Deuteronomistic expressions; *e.g.* 'be strong and of a good courage,' (*553.*iv) 'the land which I sware unto them,' (793, iii).

It would seem, therefore, that the subject to וַיְצַו is 'Jehovah,' carried on from *v.*21, the intermediate *v.*22 being inserted as a parenthetical notice.

796. Again, on *v.*24–26 KNOBEL observes, *p.*322:—

'Hereupon Moses ends the writing down of the Law, and we must suppose the Law indicated in iv.44. . . . From *v.*14 to *v.*26 Israel is not addressed as in *v.*1–13. Hence the two words [at the end of *v.*26, בְּךָ לְעֵד, *bĕcha lĕhed*, 'against thee for a witness,'] belong to the Deuteronomistic addition, which reaches to *v.*29.'

Ans. But here again we have Deuteronomistic expressions;

(i) *v.*24, כְּכַלּוֹת, *kĕcalloth*, 'when he had made an end of,' [E.xxxi.18, N.xvi.31, quoted by KNOBEL in support of his view, but also] D.xx.9. Jer.xxvi.8, xliii.1, li.63;

(ii) 'words of this Law,' (*550.*ix).

(iii) *v.*25, 'the Levites, bearers of the Ark of the Covenant,' D.x.8, xxxi.9.

(iv) *v.*26, 'this Book of the Law,' (*550.*x).

We conclude, therefore, that the *whole* passage is Deuteronomistic, and, as KNOBEL says, as far as *v.*29. The contents of this verse, however, he considers to be 'entirely superfluous after the similar words in *v.*16–21.' But *v.*16–21 are ascribed to Jehovah, and *v.*29 to Moses; and, when we take account of the extreme anxiety of the writer upon this point, *viz.* Israel's 'corrupting themselves' and 'provoking Jehovah to anger,' and observe that throughout the whole book he is dwelling continually upon it, it is easy to understand how unwilling he would be, as it were, to leave the subject, and would be still heard dropping his warnings to the last.

797. Lastly, KNOBEL assigns *v.*30 to the older writer, and says, *p.*323:—

'Moses here explains the Song to the *people*, for which the Deuteronomist in *v.*28 names the '*elders* and *officers*;' קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, *kĕhal Israel*, 'assembly of Israel,' is foreign to the Deuteronomist, and is found only in E.xii.6, L.xvi.17, N.xiv.5; the passage sets forth *v.*16–22.'

Ans. The same phrase קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, *kĕhal Israel*, is found only in L.xvi.17; in the other two cases it is קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל, *kĕhal hădath-Israel*, 'assembly of the congregation of Israel.' The word קְהַל, 'assembly,' is the *only* one used for 'congregation' by the Deuteronomist (548.xii); so that no argument can be based on the fact of the phrase in question being found once in Leviticus and once in Deuteronomy, especially as it occurs freely in 1K.viii.14,14,22,55, xii.3, by the hand either of the Deuteronomist himself, or, at least, of a contemporary. The writer probably supposed that the elders and officers would draw near, and be 'gathered unto' Moses, while 'all the congregation' would stand around and hear (?) the words of the Song. No doubt, *v.*30 refers to the 'Song' mentioned in *v.*16–22, which we ascribe throughout to the Deuteronomist.

Upon the whole, then, we believe ch.xxxi to be wholly Deuteronomistic, except *v.*14,15, and, perhaps, 16(*a*), which are a fragment of the older document.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SONG OF MOSES, DEUT.XXXII.

798. D.xxxii.1–43.

KNOBEL considers that this 'Song' must be attributed to a writer older than the Deuteronomist, but later than the Elohist, perhaps living about the time when the Syrians oppressed Israel. He says, *Deut.p.*326 :—

> Some difficulty is caused by the fact that the writer states that Moses had received this Song from Jehovah, xxxi.19,22,30, which he would hardly have said if it was all his own composition. Perhaps, therefore, he found an older song already existing, regarded it as Mosaic, retouched it, and adopted it into his work in this new form.

But we shall see, as before, that there is, apparently, no sufficient reason for supposing that this Song is not also due to the Deuteronomist.

799. The following are the critical notes, which seem to prove sufficiently the Deuteronomistic origin of this chapter.

N.B. As before, it will be understood that the expressions here noticed *do not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch*, unless the fact of their so doing is mentioned.

Also (*) denotes passages, which will be shown in Part IV to be Deuteronomistic interpolations.

(i) *v.*1, 'Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and hear, O earth, the words my mouth:' so the Deuteronomist calls heaven and earth to witness in iv.2 xxx.19, xxxi.28.

(ii) *v.*2, עָרַף, *haraph*, 'drop,' D.xxxiii.28, *nowhere else in the Bible.*

(iii) רְבִיבִים, *rĕvivim*, 'showers,' Jer.iii.3, xiv.22, and only *three* other places

(iv) *v.*3, הָבוּ, *havu*, 'ascribe ye,' D.i.13, G.xlvii.16, *nowhere else in the Pentateuc*

(v) גֹּדֶל, *godel*, 'greatness,' D.iii.24, v.24(21), ix.26, xi.2, xxxii.3, and N.xiv.1

(vi) *v.*4, אֱמוּנָה, *ĕmunah*, 'truth,' Jer.v.1,3, vii.28, ix.3(2), Lam.iii.23, and E.xvii.1 2.

(vii) *v.*4, עָוֶל, *havel*, 'iniquity,' D.xxv.16, Jer.ii.5, and L.xix.15,35.

(viii) *v.*8, הִנְחִיל, *hinkhil*, 'cause to inherit' (550.ii.).

(ix) *v.*6, Jehovah, the 'father' of Israel, *v.*18,19,20, Jer.ii.27, iii.4,19, xxxi.9, compare xxxv throughout, and E.iv.22,23, N.xi.12.

(x) *v.*10, נָצַר, *natsar*, 'keep,' D.xxxiii.9, E.xxxiv.*7, Jer.iv.16, xxxi.6.

(xi) *v.*11, עוּר, *hur*, 'stir up,' Jer.vi.22, xxv.32, l.9,41, li.1,11.

(xii) רָחַף, *rakhaph*, 'flutter,' Jer.xxiii.9, and G.i.2, *nowhere else in the Bible.*

(xiii) 'bearing on eagles' wings,' comp. E.xix.4; see also D.i.31.

(xiv) *v.*13, תְּנוּבָה, *tĕnuvah*, 'fruit,' Lam.iv.9.

(xv) חַלְמִישׁ, *khalmish*, 'flint,' D.viii.15.

(xvi) גּוֹזָל, *gozal*, 'young bird,' G.xv.9, *nowhere else in the Bible.*

(xvii) *v.*14, 'rams of the breed of Bashan' is used familiarly, as if the writer, and the people for whom he wrote, had been long acquainted with the breed, instead of only recently arrived in Bashan, as the story supposes.

(xviii) 'blood of the grape,' G.xlix.11, *nowhere else.*

(xix) *v.*15,15, שָׁמַן, *shaman*, 'wax fat,' Jer.v.28, and *twice besides in the Bible.*

(xx) 'waxed fat and kicked,' comp. the idea in D.vi.10, viii.10, xi.15, xxx.20.

(xxi) יְשֻׁרוּן, 'Jeshurun,' D.xxxiii.5,26, Is.xliv.2, *nowhere else.*

(xxii) *v.*16, זָרִים, *zarim*, 'strange (gods),' Jer.ii.25, iii.13, v.19.

(xxiii) כָּעַס, *cahas*, 'provoke' (552.viii).

(xxiv) *v.*17, שָׂעַר, *sahar*, 'fear,' Jer.ii.12.

(xxv) 'gods whom they know not,' D.xi.28,xiii.2,6,13, xxviii.64, xxix.26, Jer.vii.9, xix.4, xliv.3; see also (552.xv).

(xxvi) *v.*18, חוּל, *khul*, bring forth, be in pain,' D.ii.25, Jer.iv.19, v.3,22,xxiii.19, xxx.23, li.29.

(xxvii) 'forget' Jehovah (552.xii).

(xxviii) *v.*19, נָאַץ, *naats*, 'despise,' D.xxxi.20, Jer.xiv.21, xxiii.17, xxxiii.24, Lam.ii.6, and N.xiv.11,23, xvi.30.

(xxix) *v.*21, הֶבֶל, *hevel*, 'vanity,' Jer.ii.5, viii.19, x.3,8,15, xiv.22, xvi.19, li.18, Lam.iv.17.

(xxx) לֹא־אֵל, *lo-El*, 'no gods,' so לֹא־אֱלֹהִים, *lo-Elohim*, Jer.v.7, 2K.xix.18, Is.xxxvii.19, 2Ch.xiii.9.

(xxxi) *v.*22, קָדַח, *kadakh*, 'be kindled,' Jer.xv.14,xvii.4, *twice besides in the Bible.*

(xxxii) יְבוּל, *yĕvul*, 'increase,' D.xi.17, L.xxvi.*4,20.

(xxxiii) *v.*22, מוֹסְדוֹת, *mosadoth*, 'foundations,' Jer.xxxi.37, li.26.

(xxxiv) *v.*23, רָעוֹת, *rahoth*, 'afflictions' (553.xii).

(xxxv) *v.*24, 'I will send the teeth of beasts upon them,' L.xxvi.*22.

(xxxvi) *v.*25, בָּחוּר, *bakhur*, 'young man,' Jer.vi.11, ix.21(20), xi.22, xv.8, xviii.21, xxxi.13, xlviii.15, xlix.26, l.30, li.3,22, Lam.i.15,18, ii.21, v.13,14.

(xxxvii) 'the sword without and terror within;' compare Jer.xiv.18, 'If I go forth into the field, then behold the slain with the sword! and, if I enter into the city, then behold them that are sick with famine!'

(xxxviii) *v.*27, 'Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, and lest they should say, Our hand is high, and Jehovah hath not done all this;' compare ix.28, 'Lest the land whence Thou broughtest us out say, Because Jehovah was not able to bring them into the land which He promised them,' &c., and E.xxxii.12, N.xiv.16.

(xxxix) *v.*28, עֵצָה, *hetsah*, 'counsel,' Jer.xviii.18,23, xix.7, xxxii.19, xlix.7, 20,30, l.45.

(xl) *v.*32,33, 'Their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps;' compare Jer.ii.21, 'Yet *I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed;* how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?' It is obvious how little this language (italicised) of the Prophet would agree with the statement of Deuteronomy, if really written, as commonly supposed, by Moses.

(xli) *v.*33, אַכְזָר, *achzar*, 'cruel,' Lam.iv.3, *twice* besides in Job; אַכְזָרִי, *achzari*, 'cruel,' Jer.vi.23, xxx.14, l.42, and five other places.

(xlii) *v.*34, אוֹצָר, *otsar*, 'treasure,' D.xxviii.12, Jer.x.13, xv.13, xvii.3, xx.5, xxxviii.11, xlviii.7, xlix.4, l.25,37, li.13,16.

(xliii) *v.*35, נָקָם, *nakam*, 'vengeance,' *v.*41,43, and L.xxvi.*25.

(xliv) אֵיד, *eyd*, 'calamity,' Jer.xviii.17, xlvi.21, xlviii.16, xlix.8,32.

(xlv) *v.*36, אָזַל, *azal*, 'be gone,' Jer.ii.36, *four times besides*, and seven times in later Chaldaic passages in Ezra and Daniel.

(xlvi) עָצוּר וְעָזוּב, *hatsur vchazuv*, 'shut up and left,' 1K.xiv.10, xxi.21, 2K.ix.8, xiv.26.

(xlvii) *v.*37,38, 'And He shall say, Where are their gods, their rock in whom they trusted, which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink-offerings? Let them rise up, and help you, and be your protection;' compare Jer.ii.28, 'But where are thy gods that thou hast made thee? Let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble.'

(xlviii) *v.*39, 'See now that I, even I, am He, and there is no god with me;' compare Jer.v.12, 'They have belied Jehovah, and said, It is not He,' and Is.xliii. 10–13.

(xlix) *v.*40, 'lift up the hand' = swear, G.xiv.22, E.vi.8, N.xiv.30.

(l) *v.*41, שָׁנַן, *shanan*, 'whet,' D.vi.7.

800. Upon the whole, it will be seen that there are some very *strong* signs of the Deuteronomist in this Song, *e.g.* (i),(v),(viii), (xxiii),(xxv),(xxvii),(xxxii),(xxxiv), and other very strong resemblances to the style of Jeremiah, *e.g.* (iii),(vi),(xi),(xxv), (xxxi), &c., besides a multitude of minor correspondences of each kind; nor is there anything, as far as appears, to indicate that he is *not* the author of it, except that (xlix) does not occur either in Deuteronomy itself or in Jeremiah. KNOBEL considers that the very severe language used in this Song, in speaking of the idolatrous conduct of the Israelites, *v.*15, does not accord with the general tone of the Deuteronomist. But, surely, the same tone is heard sufficiently,—sometimes, indeed, in the form of *warning*,—in vi.14,15,16, viii.19,20, ix.6,7,8, 23,24, &c.; *e.g.*—

'Ye have been rebellious against Jehovah from the day that I knew you,' ix.24;

'I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck. Behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against Jehovah; and how much more after my death?' xxxi.27.

801. It is true, this Song contains a great number of words which occur nowhere else in the Bible, and does not contain a great number of the Deuteronomist's favourite expressions. It does, however, contain *some* of them, (viii),(xxiii),(xxv),(xxvii), (xxxiv), each of which is repeated several times in Deuteronomy, but not one of which is found in any of the other books of the Pentateuch. The occurrence of so many unusual words, which are not found elsewhere in the Bible, might have been reasonably looked for in a Song like this, written in the highest style of poetry, and not in the mere rhetorical prose of the rest of the book. And for the same reason we should not expect to find many of the prosaic phrases, which are so common in the other parts of the book, repeated here.

We conclude, therefore, that this Song is also due to the Deuteronomistic author.

802. In this passage we have clear signs of the late

date at which this Song was written. Thus *v.*15,17, we read—

'But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked;
Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness.
Then he forsook God which made him,
And lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.
They provoked Him to jealousy with strange gods,
With abominations provoked they Him to anger.
They sacrificed unto devils, to no-gods (E.V. 'not to God,').
To gods whom they knew not,
To new gods that came newly up,
Whom your fathers feared not.'

Of course, the above words cannot be supposed to describe the state of Israel in the wilderness. Those, who desire to maintain the Mosaic origin of this book, will have recourse to the supposition of 'prophetical perfects.' After the evidence, which we have had before us, of the later origin of the book, there can be little doubt that the words really refer to the idolatries practised in the kingdom of Israel, and almost as freely in Judah also.

803. So *v.*35–43 refer also very plainly to the hardships which the captives of the Ten Tribes had already suffered, and which, in His own due time, Jehovah would visit upon their conquerors:—

'To me belongeth vengeance and recompense;
Their foot shall slide in due time:
For the day of their calamity is at hand,
And the things, that shall come upon them, make haste.
For Jehovah shall judge His people,
And repent Himself for His servants,
When He seeth that their power is gone,
And there is none shut up or left. . . .
Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people;
For He will avenge the blood of His servants,
And will render vengeance to His adversaries,
And will be merciful unto His land and to His people.

In fact, our view differs from KNOBEL'S mainly in this, that he considers the Song as actually composed *in* some time of

national distress, and so explains the allusions which occur in it to some great misery; whereas it seems to us that the writer is *looking back* upon such a time in the sister-kingdom, and using it as a warning for Judah.

804. D.xxxii.44–47.

KNOBEL considers that *v.*44,45, belong to the older writer, apparently because they refer to the 'Song,' and, as we have seen, he ascribes the previous mention of it in xxxi.19–22 also to that writer. We have shown, however, that this latter section belongs to the Deuteronomist, and we see no reason to doubt that *v.*44,45, belong to him also, as well as *v.*46,47, which KNOBEL himself assigns to him.

In *v.*44, we have 'the words of this Song,' as in xxxi.30; and in *v.*45 the phrase 'all Israel,' D.i.1, v.1, xi.6, xiii.11, xviii.6, xxi.21, xxvii.9, xxix.2, xxxi.1,7,11,11, xxxiv.12, and E.xviii.25, N.xvi.34.

It is singular that in *v.*44 we have 'Hoshea' instead of 'Joshua,' as he is called everywhere except in N.xiii.8,16. The Sam. text has Joshua in all three passages.

805. D.xxxii.48–52.

This is an enlarged form of the announcement of the death of Moses, which we find in N.xxvii.12-14, and belongs to the older document, except that, as KNOBEL justly observes, it can hardly be supposed that the original writer would have put into the mouth of Jehovah the words 'which is in the land of Moab, which is over against Jericho,' thus defining for *Moses himself* the exact site of the mountain, close to which he is supposed to be encamped. Accordingly, these words are, most probably, a Deuteronomistic interpolation, and we have already seen that '*land* of Moab' is a *Deuteronomistic* phrase, (550.i), whereas '*plains* of Moab' is that employed by the older writer (548.xi).

806. That the whole passage, however, with the above exception, is a fragment of the older document, appears from the following phrases:—

(i) *v.*48, בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, *bĕhetsem hayyom hazzeh*, (548.v);

(ii) *v.*49, 'land of Canaan' (548.ix);

(iii) אֲחֻזָּה, *ăkhuzzah*, possession (548.i);

(iv) *v.*50, 'be gathered to thy people' (548.vi);

(v) *v.*51, מָעַל, *v.*, מַעַל, *n.*, *maḥal*, 'trespass,' L.v.15, vi.2(v.21), xxvi.40, N.v.6, 12,27, xxxi.16, only here in Deuteronomy;

(vi) 'wilderness of Zin,' N.xiii.21, xx.1, xxvii.14, xxxiii.36, xxxiv.3,4, only here in Deuteronomy.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES, DEUT. XXXIII. 1–7.

807. KNOBEL ascribes also D.xxxiii, which contains the 'Blessing of Moses,' to an older writer than the Deuteronomist. It may be desirable to give first his own words, *Deut.p.*337–340.

The writer first produces the first four sons of Leah, then the two sons of Rachel, then Leah's other two sons, and, lastly, the four sons of the two maidens, Bilhah and Zilpah. Hence he varies from the order of the tribes according to birth, G.xxix,xxx, from that observed in 'Jacob's Blessing,' G.xlix, as well as in the other notices of the sons of Jacob, G.xxxv.23–26, xlvi.8–27, E.i.2–5, and of the Israelitish tribes, N.i,ii,xiii.4–15, xxvi.5–51, xxxiv.19–28. It is especially strange that Judah is set before Levi, Zebulon before Issachar, and Benjamin before Joseph, and that the sons of Leah are separated by those of Rachel, and Zilpah's by Bilhah's. Scarcely, however, can one on this account infer the existence of another tradition as to the order in age of the sons of Jacob; but we must assume that the writer, generally, wished to maintain a geographical progression from South to North, and that his poem has received later modifications in some particulars, as also we find something of this kind in G.xlix. Throughout he makes Moses in the third person treat of the tribes, and only towards the end, *v.*18,25, allows him to come out in a more living manner, and pass over into an actual address. The individual 'blessings' are exhibited, partly in the form of prayers addressed to Jehovah, *v.*7,11, partly as exclamations to those concerned, *v.*18, partly as wishes for them, *v.*6,23,24,25, partly as announcements and descriptions, *v.*8–10,12–17,19–22, — a change which explains itself from the freedom of poetical impulse. All is here blessing; only in the case of Levi, *v.*8, reference is made to the fault of Moses and Aaron, and the utterance over Dan, *v.*22, seems to contain a mixture of disapproval. Levi and Joseph are extolled with especial enthusiasm. For Levi was the divinely-chosen tribe, and Joseph's descendants were more numerous than those of any of his brothers. Strange is the short notice of the tribe of Judah, so important as it was, which comes forward so powerfully in the 'Blessing of Jacob.' Throughout the whole song breathes a brisk and vigorous, and yet a mild and respectful, spirit; hearty thankfulness

towards the Divine Protector and Benefactor, love and goodwill towards the people, (different in this respect from ch.xxxii, [but see (800)]), and contentment and joy over its happy condition, are the feelings which inspire the writer. The sharp passage in *v.*11 has its especial ground. The style exhibits numerous peculiarities. These peculiarities, for the most part, make this poem the most difficult passage in the whole Pentateuch.

Already, on this account, it has been assigned to an earlier, rather than a later, time. Still more does one feel compelled to this through its contents. At the time of the writer, the twelve tribes were still in Canaan [?], and found themselves in a flourishing condition [?]; Israel had the sovereignty in the land, and the nations flattered him, *v.*29; we find no trace here [?] of a reference to the national misfortunes, which the Hebrews experienced in the Syrian, Assyrian, and Chaldee times. As the political, so also were the religious circumstances of the people satisfactory; at least the writer makes not the most distant allusion [?] to the religious misconduct so strongly bewailed in ch.xxxii, and praises, on the contrary, Zebulon and Issachar, that they brought 'offerings of righteousness.' All this prevents our setting the composition of the Poem in the time of the Captivity, with HOFFMANN and GESENIUS, or in that of Josiah with EWALD, or in that of Jeroboam II with GRAF, or, generally, in the time of the two kingdoms with LENGKERKE. It falls in a much earlier time; it cannot, however, have proceeded from Moses, as the ancient and many modern interpreters assume. For it betrays an accurate acquaintance with the post-Mosaic times, such as Moses could not have had. Decisive is the passage about Judah, *v.*7, which can only be explained as referring to the time when David lived in foreign parts on his flight from Saul. To the same time points the announcement about Benjamin, *v.*12; it manifestly refers to Gibeon, whither Saul had brought the Tabernacle [?] after the destruction of Nob. Therewith best accords all the rest, *e.g.* the severe passage, *v.*11, against the persecutors of the Priesthood, who had been ill-treated by Saul and his people, the utterance, *v.*29, about the lordship of the Hebrews in the land, and the *satisfactory* religious circumstances, [after the butchery by Saul of the High Priest, nay, of 'four-score and five persons that did wear a linen ephod'! 1S.xxii.18,] since Saul maintained the worship of Jehovah. The short treatment of Judah, also, deserves notice, and the absence of any reference to Jerusalem: first in the time of David and Solomon became Judah the royal tribe, and Jerusalem the centre of the 'people of God.' From the vehemence of *v.*11 we may conclude that the writer was a Priest or Levite. Through this definition of time is settled also the question, whether the 'Blessing of Moses' is older than 'Jacob's Blessing,' G.xlix, or whether, on the contrary, our author has imitated G.xlix, as almost all modern critics suppose, *e.g.* VATER, GESENIUS, HOFFMAN, VON BOHLEN, TUCH, VON LENGKERKE, EWALD, GRAF. The 'Blessing of Moses' belongs to the time of Saul, 'Jacob's Blessing' to that of David. Whether, however, the later writer has used the earlier is very doubtful. Both appear as equally peculiar and original, and no imitation can be detected[?]. The similar use of some forms of expression in both poems, G.xlix.25,26, D.xxxiii.13,15,16, gives no proof of this: it explains itself sufficiently with the

assumption that such sayings about Joseph might be current popularly in Israel. Without doubt the legend represented that Moses had taken his leave of his people, as formerly Jacob took leave of his sons, with 'blessing.' As words of a 'Man of God,' these blessings must have been fulfilled, and, consequently, the fates of the tribes since Moses [so the writer considers] allow of our recognising *what* blessing had been assigned to each. The author confines himself to the relations of Israel from the time of Moses to Saul, and makes Moses speak conformably to these. He wishes, however, that only the substance of the 'Blessing' should be regarded as Mosaic, and all the rest, on the contrary, *e.g.* the introduction and the conclusion, to be considered as his own work. For in *v.*4 he reckons himself with the people, and contrasts it with Moses, 'Moses commanded *us* a Law, the inheritance of the Congregation of Jacob.' He speaks also in *v.*7,8,12,13, 18,20,22, of Moses in the third person, *e.g. v.*8, 'And of Levi *he* said,' = 'Moses has left the following saying about Levi': and, in fact, in *v.*28,29, he makes no concealment of his position in the post-Mosaic time. Meanwhile, also, in respect of the blessings, he permits himself some liberties, *e.g.* when he allows Moses, in *v.*7, to put into words a wish which Judah had first in Saul's time, and in *v.*21, to indicate God's post-Mosaic acts, as having already happened. His poem, *v.*2–29, was found in existence by a later writer, who treated it as Mosaic, supplied it with the superscription, *v.*1, and adopted it into a work (Deuteronomy) of his own composition.

808. As before, however, a close critical examination of its contents seems to fix this passage also, though not, perhaps, so certainly as ch.xxxii, upon the later Prophet, who wrote the rest of Deuteronomy. We shall point out the critical signs of authorship, and then consider the substance of the chapter.

(i) *v.*2,21, אָתָה, or אָתָא, *athah*, 'come,' *v.*21, Jer.iii.22, xii.9, a Chaldaic word.

(ii) דָּת, *dath*, 'law,' only in later writers, Ezra, Esther, and Daniel.

(iii) קְהִלָּה, *kĕhillah*, 'congregation,' Neh.v.7, nowhere else; but קָהָל is common in Deut.

(iv) 'Jacob' used for 'the people,' when not required to complete the parallelism with 'Israel,' D.xxxii.9, Jer.x.25, xxx.7,10,18, xxxi.7,11, xxxiii.26, xlvi.27,28, li.19, Lam.i.17, ii.2.

(v) *v.*5, 'Jeshurun,' *v.*26, D.xxxii.15, Is.xliv.2.

(vi) 'heads of the people,' *v.*21, N.xxv.4.

(vii) *v.*6, וִיהִי מְתָיו מִסְפָּר, *vihi mĕthayv mispar*, 'and let his men be few (lit. a number),' iv.27, Jer.xliv.28, G.xxxiv.30, Ps.cv.12, and 1Ch.xvi.19.

(viii) *v.*8, חָסִיד, *khasid*, 'gracious, pious,' Jer.iii.12.

(ix) מַסָּה, in the sense of 'Massah,' D.vi.16, ix.22, and E.xvii.7, in the sense of 'temptation,' D.iv.34, vii.19, xxix.3(2).

(x) *v.*9, אִמְרָה, *imrah*, 'word,' D.xxxii.2; אֶמְרָה, *emrah*, 'word,' Lam.ii.17.

(xi) *v.*10, 'they shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law'; compare D.xvi.18, xvii.8.

(xii) *v.*11, מִן־יְקוּמוּן, *min-yĕkumun*, 'from rising again.' 'This,' says KNOBEL, 'is the only place in the whole O.T. where מִן stands before a *finite* verb, in the place of מֵאֲשֶׁר, *meăsher*, 'from (that) they rise again'; though it is common with the infinitive. In like manner אֲשֶׁר, *ăsher*, is omitted after the adverbs אַחֲרֵי, *akhăre*, עֵקֶב, *hekev*, יַעַן, *yahan*, respectively, in N.xiv.24, xxv.48, N.xx.12.

(xiii) *v.*12, יְדִיד, *yĕdid*, יְדִדוּת, *yĕdiduth*, 'darling, beloved one,' Jer.xi.15, xii.7.

(xiv) *v.*11, מָחַץ, *makhats*, 'smite through,' D.xxxii.39.

(xv) בֶּטַח, *betakh*, 'secure,' בָּטַח, *batakh*, 'be secure,' *v.*28, D.xii.10, xxviii.52, Jer. (19 times), and G.xxxiv.25, L.xxv.18,19, xxvi.5.

(xvi) *v.*13, מֶגֶד, *meged*, 'precious things,' only here, *v.*13,14,14,15,16, and Cant.iv.13,16, vii.14.

(xvii) *v.*15, הָרַר, *harar*, 'mountain,' D.viii.9, Jer.xvii.3.

(xviii) קֶדֶם, *kedem*, 'ancient,' *v.*27, Jer.xxx.20, xlvi.26, xlix.28, Lam.i.7, ii.17, v.21.

(xix) *v.*17, 'his horns,' Jer.xlviii.25, Lam.ii.3,17.

(xx) הָדַר, *hadar*, 'glory,' L.xxiii.40, Lam.i.6.

(xxi) אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ, *aphsey arets*, 'ends of the earth,' Jer.xvi.19.

(xxii) *v.*18, 'tents,' = dwellings, as in D.xvi.7.

(xxiii) *v.*20, הִרְחִיב, *hirkhiv*, 'enlarge,' D.xii.20, xix.8, and E.xxxiv.*24.

(xxiv) *v.*21, סָפַן, *saphan*, 'cover,' Jer.xxii.14, only besides, 1K.vi.9, vii.3,7, Hag.i.4.

(xxv) *v.*26, גַּאֲוָה, *gaăvah*, 'excellency,' *v.*29, Jer.xlviii.29.

(xxvi) שְׁחָקִים, *shĕkhakim*, 'clouds,' Jer.li.9.

(xxvii) *v.*27, מְעוֹנָה, *mehonah*, מָעוֹן, *maḥon*, 'habitation,' xxvi.15, Jer.ix.11(10), x.22, xxi.13, xxv.30, xlix.33, li.37.

(xxviii) הִשְׁמִיד, *hishmid*, 'destroy,' D.i.27, ii.12,21,22,23, iv.3, vi.15, vii.4,24, ix.3,8,14,19,20,25, xxviii.48,63, xxxi.3,4, and L.xxvi.*30, N.xxxiii.52.

(xxix) *v.*28, '*his* heaven,' comp. D.xxviii.23, '*thy* heaven,' L.xxvi.*19, '*your* heaven;' and note that *these are the only places in the Bible where such expressions are used*, with the pronoun referring to *human* beings, though in Ps.viii.3, cxliv.5, '*Thy* heaven' is used with reference to Jehovah, and comp. Lam.iii.66.

(xxx) *v.*29, נוֹשַׁע, *noshah*, 'saved' = 'helped generally,' Jer.xxiii.6, xxxiii.16.

(xxxi) דָּרַךְ, *darach*, 'tread,' D.i.36, xi.24,25, Jer.ix.3(2), xxv.30, xlvi.9, xlviii.33, l.14,29, li.3,33, Lam.i.15, ii.4, iii.12, and N.xxiv.17.

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* As before, an asterisk is used to mark passages which will be shown in Part IV to be Deuteronomistic interpolations in the other four books.

809. Upon the whole, it will be seen that (xxiii),(xxviii),(xxix), point *strongly* to the Deuteronomist as writer of this poem, and this is confirmed, with more or less cogency, by (iv),(v), (ix),(x),(xiv),(xvii),(xxvii),(xxx), and specially by the fact that in *v.*10 we have *Levi*, *i.e.* the Levites generally, spoken of as chosen to 'put incense before' Jehovah, and 'whole burnt sacrifice upon His Altar,' which proper duties of the Priesthood, as we have seen, the Deuteronomist assigns to the 'whole tribe of Levi,' whereas by the earlier writers they are restricted to the 'sons of Aaron.' So (iv),(viii),(x),(xv),(xvii),(xviii),(xix), (xxi),(xxv),(xxvi),(xxvii),(xxx),(xxxi), point to Jeremiah; also (ii) and (xvi) indicate a *late* date for its composition.

810. Upon (ii), indeed, KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*341:—

This is a *locus vexatissimus.* The usual reading is אֵשׁ דָּת, *esh dath*, and the Law itself is understood by 'Fire of the Law,' or 'Fire-Law,' (which last the Grammar does not allow,) because the Law was given amidst Fire, and has a power and effect like that of Fire. But there is this objection to the above reading, that the Persian דָּת is found first in later Hebrew, and would be exceedingly strange in *so old a passage*; besides which the designation would be strange and unheard of, and the writer comes to speak of the Law first in *v.*4. . . . . Later critics rightly connect the two words after very numerous MSS. [GES. says 50, and two Sam. MSS.] but understand the word [so formed] אֲשְׁדֹּת, *ăshadoth*, of 'streams of water,' 'fountains,' which does not suit the 'right-hand' of God, or of 'strong ones,' *i.e.* the 'ten thousands of saints,' which is still less suitable, since the Arabic root means 'lion,' but not the 'strong' generally.

Accordingly, he understands by אֲשְׁדֹּת the 'streams of light or glory,' which poured from God's right-hand. But *why* is such glory said to have streamed from God's *right-hand*, and not from His whole *Presence*? On the other hand, the 'right-hand' was the sign of *Power*, from which such a Law would proceed; and it is particularly to be noticed that the Deuteronomist refers expressly and repeatedly to the *Fire*, which attended the giving of the Law, and says 'Jehovah spake out of the midst of the Fire,' iv.11,12,15,33,36, v.4,5,20,22,24,26, ix.10,15,21, x.4, xviii.16, whereas in the rest of the Pentateuch we find very little notice of this Fire, E.xix.18, xxiv.17(546.vi).

811. Besides which, if this poem was written by a different writer from him who wrote the rest of the book of Deuteronomy, we should expect to see *more of that writer's compositions* mixed up in the Pentateuch: at least, it would be strange if so powerful a composer wrote no more than this, or that no more of his compositions have come down to us. As we have seen, the *peculiar* expressions of this chapter do resemble considerably the style of the Deuteronomist and of Jeremiah; while there is no such *special* resemblance between them and those of the other books of the Pentateuch. That the resemblance between this passage and the rest of Deuteronomy is not more complete, may arise from this composition, like the Song in ch.xxxii, being highly poetical; and *both of them, or, at least, the Blessing, may very possibly have been written some years before the book of Deuteronomy, if* (as is not at all impossible) *the writer intended them originally to close his new edition of the earlier document, before he conceived the idea of writing the book of Deuteronomy itself.*

If, therefore, upon a closer consideration of the contents of this chapter, we find nothing which really militates with the supposition that the Deuteronomist was its author, we shall have no hesitation in ascribing it to him.

812. We may first, however, quote the words of KURTZ, who, it will be seen, while contending for the Mosaic authorship of the main part of the 'Blessing,' yet is compelled by his sense of truth to make admissions, which are, in fact, fatal to its Mosaic origin. He writes as follows, iii.493 :—

The authenticity of the 'Blessing of Moses' has been most conclusively demonstrated by DIESTEL. In fact, there is nothing in the particular blessings, which could give the least warrant for regarding it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. The introductory and concluding clauses, however, the critic just named feels obliged to set down as additions of a later hand. But, so far as the concluding words are concerned, I do not see on what ground the authorship of Moses can possibly be disputed. It is somewhat different with the introduction, seeing that there is at least one clause here, (*viz.* in *v.*4, 'Moses commanded us a Law,') which seems to favour DIESTEL'S view. It must be admitted that these words sound somewhat

strangely from the lips of Moses. BAUMGARTEN has offered a plausible solution of the difficulty. 'With these words,' he says, 'Moses threw himself into the very heart of the people; the mediator of the Law and the man of God was to him an objective person, just as David appropriates the common sentiment of the nation; and speaks of the 'king of Israel,' in Ps.xx,xxi.' But the two cases are not *perfectly* analogous. If the passage before us had read, 'Moses gave *you* a Law,' there would be nothing strange about it. But, when we bear in mind that Moses did not write down this 'Blessing,' as he did the 'Song' and the Law of Deuteronomy,—that, on the contrary, he uttered them verbally to the people a short time—perhaps immediately—before his departure to Mount Nebo, and that they were probably first appended to the book by the last editor of the Pentateuch, there cannot be anything very dangerous in the assumption that the introductory, and possibly also the concluding, words, which were the production of some other divinely-inspired psalmist, were also added by him.

Ans. It can scarcely be believed that any one would have presumed to introduce in this way his own words in *v.*4, in the midst of such a remarkable composition, the memorial of the last hours of the Lawgiver. Accordingly, SCOTT says, 'It is probable that the heads of the several tribes gathered around Moses, after he had received the summons recorded in the close of the former chapter, and just before he ascended the Mount where he ended his life, and that he delivered to them, both by word of mouth and in writing, these his last dying words.'

But what 'danger' can there be in following the light of Truth, and admitting the fact, which is patent, that *v.*4, at all events, was certainly not written nor uttered by Moses, and that, consequently, it is highly probable *à priori* that the whole 'Blessing' is by a later hand.

813. D.xxxiii.6.

'*Let* REUBEN *live, and not die;*
And let his men be somewhat (*lit.* a number),' *v.*6.

There is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the second line of the above. The E.V. supplies 'not' from the foregoing line, as in Ps.xxxviii.1(2),lxxv.5(6), 'And let his men (not) be a number,' *i.e.* not be so small as to be numbered; the LXX has 'and let him be many in number.' But it is obvious that the feeble wish implied in the clause, 'and not die,' hardly agrees with the LXX translation. REUBEN receives, indeed, a blessing, but one which sounds mournfully, and tells of the dwindled numbers of the tribe in the writer's time. In the days of Jehu we are informed, 2K.x.32,33:—

'Jehovah began to cut Israel short, and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel, from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the

Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.'

And this is the last glimpse which we have of Reuben in the Scripture history.

814. It is next noticeable that SIMEON is altogether omitted. KNOBEL observes, *Deut.p.*344 :—

In many texts and editions of the LXX, the second member of *v.*6 reads thus, 'And let *Simeon* be many in number.' This seems to be the original Text. The wish suits Simeon very well, who at the second numbering was much smaller than at the former. He would then be connected with Reuben as Issachar is with Zebulon, *v.*18. If this is not allowed, then we must suppose him left out for the reason given in G.xlix.7, [where Jacob says of *Simeon and Levi*, 'Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel; I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.']

KURTZ also remarks on this point as follows, ii.*p.*493 :—

The first thing which strikes us, on examining this 'Blessing,' is the omission of the tribe of Simeon. BAUMGARTEN observes that 'we are not to imagine, from the fact that Simeon is passed over, that he is to be regarded as left without a blessing. In any case he was included in the general blessing in *v.*1,29, just as even the sons of Jacob, to whom threatening words were addressed by their father, were still said to be 'blessed.' But the fact that Simeon is not mentioned by name, and that the harsh words addressed to him by the patriarch, as well as to Reuben and Levi, are not softened down in his case, has been correctly explained as denoting that the sentence of dispersion pronounced on Simeon, according to which he was not to have an independent position, but to live within the boundaries of the rest, had not been repealed or mitigated, as in the case of Levi, in consequence of any act of obedience and faith, but, on the contrary, had been greatly strengthened by the wickedness of his prince Zimri, N.xxv.14. A striking proof of this, we believe, is to be found in the remarkably diminished number of Simeon, N.xxvi.14.' This is, probably, the best solution of the difficulty, if we are unable to adopt DIESTEL's conclusion, that the 'Blessing' has not come down to us in its fullest integrity.

815. But was not the rebellion of Dathan, Abiram, and On, sons of Reuben, which drew down upon the people a plague, by which '14,700 perished, beside them that died about the matter of [the *Levite*] Korah,' N.xvi.49, a very notable event, as well as the affair of Zimri by which 24,000 died? Yet Reuben receives a blessing, though a mild one. And what reason is there to suppose that the Simeonites, generally, were

more guilty than the other tribes, because one of their princes was compromised?

The fact is, most probably, that in the time of the writer — and, therefore, long after the time which KNOBEL assigns to him—the tribe of Simeon had been long *absorbed in Judah*, and lost sight of.

816. The tribe of Simeon, we are told, 'obtained their inheritance *in the midst of the inheritance of the men of Judah*,' Jo.xix.1–9. Seventeen cities, with the surrounding villages, are assigned to them, which means, no doubt, that, at the time when this passage was written, the Simeonites were either found occupying these cities, or were known to have occupied them in former days, or, at least, to have had some special connection with them. But of these seventeen towns, Hormah and Beersheba are numbered, in the times of David and Ahab, respectively, among the towns of Judah, 1S.xxx.30, 1K.xix.3; another of their towns, Ziklag, was given by the Philistine king, Achish, to David, 1S.xxvii.6; 'wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day.' They are said to have conquered, with Judah's help, Hormah, Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, Ju.i.17,18; but, if they did so, they could not keep their hold on these cities, since Hormah, as we have said, is reckoned to Judah in 1S.xxx.26,30, and the other three are spoken of as independent Philistine cities in 1S.vi.17. It is mentioned in 2Ch.xi.6 that Rehoboam 'built' Etham or Ether, which also belonged to Simeon, Jo.xix.7.

817. Thus seven, at all events, of their seventeen towns were lost to them, four of which are distinctly reckoned to Judah. And, imperceptibly, the tribe of Simeon appears, as we have said, to have become so completely absorbed in Judah, that they entirely disappear from the history. In 1K.xii.21,23, where the military force of Rehoboam is mustered, which, we must suppose, from their situation, included the Simeonites, we find no mention of them, and we read:—

'The word of God came unto Shemaiah, the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and to *the remnant of the people*.'

The Simeonites must have been included among this 'remnant of the people.' Their name, in fact, is not once mentioned in the books of Samuel and Kings, though it occurs in the books of Chronicles, 1Ch.iv.42,vi.65,xii.25,xxvii.16, 2Ch.xv.9,xxxiv.6; and in one of these places, 1Ch.xii.25, they are spoken of as bringing help to David:—

'Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of valour for the war, seven thousand one hundred.'

But this statement must, like so many other of the Chronicler's *data*, be rejected as untrustworthy.*

818. D.xxxiii.7.

'*Hear, Jehovah, the voice of* JUDAH,
And bring him unto his people;
Let his hands be sufficient for him,
And be Thou an help to him from his enemies,' *v.*7.

Very remarkable is the difference in tone between this prayer, almost a cry of anguish, and the grand words which are spoken of Judah in the 'Blessing of Jacob,' G.xlix.8–12:—

'Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise;
Thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies;
Thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

* Here, of those who supported David, there are numbered only 6,800 of *David's own tribe* of Judah, and 3,000 of Benjamin; whereas the Levites (including the Aaronites) were, according to the Chronicler, 8,300, and the Simeonites 7,100, and of Ephraim there were 28,000, of Western Manasseh, 18,000, of Zebulon, 50,000, of Naphtali, 1,000 captains, with 37,000 men, of Dan, 28,600, of Asher, 40,000, of Issachar, 200 men, 'that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do,' *v.*32, with all their brethren at their command, of the trans-Jordanic tribes, 120,000, [44,760 only, 1Ch.v.18–? in whose reign,] making altogether 348,000 men—five times as large as Wellington's whole force at Waterloo, ALISON,xix.401—of which Judah supplied only 6,800! and Simeon, 7,100! and '*all these* men of war, that could keep rank, came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel; and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David king. And there they were with David three days, eating and drinking; for their brethren had prepared for them. 1Ch.xii.38,39.

Judah is a lion's whelp:
From the prey, my son, thou art gone up;
He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
And as an old lion—who shall rouse him up?
The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor a lawgiver from between his feet,
Until he come to Shiloh, [E.V. 'Until Shiloh come'];
And unto him shall the gathering of the people be.
Binding his foal unto the vine,
And his ass's colt unto the choice vine;
He washed his garments in wine,
And his clothes in the blood of grapes.
His eyes shall be red with wine,
And his teeth white with milk.'

819. KNOBEL, from his point of view, explains the meaning of *v.*7, as follows, *Deut.p.*344 :—

'Hear, Jehovah, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people,' *i.e.* (say some), 'give to him, as the royal tribe, the people which belongs to him,' (others) 'allow him, after driving out the Canaanites, to take possession of his territory,' (others) 'conduct him successful out of war back again to his own.' The last is as contradictory to the Text as the others; the words cannot say this. The person meant is manifestly separated and removed far from his people, and the entreaty of the men of Judah is that he may return to his people. The reference to those carried captive with Jehoiachin would suit, perhaps, if the poem did not belong to a much earlier time, and if the singular pronoun did not point to something else. So, too, it can hardly be thought to refer to the reunion of the kingdom of Judah with the kingdom of Israel. For Judah had not severed itself from Israel, but Israel from Judah; and the longing and expectation in the time of the two kingdoms did not go towards Judah's being attached to Israel, but to the return of all the tribes to the royal house of Judah—and this even in Israel itself, Hos.iii,5, [Jer.xxx.4,9.] Besides, there is nothing said here about the *kingdom* of Judah, but at most about the *tribe*. This tribe, after Saul's death, chose David as king, formed for itself a kingdom, and for seven years and a half maintained a separate position, while the other tribes abode by the house of Saul, 2S.ii.4,10,11. The writer may have had this in his eye. However, the expression 'bring him unto his people' will not suit that either, and the Jews, who had chosen their tribesman David as king, and had voluntarily separated themselves, certainly did not then beseech to be attached to the other tribes, which was quite open to them, but wished for the subjection of the tribes under the divinely-chosen David, which also followed in course of time. The passage can only apply to David in his flight before Saul, when he had to live in a foreign land, and felt this painfully. There was then no greater petition for Judah than that David should return, attain the sovereignty, and elevate his tribe to a royal tribe.

And, instead of 'Let his hands be sufficient for him,' KNOBEL translates, 'With his hands has he contended for it (the people),' —thereby, however, destroying the parallelism in the two members of *v.*7.

820. According to our view, the words, 'bring him unto his people,' express a prayer that the tribe of Judah might again be restored to its old sovereignty, by the return of the Ten Tribes, at no very distant day, as it seems to have been already in some measure, 2K.xxiii.15–20, by the gathering of the scattered fragments of them still remaining in the land, (and these, probably, far more numerous than is generally supposed,) under the sceptre of the sons of David. We have seen (782) that the Deuteronomist did, apparently, entertain such a fond hope for the restoration of Israel; and Jeremiah breathes it in his prophecies, xxx.3–9:—

'For, lo, the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith Jehovah, and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it. . . . For it shall come to pass in that day, saith Jehovah of Hosts, that I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burst thy bonds, and strangers shall no more serve themselves of him. But they shall serve Jehovah their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.'

And see also the glorious prophecies in Jer.xxxi,xxxiii, where we read,—

'There shall be a day that the watchmen upon the Mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion, unto Jehovah our God,' xxxi.6;

'For thus saith Jehovah, If my covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth, then will I cast away the seed of Jacob and David my servant, so that I will not take any of his seed to be rulers over the house of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for I will cause their Captivity to return, and have mercy upon them,' xxxiii.25,26.

821. In point of fact, the deportation of the Ten Tribes into Captivity seems to have been by no means so great and so universal as is generally supposed. After Shalmaneser had 'carried Israel away into Assyria,' 2K.xvii.6, we are told that 'Hezekiah wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasseh,' to beg them to come and keep the Passover;

'but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them; nevertheless, divers of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem,' 2Ch.xxx.10,11.

This, however, depends on the unsupported testimony of the Chronicler.

But Josiah's authority evidently extended over Samaria as well as Judah; since he destroyed the altar which was at Bethel, and the high place which Jeroboam had made;—

'both that altar and the high place he brake down, and burned the high place, and stamped it small to powder, and burned the Ashera [E.V. grove]. . . . And all the houses also of the high places, that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke Jehovah to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel. . . . And he slew all the priests of the high places, that were there, upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem.' 2K.xxiii.15–20.

It is possible, also, that in this phrase, 'bring him unto *his people*,' there may be a reference to the words spoken of Judah in Jacob's blessing, G.xlix.10, 'Unto him shall the gathering of *the people* be.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES, DEUT.XXXIII.8–12.

822. D.xxxiii.8–11.

'*And of* Levi *he said,*
Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim be with Thy holy one,
Whom Thou didst prove at Massah,
Whom Thou didst right (תְּרִיבֵהוּ, *terivehu*, E.V. 'strive with,' but see Is.i.17, רִיבוּ אַלְמָנָה, *rivu almanah*, '[strive for=] right the widow,') *at the waters of Meribah;*
Who said of his father and his mother, I saw him not;
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children;
For they have observed Thy word, and kept Thy covenant.
They shall teach Jacob Thy judgments,
And Israel thy Law;
They shall put incense before Thee,
And whole burnt sacrifice upon Thine Altar.
Bless, O Jehovah, his substance,
And accept the work of his hands;
Smite through the loins of them that rise against him,
And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.'

Still more surprising, than even that which we have observed in the case of Judah, is the contrast between the strong language of praise here addressed to Levi, and the sentence of censure in G.xlix.5–7:

'Simeon and Levi are brethren;
Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.
O my soul, come not thou into their secret;
Unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united;
For in their anger they slew a man,
And in their selfwill they digged down a wall.
Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce,—
And their wrath, for it was cruel;
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.'

823. Indeed, the change is wholly unaccountable on the ordinary view. For the usual notion that, because of their zeal, in slaying three thousand of their brethren, about the affair of the golden calf, E.xxxii.26–28, (which some suppose to be referred to in *v.*9,) they were really distinguished with such words of high commendation, can scarcely be admitted, when it is remembered that Aaron himself, the head of the tribe, to whose sons all its *chief* honours, in point of fact, were to be given, was the very leader in that sin, and was so greatly at fault also at the waters of Meribah, N.xx.12, that, for his offence on that occasion, he, as well as the other principal Levite, Moses, was sentenced to die, without setting his foot upon the holy land. We do not read at all in the narrative of the Levites distinguishing themselves at Massah and Meribah.

SCOTT, accordingly, remarks—

The Prophet, in this passage, seems to have referred to some remarkable instances, not elsewhere recorded, in which the Levites were tried, and honourably distinguished themselves in the cause of God.

824. KNOBEL notes as follows, *Deut. p.*345 :

In the case of Levi, the first word applies to the head of the Levites, the High Priest. '*Thy Right and Thy Light is with Thy pious man*,' *i.e.* he has and bears the Urim and Thummim, the signs of his high office and authority, with which Thou distinguishest him. . . . The writers in the Pentateuch do not, however, record in E.xvii, N.xx, that Jehovah put Moses and Aaron to the proof, and know only of their failing and being rejected at Kadesh [Meribah-Kadesh, N.xx.12]. The writer follows a different legend. '*Who says of his father and his mother, I saw him not, &c.*' *i.e.* who gives himself wholly up to his sacred office, and thereupon leaves worldly concerns out of consideration; God and His service is more to him than all, even than his nearest relations, while the other Israelites wholly attend to their earthly connexions. '*For they observe Thy word and keep Thy covenant*,' *i.e.* they follow the divine prescriptions, and maintain their theocratic duties, devote themselves wholly to this calling. The second clause shows that the writer has here the whole Priestly tribe in his eye. The passage might also be referred to impartial discharge of justice, such as the Levites had exhibited in the case of the golden calf. The writer, however, comes first to the discharge of justice in the following context. '*They teach Jacob Thy judgments and Israel Thy Law*,' while they give judicial decisions to the people, and thereby make it acquainted with the divine law as Moses did . . . '*Smite through the loins of them that rise up against him, &c.*' This severe passage is strange in this poem, which is otherwise so mild and gentle.

The writer, however, looks back at the rage of Saul and his adherents against the Priests at Nob, and gives vent to his dissatisfaction, which, doubtless, all Priests shared. The longing after David, in *v.*7, accords with this.

825. There is, obviously, much of truth in the above explanation of KNOBEL; but on some points he seems to have been led astray by his theory of the early origin of this poem. Abandoning, with KNOBEL, the notion of its Mosaic origin, there surely was nothing, in the history of Saul's times, in the position of the Levites, to correspond in any sense with such language as this. They are nowhere even mentioned in that history; and, indeed, if we were only to form a judgment from the more authentic records of that age, there is no trace even of the existence of the *tribe*, as one set apart for religious duties. Even when David had been ten years on the throne, we find that the Levites were *not* employed at the removal of the Ark—at least, not on the first attempt to remove it, as appears on the testimony of the Chronicler himself, 1Ch.xv.2,12,13.

826. But believing, as we do, that this chapter of Deuteronomy was written at a much later age — probably, at the very beginning of Josiah's reign (792), before the composition of the rest of this book, or even towards the end of Manasseh's, — and that it was written by a Priest, very probably by Jeremiah himself,— it is easy to explain every allusion in these verses. In those days, by all truly *religious* persons, devoted to the worship of Jehovah, the Levites — at least, the chief Priest and the other Levites or Priests, who ministered at the Sanctuary — if known as earnest and devout men, would be held in high estimation, as the guardians of the true faith in a corrupt age, amidst an idolatrous and gainsaying generation. Well might the writer — a Priest himself — utter for his own brethren, (including his own father, who may have been Hilkiah, then, perhaps, already, as he was a few years afterwards, 2K.xxii.4, at the head of the Priesthood,) the prayer, 'Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim—Thy Truth and Thy

Light — be ever with Thy holy one, *whom Thou didst prove at Massah* (temptation), *whom Thou didst justify at the waters of Meribah* (strife)'; *i.e.* whom Thou dost expose now, as Thou didst then, to the rebellious, trying, tempers,— the angry strife and turbulence,—of an unthankful, unbelieving, people.

827. If we refer to the story in E.xvii, N.xx, we shall find that, in each case, the faith and patience of the religious leaders,—in one case, Moses, in the other, Moses and Aaron, —are represented as 'tried' in this way. The people come to them murmuring, and complaining that they had not the supplies of good things, or even necessaries, which they required, and they are ready to go back to the 'fleshpots of Egypt.'

'And the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this, that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us, and our children, and our cattle with thirst? And Moses cried unto Jehovah, saying, What shall I do unto this people? They be almost ready to stone me,' E.xvii.3,4;

'And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron. And the people chode with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before Jehovah! And why have ye brought up the Congregation of Jehovah into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there? And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us unto this evil place? It is no place of seed or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates, neither is there any water to drink,' N.xx.2–5.

828. Who can doubt that in the age of the later kings, and especially just before the time of Josiah's reformation, there must have been much 'murmuring' of this kind, even among those who still adhered outwardly to the worship of Jehovah, but in their hearts had gone back to Egypt, and were ready to say with those of old, E.xvii.7, 'Is Jehovah among us or not?' A pious and zealous Priest, like Hilkiah, must have had a painful life in such times, with those in high places (Manasseh and his princes) violently opposed to his endeavours to keep up the true faith in the Living God. He must have found it a hard task at times to bear up, in the path of duty, against the strength of public feeling,—the expressed illwill of some, the

secret dislike of others, the neglect and indifference of almost all. Living in such days, and sharing fully in the sentiments of his more faithful brethren, the writer might well refer to the record of similar 'trials' of the great leaders in the wilderness,—to their being succoured and supported by Divine Power, when tempted, — to their being 'righted' or 'justified' before the people by the direct interference of Jehovah, in answer to their cry, and in reply to the rebellious unbelief of the multitude.

829. So would it be again, the writer hopes, in God's own time. Let the Levite (*i.e.* the Priest) be faithful still to his sacred calling, saying to father, mother, brothers, children, 'I know you not;' *i.e.* let him not be turned by any family ties from the straight path of duty; let him be ready to *forsake home and its delights*, (as some, doubtless, of that day had done,) and —

'go up from the gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind to minister in the Name of Jehovah his God at Jerusalem,' D.xviii.6,7.

Let him still possess his soul in faith and patience, 'observing Jehovah's word, and keeping his covenant,' 'teaching Jacob His judgments, and Israel His Law,' 'putting incense before Him, and whole burnt sacrifices upon His Altar.' Then would the Blessing of the Most High attend him; then would he in due time be 'justified,' though 'tried' to the uttermost; his Priesthood should continue, his office be held in honour, his judgments be respected, his teachings obeyed. Then Jehovah would 'bless his substance, and accept the work of his hands; would smite through the loins of them that rise against him, (the adversaries of the true religion whether high or low, in Israel,) and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.'

Such appears to us the more rational and intelligible explanation of these verses, regarded as referring to the circumstances of the times in which the writer lived.

830. It is true that Jeremiah in many passages of his prophecies describes the state of the *Priests*, as well as of the *Prophets*, in his time as excessively bad: *e.g.*—

'The *Priests* said not, Where is Jehovah? and they that handle the Law knew me not: the pastors also transgressed against me, and the *Prophets* prophesied by Baal,' ii.8;

'As the thief is ashamed, when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed, they, their Kings, their Princes, and their *Priests*, and their *Prophets*, saying to a stock, Thou art my father, and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth; for they have turned their back unto me, and not their face,' ii.26,27, xxxii.32,33;

'A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land,—The *Prophets* prophesy falsely, and the *Priests* bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof,' v.30.31;

'From the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness; and from the *Prophet* even unto the *Priest* every one dealeth falsely,' vi.13, viii.10;

'Both *Prophet* and *Priest* are profane; yea, in my House have I found their wickedness, saith Jehovah,' xxiii.11;

'For the sins of her *Prophets* and the iniquities of her *Priests*, that have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her,' &c., Lam.iv.13.

831. Yet still there must have been exceptions to this general rule. In Josiah's reign Zephaniah prophesied, and Jeremiah himself was both a Priest and a Prophet; and there seems no reason to suppose that Hilkiah and the Priests under him were any other than pious men, who did their best to discharge the duties of their office amidst the difficulties of the time. This passage may have been written at a time when Hilkiah was in office, and had entered on his sacred duties with a deep sense of his responsibilities, and a determination to stem, to the uttermost of his power, the corruption of the times. But the writer may also, and specially, have had in view that glorious restoration for which he longed, when 'the sons of David' should reign in righteousness, and the 'sons of Levi' minister in faithfulness, in the midst of the regenerated and rejoicing people. To this hope Jeremiah points when he says,—

'Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he. Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion,

and shall flow together to the goodness of Jehovah, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd; and their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall not sorrow any more at all . . . And I will satiate the soul of the *Priests* with fatness, and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness, saith Jehovah,' xxxi.11–14;

'Thus saith Jehovah, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the *Priests the Levites* want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually,' xxxiii.17,18;

'Thus saith Jehovah, If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season, then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne, and with the *Levites the Priests*, my ministers. As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, neither the sand of the sea measured, so will I multiply the seed of David my servant and the *Levites that minister unto me*.' xxxiii.20–22.

832. D.xxxiii.12.

'*Of* BENJAMIN *he said,*
The beloved of Jehovah shall dwell securely (*by Him*, E.V.);
He shall cover him at all times, and dwell between his shoulders.'

We have seen that KNOBEL notices the peculiar *order* in which the tribes are here mentioned, differing from any other in which they are found in the Bible; and he explains this fact by supposing that the writer meant to notice them in a kind of 'geographical order from South to North.' But it will be seen at once that this account of the matter is not at all satisfactory; since, even if we suppose that Levi, being so closely connected with Jerusalem, might properly be placed between Judah and Benjamin, yet Gad lay on the *eastern* side of Jordan, to the north of Reuben, and is placed between Issachar and Dan, both on the *western* side, with which it had no geographical relations.

833. Perhaps, the following explanation of the order here observed may be more satisfactory. Reuben comes first, as usual, as first-born, and it is possible also, as having been, from his position, on the East side of the Dead Sea, less exposed to the consequences of the great Assyrian invasion, than the other

trans-Jordanic tribes, which lay *more directly* in the track of the invading hosts. The remnant of Reuben, therefore, in Josiah's time may really have been more considerable than those of Gad and Eastern Manasseh. Then come Judah, Levi, Benjamin, the *only* substantial tribes remaining in Josiah's time, Judah having absorbed Simeon, and constituting, with Benjamin, the kingdom of Judah. Hence we find Jeremiah joining together repeatedly 'the cities of Judah, and the places about Jerusalem, and the land of Benjamin,' xvii.26, xxxii.44, xxxiii.13. The other tribes had all been carried captive. They are named, however, one after another, as they *must* have been by one personating the part of Moses, and something is said about each, corresponding, probably, in some measure to their circumstances either then or aforetime, as well as to those *which the writer fondly hoped to see in due time revived through the Mercy of God*, when Judah should be 'brought to his people' again.

834. KNOBEL notes as follows on the blessing of Benjamin, *p.*347:

'*The beloved of Jehovah dwells in security*,' *i.e.* Benjamin, is secured in his abode from hostile assaults, enjoys a secure situation. He is called the 'beloved of Jehovah,' because at that time the Sanctuary, the dwelling-place of God, stood in his territory, and thus Jehovah had advanced him before the other tribes. Elsewhere, the expression is only used of Israel as the divinely-chosen people, Jer.xi.15,xii.7, Ps.lx.5.

The first עָלָיו, *halayv*, (E.V. 'shall dwell in safety *by him*'), is very heavy, [being repeated in the second clause]; since the writer means to speak of Jehovah's dwelling in Benjamin, not of Benjamin's dwelling by or on Jehovah. The Sam. and Syr. have it not; but they have the copula before the following clause; also in many copies either the first or the second עָלָיו is wanting, and the Vulg. expresses only one. The LXX have [for the second] καὶ ὁ Θεός, which, probably, is only a free supplement of the sense of the passage, and hardly points, as some suppose, to the correction עֶלְיוֹן, *helyon*, 'the Most High,' which in no other place is expressed by Θεός. In all probability, it arises from some transcriber, led to it by the second עָלָיו.

Benjamin dwells securely, since Jehovah, as his Protector, hangs over him, and has His earthly abode between the ridges of Benjamin . . . The writer points to Gibeon, where the Tabernacle stood after the destruction of Nob through Saul. The modern *Djib*, two full hours north-west from Jerusalem, with four fountains

and springs, lies on a ridge in the middle of a fruitful and pleasant valley or basin, which consists of broad valleys or plains, and is surrounded by different mountains. The length of the beautiful valley is, from east to west, ten English miles, the breadth five miles. The word כָּתֵף, *catheph*, 'wing, shoulder,' in geographical notices, signifies not the side generally, but the mountain-side, which rises to the mountain or mountain-ridge, N.xxxiv.11, Jo.xv.8,10,xviii.12,13,16,18,&c. The passage cannot, therefore, apply to Jerusalem, since Jehovah dwelt there not between mountain-ridges, but on Moriah. So, too, it does not suit Jerusalem, if we take כָּתֵף in the sense of 'side,' and understand the notice of the territory of Benjamin, generally. For Jerusalem lay on the south side of this tribal territory, and not in the midst of Benjamin. The phrase 'between the shoulders' occurs also 1S.xvii.6. The suspended javelin hung down from the right shoulder to the left hip, and so between the shoulders.

835. There is, however, no good reason to believe that the 'Tabernacle' ever was transferred from Nob to Gibeon, as KNOBEL supposes.

It is true the Chronicler states that it was at Gibeon in the time of David and Solomon, in the following passages :—

'The Tabernacle of Jehovah, which Moses made in the wilderness, and the Altar of the burnt-offering, were, at that season, [when David built the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite at Jerusalem,] in the high place at Gibeon.' 1Ch.xxi.29.

'David left there, before the Ark of the covenant of Jehovah in Jerusalem, Asaph and his brethren to minister before the Ark continually, as every day's work required, and Zadok the Priest and his brethren the Priests, before the Tabernacle of Jehovah, in the high place that was at Gibeon, to offer burnt-offerings unto Jehovah upon the Altar of the burnt-offering continually, morning and evening, and to do according to all that is written in the Law of Jehovah, which He commanded Israel.' 1Ch.xvi.37–40.

'So Solomon and all the Congregation with him went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the Tabernacle of the Congregation of God, which Moses, the servant of Jehovah, had made in the wilderness. Moreover, the brazen Altar, that Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, he put before the Tabernacle of Jehovah, and Solomon and the Congregation sought unto it. And Solomon went up thither to the Brazen Altar before Jehovah, which was at the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and offered a thousand burnt-offerings upon it.' 2Ch.i.3.

836. Upon which we observe as follows :—

(i) The more authentic history, in the books of Samuel and Kings, says nothing whatever of the Tabernacle being at Gibeon,

which is the more remarkable, since in the latter it is recorded that—

'Solomon went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, for that was the great high-place; a thousand burnt-offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar.' 1K.iii.4.

The writer would surely have mentioned the existence of the Mosaic Tabernacle and the Brazen Altar of Bezaleel at Gibeon at this time, as some reason for Solomon's sacrificing there, if he knew that they were there, more especially as in the previous verse, *v.*3, he blames Solomon for 'sacrificing and burning incense in high places.'

(ii) We might ask, which, in the opinion of the Chronicler, was the place which 'Jehovah had chosen to put His Name in,'—Gibeon, with its Tabernacle and Brazen Altar, where 'Zadok and the *Priests*' attended, but where the Ark was not, —or Mount Zion, where the Ark and Mercy Seat were placed, and where 'God dwelt between the cherubims,' though only the *Levites*, 'Asaph and his brethren,' were stationed to 'minister before it continually'? Under such circumstances, the people would have paid a very divided allegiance. And it is difficult to understand how Solomon could sacrifice *before the Ark* at Jerusalem, 1K.iii.15, when neither the *Priests* were there, nor the *Brazen Altar*, upon which alone it was lawful for him to sacrifice, according to the Law laid down in L.xvii.8,9,—

Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt-offering or a sacrifice, and *bringeth it not unto the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, to offer it unto Jehovah, even *that man shall be cut off from among his people.*

Hence, in Jo.xxii.29, the trans-Jordanic tribes are made to say—

'God forbid that we should rebel against Jehovah, and turn this day from following Jehovah, to build an altar for burnt-offerings, for meat-offerings, or for sacrifices, beside the Altar of Jehovah our God, that is *before His Tabernacle.*'

(iii) Again, if the Tabernacle was ever moved from Shiloh to Nob, and from Nob to Gibeon, how is it that we have no account of such removal, either in the books of Samuel or of Chronicles? It was just as great an act of sacrilege, according

to the Pentateuch, to touch the *Tabernacle* with profane hands, as to touch the *Ark* itself.

'When the Tabernacle setteth forward, the *Levites* shall take it down; and, when the Tabernacle is to be pitched, the *Levites* shall set it up; and *the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death*.' N.i.51.

Since, therefore, the Tabernacle was so much more cumbrous than the Ark, much greater preparations must have been made for moving it than for merely taking up the Ark; and, surely, some notice would have been taken in the history of so remarkable an event.

(iv) Above all, how was it that the Ark, when brought back from the Philistines, was not restored to the 'Tabernacle of Moses,' by the directions of Samuel, if that Tabernacle was really at hand, instead of being stored away for so many years in the house of Abinadab, 1S.vii.1,2? And what need was there for David to have *built* a Tabernacle on Mount Zion, to hold the Ark, if the 'Tabernacle of the Congregation' was actually in existence? Surely, no tent that he could build was so fitted to receive it as this grand, ancient, Mosaic Tabernacle, so venerable through its age, and so unspeakably sacred from its history,—framed, even as to its minutest details, as is supposed, after the express instructions of Jehovah, according to 'the pattern which Moses saw in the Mount,' E.xxv.40,xxvi.30,—sanctified by the most holy and stupendous events, glorious with so many grand associations, endeared by the most precious memories,—which had shared all along the fortunes of Israel, and had passed through so many most astonishing and awful scenes in the wilderness,—at the entrance of which not only Moses and Aaron had stood, but the Divine Presence itself had more than once been seen, when 'Jehovah came down in the pillar of a cloud, and stood in the door of the Tabernacle, and talked with them,' N.xi.25,xii.5,—so splendid, also, with its costly curtains of 'fine twined linen, blue, purple, and scarlet,' its coverings of goats' hair and rams' skins, its

boards of shittim wood with their sockets of silver, upon which alone, as we are told, E.xxxviii.27, were spent a hundred talents (34,000*l.*) of silver,—which (according to the views of KNOBEL,) had been removed so often and so easily, and might, therefore, without any very serious difficulty have been removed again, —which (according to the Chronicler) had certainly been moved to Gibeon, and was not *worn out*, and unfit for further sacred uses, since Zadok and the Priests were stationed at it. Such a Tabernacle as this would never have been allowed by the pious David to remain standing empty of the Ark which belonged to it, whether it stood at Shiloh or at Gibeon. He would not, surely, have dared to substitute for it one built by his own contrivance. It would have been an act of sacrilege to have done this. He *must* have brought up such a Tabernacle to Jerusalem, as the only fitting home for the Ark. We may, surely, say with confidence, it is *certain* that he would have done so, had such a Tabernacle really been at that time in existence.

837. We shall have occasion to consider more fully hereafter the history of those times, and the special history of the Ark and the Tabernacle. But we have, as we believe, shown sufficiently that there is no real ground for supposing that the Tabernacle was at Gibeon in the time of Saul; and, even if it had been, the *Ark* was not there, and *that* was the sign of Jehovah's Presence; He would scarcely be said to 'dwell' at a place where the Ark was not. From this, however, it appears that the very ground, on which KNOBEL'S opinion rests, is gone from under him. And we fall back on the explanation which he rejects, *viz.* that the words *do* refer to Jerusalem, where the Ark was, and where Jehovah was specially said to '*cause* His Name *to dwell*.' The word כָּתֵף, *catheph*, 'shoulder,' is, in fact, used for 'side' in N.xxxiv.11, 'the *side* of the sea of Cinnereth,' and so in 1K.vi.8,39, 'the right *side* of the House,' 2Ch.iv.10, 'he set

the sea on the right *side* of the east end,' 2Ch.xxiii.10, 'from the right *side* of the Temple to the left *side* of the Temple.' Possibly, the idea in the writer's mind was this, that, as Jerusalem lay in the middle of the southern boundary of Benjamin, it was thus between the shoulders of the tribe, *i.e.* between the southern ends of the *Eastern* and *Western* sides of it — supported, like the head, between the shoulders, as it were, and not lower down upon the back.

838. It may be noticed that it is the *Deuteronomist* alone, who speaks, as here, of Jehovah 'dwelling' in Jerusalem, and that the phrase לָבֶטַח שָׁכַן, *shachan lavetakh*, 'to rest safely,' occurs only in *v.*12,28, of this chapter, and in Jer.xxiii.6, xxxiii.16, Ps.xvi.9, Pr.i.33, in the first of which passages we have the whole phrase, as in D.xxxiii.28, 'Israel shall dwell safely.' We must not forget, also, that Jeremiah himself was one of the 'Priests that were at Anathoth in the land of Benjamin'; so that, when at home, he lived in 'one of the gates of Benjamin,' and felt, doubtless, a special tenderness for the tribe, which is here called the 'darling of Jehovah.'

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES, DEUT.XXXIII.13–29.

839. D.xxxiii.13–17.

'*And of* JOSEPH *he said,—*
Blessed of Jehovah be his land,
For treasures of heaven above [*E.V.* '*for the dew*'],
And of the deep that lieth beneath,
And for treasures brought forth by the sun,
And for treasures put forth by the moon,
And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
And for treasures of the lasting hills,
And for treasures of the earth and fulness thereof,
And for the goodwill of Him that dwelt in the bush;
The blessing shall come upon the head of Joseph,
And upon the crown of the consecrated of his brethren.

His firstborn steer is his glory;
And his horns are like the horns of a buffalo [E.V. '*unicorn*'];
With them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth:
And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
And they are the thousands of Manasseh.'

840. This blessing on Joseph certainly presents at first sight some difficulty, as the Ten Tribes, of which Ephraim was the head, had been carried into Captivity in the days of Hezekiah, and therefore such language as the above would seem altogether inapplicable to them in the time of Josiah, and to accord much more completely with the views of KNOBEL.

BLEEK, *p.*305, who maintained originally that this 'Blessing' was very ancient, and probably uttered by Moses himself, and much older, at all events, than the 'Blessing of Jacob,' has been obliged to abandon this view, and now conceives that the Deuteronomist has here adapted to his present purposes a poem

of an earlier day, composed *after* the building of the Temple, *v.*12, and *after* the tribe of Levi had become distinguished, *v.*8–11, but yet while the two kingdoms were still standing, *v.*7,13–16, and the house of Ephraim was even stronger than that of Judah, *v.*17, and when the circumstances, generally, of both kingdoms were fortunate and prosperous, *v.*26–29. He places its composition, therefore, about 800 B.C., when both kingdoms were ruled by peaceful princes, Judah by Uzziah, Israel by Jeroboam II.

841. But a closer consideration of the question will show that there is absolutely *no* one time in the history of the people, to which the different parts of the 'Blessing' will apply. Laying aside for the moment the critical reasoning, which has already led us to ascribe the composition of it, as well as the rest of Deuteronomy, to a later hand than that of Moses, we may observe as follows:—

(i) MOSES could not have written it; for, if, looking down with prophetic eye along the stream of time, he had been moved by Divine impulse to utter these intimations as to the future destinies of the tribes of Israel, it is impossible that he should have dismissed the illustrious tribe of Judah, from which David and David's son, the Messiah, were to spring, with a few mournful words, and glorified the tribes of Joseph—who in later days were to be distinguished by rebellion, idolatry, and even apostacy from the worship of Jehovah — with such extraordinary laudation as this.

(ii) Nor will the time of SAMUEL suit better for all parts of the Blessing, since, though Judah was not yet famous, and Ephraim was very flourishing, yet *Levi* was quite in the background, and the remarkable language, which we have just been considering, *v.*8–11, could hardly have been used with reference to that tribe.

(iii) Nor will the days of DAVID answer to the requirements of the case; for then *Judah* could not have been passed over so

lightly, with so little distinction, or, rather, with a prayer expressive of sadness, while the praise of Joseph is loud and triumphant.

(iv) A similar consideration forbids still more decidedly the supposition of its having been composed in the age of SOLOMON, when the splendour of Judah was at its highest.

(v) After Solomon's time, and the division of the two kingdoms, the question first arises, was the writer one of the *northern* or the *southern* kingdom? The glorification of Joseph might be thought, at first sight, to indicate the former. But, on the other hand, we observe that the Levitical Priesthood was confined to Jerusalem, and the roll of the Tetrateuch was, no doubt, kept in their charge,—that there is no trace of the hand of a writer of the northern kingdom to be found in any portion of it,—and that the mention of Jehovah 'dwelling' between the shoulders of Benjamin, *i.e.* as we have seen, in Jerusalem, as well as the high commendation of the Levites, points distinctly to a *Jewish* writer. But what Jewish writer, *during the existence of the separate kingdoms*, would have written of Judah so mildly and of Joseph so warmly, as the writer of this Blessing does?

842. Thus we are brought down to the time *after* the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, without finding any period, which suits all the parts of the Blessing. As far, therefore, as Joseph is concerned, there is no reason why it should not have been written in Josiah's time, as well as any other, and this time suits best, as we have seen, the words spoken of the other chief tribes. It is plain also that such laudatory language would be more likely to be used of Joseph by a pious Jewish writer, *when the northern kingdom no longer existed*, and when all the best feelings of an Israelite would go forth in tender pity and hope towards his brethren in their time of distress, than while it still stood forth as the rival, and, by its idolatries, the corrupter of Judah.

843. Compare in this point of view the language of *Jeremiah*, xxxi, and especially the following verses:

'At the same time, saith Jehovah, will I be the God of *all the families of Israel*, and they shall be my people,' *v.*1.

'Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O *virgin of Israel*; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry,' *v.*4.

'For there shall be a day that the watchmen upon the *Mount Ephraim* shall cry, Arise ye, and *let us go up to Zion*, unto Jehovah our God,' *v.*6.

'Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the wastes of the earth, . . . a great company shall return thither. They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them; I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble; for I am *a Father to Israel*, and *Ephraim is my firstborn*,' *v.*8,9.

'Hear the word of Jehovah, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, *He that scattered Israel, will gather him*, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock. For Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he. Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, &c.' *v.*11,12.

And, from beginning to end, the whole chapter sets forth these delightful prophetic anticipations of the future reunion of Israel and Judah, and their happy estate in those blessed days which were coming, when chastisement should have done its work effectually, *v.*18, and the gracious promise should be fulfilled, *v.*33,—

'I will be their God, and they shall be my people.'

844. In short, the most reasonable explanation of the matter seems to be that the Deuteronomist has here expressed confidently a prophetic *hope* for the future prosperity and glory of Joseph, as he has for the reunion of all the tribes under the sway of Judah, for the continuance of a pious and faithful Priesthood in the tribe of Levi, and for the permanent resting of Jehovah 'between the shoulders' of Benjamin. He views the whole people reunited once more; and thus, after briefly touching upon each of the other tribes, with a few words suggested by their situation, character, or past or present circumstances, he closes the address

by imagining all Israel compacted again into one great nation, rejoicing once more in the favour and blessing of Jehovah, *v.*26–29 :—

'There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,
Who rideth upon the heaven in thy help,
And in His excellency on the sky.
The Eternal God is thy refuge,
And underneath are the Everlasting Arms;
And He shall thrust out the enemy from before thee,
And shall say, Destroy them.
Israel then shall dwell in safety alone;
The fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine;
Also his heavens shall drop down dew.
Happy art thou, O Israel!
Who is like unto thee, O people saved by Jehovah,
The shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency!
And thine enemies shall dissemble (use glozing speeches) unto thee,
And thou shalt tread upon their high places.'

845. This view of the blessing of Joseph will be found confirmed, when we examine the language of it, which, except *v.*17, is in many places a literal transcript of the words addressed to Joseph in Jacob's Blessing, G.xlix.22–26, and respects only, as the reader will perceive, the *land* of Joseph, whose extreme fertility is well known, and whose qualities were not affected by the captivity of its inhabitants. The chief of these correspondences are given below :—

G.XLIX.		D.XXXIII.	
בְּרֻכֹת שָׁמַיִם מֵעָל	*v.*25.	מִמֶּגֶד שָׁמַיִם מֵעָל*	*v.*13.
בִּרְכֹת תְּהוֹם רֹבֶצֶת תָּחַת		וּמִתְּהוֹם רֹבֶצֶת תָּחַת	
עַד תַּאֲוַת גִּבְעֹת עוֹלָם	*v.*26.	וּמִמֶּגֶד גִּבְעוֹת עוֹלָם	*v.*15.
תִּהְיֶיןָ לְרֹאשׁ יוֹסֵף		תָּבוֹאתָה לְרֹאשׁ יוֹסֵף	*v.*16.
וּלְקָדְקֹד נְזִיר אֶחָיו		וּלְקָדְקֹד נְזִיר אֶחָיו	

* 'For מִטָּל, 'of the dew,' many MSS. give מֵעָל as in G.xxvii.39, xlix.25, Ps.l.4, and Onk. and the Syr. express both. In point of fact, מִטָּל is an unpoetical explanation of מֶגֶד, and the parallelism with תָּחַת speaks also for the other reading.' —KNOBEL.

v.25, Blessings *of the heavens above,*
Blessings of *the deep that lieth beneath.*
v.26, To the desire *of the everlasting hills:*
They shall be *upon the head of Joseph,*
And on the crown of the consecrated of his brethren.

v.13, From treasures *of the heavens above,*
And from *the deep that lieth beneath,*
v.15, And from treasures *of the everlasting hills.*
v.16, It shall come *upon the head of Joseph,*
And on the crown of the consecrated of his brethren.

846. It is plain that the writer had before him the 'Blessing of Jacob.' And, though he has *not* used its expressions in speaking of Reuben, Judah, Levi, or Benjamin, the tribes which were still in existence, and of which he could speak in accordance with their present circumstances, yet, when he comes to the captive Joseph, as if at a loss almost what to say, he refers to the older document, and adapts its very words with slight changes and amplifications. But, as before observed, the greater portion of the blessing refers entirely to the fertility of his land, including 'the *goodness* of Him that dwelt in the bush,' by which, probably, allusion is made to the expressions in E.iii.8, 'a *good* land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey.' Joseph is here, and in G.xlix.26, spoken of as 'consecrated by his brethren,' because the tribe of Ephraim was recognised as the leader of the Northern tribes, (as Judah was of the Southern,) from a very early age down to the time of the Captivity.

847. In *v.*17 is described the strength of this populous tribe, which, when restored to its pristine vigour, as the Prophet hoped, would push the nations with its horns, like a Reem or buffalo, as once it did of old in the days of David. Then should the son of David reign triumphantly once more in the place 'which Jehovah had chosen to set His Name there,' and Ephraim be the 'strength of his head,' and Judah his 'Lawgiver.' Joseph's 'firstborn steer' is Ephraim, whom Jacob 'set before Manasseh,' his elder brother, G.xlviii.20, and whose tribe was in later times by far the strongest, in agreement with the words of the text, 'And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh,' though not in accordance

with the statements at the second 'muster' of the people at the end of their wanderings, according to which the number of Manasseh was 52,700, N.xxvi.34, and that of Ephraim only 32,500, *v.*37; and yet the story represents Moses as making this muster only just before he uttered the Song.

848. There is nothing very remarkable in the other blessings, which, as has been said, seem to be uttered, because something *must* be said of each tribe, (by one who had undertaken to place a Blessing in the mouth of Moses, like that ascribed to Jacob,) with some kind of reference to their past or present circumstances, and the hope that, though now only a remnant of each tribe occupied the seat of its forefathers, yet in God's own time the tribe would be restored to its old locality, and flourish abundantly again, and the Blessing be fulfilled. In almost every case there is a reference to the language used in the Blessing of Jacob, G.xlix, as if the Deuteronomist was at a loss for other words, in which to speak of these captive tribes.

849. The following are some of KNOBEL'S remarks on them :—

*v.*18, *Rejoice,* ZEBULUN, *in thy going out.*
And, ISSACHAR, *in thy tents.*

The relations of both tribes shall be joyful and prosperous, the one carrying on a brisk and pleasant commerce, *e.g.* with the Phœnicians, (so G.xlix.13, 'Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for an haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon,') and the other remaining at home, and practising comfortably agriculture and cattle-breeding in the productive land where it dwells (so G.xlix.14,15, 'Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens; and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant').

*v.*19, *'They shall call the people unto the Mountain;*
Thus shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness.'

By the 'Mountain' the writer understands certainly not Jerusalem, as many suppose, which was too distant for the sacrificial feasts of both the tribes, and in his time, [that of Saul, according to KNOBEL,] was, besides, no chief place of religion, —nor, probably, Tabor, as others think, which is nowhere else mentioned in the O.T. as a holy station,—but Carmel, which lay near both tribes, and was a holy sacrificial place, 1K.xviii.19–21,42, 2K.ii.25, iv.25.

Ans. According to our view, the 'Mountain' is certainly the holy 'Mount Zion' at Jerusalem, to which, as the writer hoped, and as the Deuteronomist enjoined,

all the tribes would in future days go willingly up in great numbers; though, of course, it was never supposed that the command for 'every male' to go up thrice a year would be literally obeyed. Comp. Jer.xxvi.18, 'the Mountain of the House,' and especially, Jer.xxxi.23, 'Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, As yet they shall use this speech, in the land of Judah and in the cities thereof, when I shall bring again their (*i.e. Ephraim's*) captivity, Jehovah bless thee, O habitation of justice, O Mountain of holiness.'

'For they shall suck the affluence of the sea,
And the hidden treasures of the sand.'

They shall draw profit from the sea, have gain which the sea brings to them, *e.g.* through commerce, and the taking of fish, purple-shells, and sponges, which are still carried on. . . . By 'treasures of the sand' the writer means 'glass,' which by the ancients was considered as something costly, (Job xxviii.17, 'The gold and the crystal cannot equal it,') and which has been found by the river Belus, a small distance south from Akko. . . . Also, more north, between Akko and Tyre, the coast yielded a glassy sand, which, however, was first melted in Sidon. In Tyre there are still remains of a glass-melting-house of ancient times.

*v.*20, *'Blessed be He that enlargeth Gad:*
As a lion he coucheth, and teareth arm, yea, and crown.'

Blessed be Jehovah, who gives this tribe a spacious territory, and lets him extend himself far and wide, (G.xlix.19, 'Gad, a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last'). Just in the same way is 'Blessing' ascribed to the God of Shem, G.ix.26, where Shem's prosperity is to be brought forward. Gad is like a lion, which has made a prey, and, couching in peaceful security, tears it asunder and devours it.

*v.*21, *'And he saw the firstfruits* [*e.g. of the Conquest*] *for himself;* *i.e.* he chose, 'provided,' for himself, (וַיַּרְא לוֹ, *vayyar lo,* as in G.xxii.8,) the first conquered land as a possession. This was the kingdom of Sihon; Gad had the northern half of it, and in the southern also he had cities,—at least in the Mosaic time, N.xxxii.34. The Gadites seem, at the Conquest of the trans-Jordanic lands, to have been specially forward. For they appear, N.xxxii.2,6,25,29,31,33, at the head of the 2½ tribes, who obtained that district, and they rebuilt cities not only in their own, but in the Reubenite territory, while the Reubenites confined themselves to their own land. N.xxxii.34–36.

'For there was the portion of the leader laid up;
And he came as head of the people:
He did the righteousness of Jehovah,
And His judgments with Israel.'

The firstfruits of the Hebrew Conquest belonged to the 'leader'; but Gad showed at the head of the tribes a special activity and bravery, and therefore laid claim to that land, which, however, was only as good as something 'laid up' for him, since the regular possession could only begin after the fulfilment of the condition laid down by Moses, N.xxxii.19. So must we take מְחֹקֵק, *mĕkhoḳek, lit.* 'one who de-

crees,' hence 'a ruler, leader, prince,' Ju.v.9, not understanding it with reference to Moses, as if it were meant, (with some) 'Gad was laid up, concealed, in the portion assigned to him by the Lawgiver,' or (with others) 'there was the portion assigned to him by the Lawgiver preserved,' or 'there was the portion of the hidden, that is, buried, Lawgiver.' For Gad saw the land to be beautiful, before it was assigned to him and before the death of Moses; hence neither the consent of the Lawgiver, nor his burial-place, (which, besides, does not concern the matter at all,) can be here referred to.

At the head of the people, as foreman, fighting in advance, Gad marched with them into Canaan, D.iii.18, N.xxxii.17,20–22, Jo.i.14,iv.12, and fulfilled what Jehovah had commanded as becoming and right, as a duty towards Israel. The writer speaks of a 'coming' and in the imperfect, since he looks back on the events from his present standpoint in time and place.

[Although the above explanation is not altogether satisfactory, it is difficult, knowing so little as we do of the special history of the different tribes, to offer a better. The difficulty, however, is not at all removed by assigning the composition of the Song to Moses.]

*v.*22, '*Dan is a young lion,*
That springs forth from Bashan (Knob. *the plain*):'

i.e. he seizes, where one least expects him, falls upon the prey unawares, and grasps it. The reference is to the capture of Laish, Jo.xix.47, Ju.xviii.27; so G.xlix.17, 'Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.' The lion couches usually on mountains or in forests and thickets, seldom upon the treeless and shrubless plain; here it is something unexpected by the wanderer, and so much the more dangerous, since trees for escape are wanting. Interpreters find here a lion 'springing from *Bashan*.' But the lion springs out of his lair, thicket, place, not from a country or a kingdom, and nothing is known elsewhere of a 'lion of Bashan.'

[With reference to Knobel's remark about there being no lions in Bashan, it should be noted that 'Shenir' and 'Hermon' were in the district of Bashan, and we read, Sol.Song iv.8, 'From the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the *lions' dens*, from the mountains of the leopards.' Zechariah also seems to connect the 'oaks of Bashan,' xi.2, with the 'roaring of the young lions' on the banks of the adjacent Jordan, *v.*3.]

*v.*23, '*Naphtali, be fat with favour,*
And full with the blessing of Jehovah;
The sea (E.V. *west*) *and the south do thou possess:*'

i.e. may he possess a territory rich in advantages, in pleasantnesses which come from God's blessing, and take in a sea-coast and a southern, *i.e.* warm, land, although his territory lies in the north and far from the sea. [But יָם, *yam*, may be here used merely for 'west,' and Naphtali lay *west* and *south* of Dan.]

*v.*24, '*Blessed with children be Asher;*
May he be a source of pleasure to his brethren,
And dipping his foot in oil.'

KNOBEL here translates, 'Blessed before the sons [of Jacob] be Asher; may he be the pleasant one of his brethren, &c.' *i.e.* may he enjoy a rich land, flowing with oil, [G.xlix.20, 'Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties,'] and find himself in so extensive and pleasant a situation, that the other tribes may have their joy and pleasure in him.

v.25, 'May thy bars [E.V. 'shoes'] be iron and brass:
And as thy days thy rest (repose, security).'

KNOBEL for 'bars' (GESEN.) reads 'castles, forts,' and writes: 'The Asherites lived as far as Lebanon, where mining was practised, and where they seem to have obtained metals, of which they may have made much use in strengthening their towns, and in fact, they needed this in the midst of hostile people.'

v.26–29. With this conclusion, in which the greatness and glory of Jehovah are set forth, and the happy estate of Israel, under His protection and blessing, is described in glowing terms, 'There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, &c.,' 'Israel then shall dwell securely, &c.,' 'Happy art thou, O Israel! who is like unto thee, O people saved by Jehovah! &c.' the following passages may be compared from the Prophet Jeremiah:

'There is none like unto Thee, Jehovah:
Thou art great, and Thy Name is great in might.
Who would not fear Thee, O King of nations?
For to Thee doth it appertain:
Forasmuch as among all the wise of the nations, and in all their kingdoms,
There is none like unto Thee. x.6,7.

In his days Judah shall be saved,
And Israel shall dwell securely. xxiii.6, xxxiii.16.

850. KURTZ, iii.492, remarks on D.xxxiii as follows:

We cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that the 'Blessing of Moses' *does not contain the slightest trace of any special Messianic allusion*, whereas they are so very prominent in that of Jacob, and, since his time, the Messianic expectations had been so greatly enlarged by the prophecy of the 'Star out of Jacob' and the 'Prophet like unto Moses.' But this may, perhaps, account sufficiently for the omission here. Since the time of Jacob, the Messianic expectation had advanced so far, that it had assumed the form of a belief in one single personal Messiah; but from which of the families or tribes the personal Messiah would spring was not yet known. The prophecy of Balaam, like that of Moses, had simply intimated that he would spring out of the midst of Israel, and from the posterity of Jacob. It is true that even in G.xlix the tribe of Judah is distinguished above all the rest, as the one to which belonged the supremacy among the tribes. But there was something too indefinite in the description for the belief to take root in Israel, that from this particular tribe a personal Messiah would spring. This did not take place until the time of David. It might even be said that the distinction, conferred by 'Jacob's Blessing' upon the tribe of Judah, had fallen since then into the shade; for neither Moses, nor Aaron, nor Joshua, belonged to this tribe.

CHAPTER XX.

DEUT. XXXIV. 1–12.

*851. D. xxxiv. 1–3.

'And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho; and Jehovah showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar.'

Here we have signs of a later writer in the mention of '*Dan*' (243), and '*all Naphtali*, and the land of *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh*, and all the land of *Judah*,' — where the different terms are used as well known, though the land was not yet divided. So we have 'unto this day,' *v.*6.

Scott observes: —

The last chapter closed the words and writings of Moses, and this chapter must have been added by another hand; but it is uncertain whether by Joshua, or by Samuel, or by some other Prophet. Some, indeed, maintain that Moses himself wrote it by the spirit of prophecy; this, however, is not at all probable. But, by whomsoever it was written, the information must have been originally communicated by immediate revelation. Perhaps, the three last verses were added by Ezra; but all the subsequent books of Scripture assume as undoubted facts the things recorded in it.

852. These verses, *v.*1–3, are plainly part of the older document, in continuation of xxxii.52, but we have here the expression 'plains of Moab,' which is used exclusively (548.xi) by the older writer. In *v.*1, however, we have the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי יְרֵחוֹ, *hal-pĕney yĕrekho*, 'over against Jericho,' which occurs also in the Deuteronomistic interpolation in xxxii.49, whereas, the older writer, whenever he introduces a similar reference to Jericho,

employs invariably the form, מֵעֵבֶר לְיַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ, *mehever leyarden yĕrekho,* 'on the other side Jordan (near) Jericho,' or עַל יַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ, *hal yarden yĕrekho,* 'by Jordan (near) Jericho,'—in each case, יְרֵחוֹ, *yĕrekho,*' 'Jericho,' being used without any governing words, N.xxii.1,xxvi.3,63,xxxi.12,xxxiii.48,50,xxxiv.15, xxxv.1, xxxvi.13. This suggests that the whole defining clause, 'the top of Pisgah that is over against Jericho,' is an insertion by the Deuteronomist.

In *v.*2 we have the phrase הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן, *hayyam haakhăron,* 'the *hinder* sea,' the Mediterranean, which expression occurs in D. xi.24, but nowhere else in the Pentateuch; the older document has 'the great sea,' N.xxxiv.6,7, and 'hinder sea' is found in Joel ii.20, Zech.xiv.8, nowhere else in the Bible.

853. D.xxxiv.4–7.

'And Jehovah said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed; I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither. So Moses, the servant of Jehovah, died there, according to the word of Jehovah. And He buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old, when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.'

This passage, again, belongs partly to the older document, though some part also is by the hand of the Deuteronomist, as is shown by the expression, *v.*5,6, 'land of Moab,' (550.i). Probably *v.*4 is his entirely, and the two insertions 'land of Moab' in *v.*5,6, and the rest belongs to the older document (784).

854. D.xxxiv.8,9.

'And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty-days: so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended. And Joshua, the son of Nun, was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as Jehovah commanded Moses.'

We have here the older writer, as appears by the expression, *v.*8, 'plains of Moab,' (548.xi). Also the 'thirty days' of weeping correspond to those for Aaron, N.xx.29; and the phrase 'as Jehovah commanded Moses,' *v.*9, is constantly recurring in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

855. D.xxxiv.10–12.

'And there arose not a Prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Jehovah knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders, which Jehovah sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land, and in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel.'

These words appear to belong to the Deuteronomist, since we have in *v.*11, 'signs and wonders,' D.iv.34, vi.22, vii.19, xiii.1(2),2(3), xxvi.8, xxviii.46, xxix.3(2), xxxiv.11, Jer.xxxii. 20,21, and E.vii.3, and in *v.*12, 'mighty hand,' D.iii.24, iv.34, v.15, vi.21, vii.8,19, ix.26, xi.2, xxvi.8, xxxiv.12, and E.iii.19, vi.1,1, xiii.9, xxxii.11, N.xx.20, and מוֹרָא, *mora*, 'terror,' iv.34, xi.25, xxvi.8, and G.ix.2, Jer.xxxii.21.

856. Upon the 'burial' of Moses, xxxiv.6, KURTZ writes as follows, iii.*p*.494:—

'Moses died there,' says the scriptural account, 'according to the mouth—*i.e.* according to the word—of God.' The Rabbins render this '*at* the mouth of God,' and call the death of Moses 'a death by a kiss.' Immediately afterwards it is stated that 'He buried him in the valley in the land of Moab.' Even if it were grammatically admissible to render the verb impersonally, ('they buried him' LXX, ἔθαψαν *αὐτόν*,) or to take the subject from the verb itself, 'he buried him,' viz. 'whoever did bury him,' (ROSENM. *et sepelivit eum* i.e. *sepeliens*,) the context would not allow it, but would still force us to the conclusion that Jehovah is the subject. The clause, 'and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day,' unquestionably implies a peculiar mode of burial. The *valley*, in which Moses was buried, must have been a depression at the top of the mountains of Pisgah.

From the time of the Fathers, the answer given to the question, '*Why* should Jehovah Himself have buried Moses?' has almost invariably been this, to prevent a superstitious or idolatrous veneration of his sepulchre or his remains. But, notwithstanding all the pious feelings of the nation, and their veneration of the greatest of all the Prophets of the O. T., such a result as this was certainly not to be apprehended at the time in question. The notions which prevailed, with reference to the defiling

influence of graves and of the bodies of the dead,—notions which the Law had certainly only adopted, sanctioned, and regulated, and had not been the first to introduce,—were sufficiently powerful to guard against any such danger as this. Abraham's sepulchre was known to everybody. But it never entered the mind of any Israelite under the O. T. to pay idolatrous or even superstitious veneration to it, however nearly the reverence of later Jews for the person of Abraham might border upon superstition and idolatry. The remains of Jacob and Joseph were carried to Palestine, and buried there. But we cannot find the slightest ground for supposing that they were the objects of superstitious adoration.

857. KURTZ then attempts to account for this strange burial.

If Moses, therefore, was buried by Jehovah Himself, the reason must certainly have been, that such a burial was intended for him, as no other man could possibly have given. That there was something very peculiar in the burial of Moses, is sufficiently evident from the passage before us. And this is confirmed in a very remarkable manner by the N. T. history of the Transfiguration, where Moses and Elias appeared with the Redeemer. We may see here very clearly that the O. T. account may justly be understood, as implying that the design of the burial of Moses by the hand of Jehovah was to place him in the same category with Enoch and Elijah, to deliver him from going down into the grave like the rest of Adam's children, and to prepare for him a condition, both of body and soul, resembling that of those two men of God. It is true that Moses was not saved from *death* itself in the same manner as Enoch and Elijah; he really *died*, and his body was really *buried*; this is expressly stated in the Biblical history. But we may assume with the greatest probability, that, like them, he was saved from *corruption*. Men bury the corpse that it may see corruption. If Jehovah, therefore, would not suffer the body of Moses to be buried by men, it is but natural to seek for the *reason* of this in the fact, that He did not intend to leave him to corruption, but at the very time of his burial communicated some virtue by His own hand, which saved the body from corruption, and prepared for the Patriarch a transition into the same state of existence, into which Enoch and Elijah were admitted without either death or burial. The *state of existence* in the life beyond, into which Moses was introduced by the hand of Jehovah, was, probably, essentially the same as that into which Enoch was taken, when he was translated, and Elijah, when he was carried up to heaven, though the way was not to be the same. What the way may have been we can neither describe nor imagine. We are altogether in ignorance as to what the state itself was. The most that we can do is to form some conjecture of what it was not. For example, it was not one of absolute glorification and perfection, of which Christ alone could be the firstfruits, 1Cor.xv.20,23; nor was it the dim 'sheol' life, into which all the other children of Adam passed. It was something between the two—a state as inconceivable as it had been hitherto unseen.

858. KURTZ goes on to say that he considers his view to be supported by the mention in Jude *v.*9 of a conflict and dispute

between the archangel Michael and the Devil respecting the body of Moses. CLEM. ALEX., ORIGEN, and DIDYMUS, he says, speak of an apocryphal book entitled the 'Ascension or Assumption of Moses,' from which Jude took this story. But this he cannot allow: the author of that book and of Jude most probably drew from the same source, *tradition*, and independently of each other. In short, he considers the epistle of Jude to be 'canonical and written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit,' and that 'the adoption and use of this tradition in a canonical epistle gives it all the sanction of apostolical authority,' which means, in other words, that it is 'accredited by the Spirit of God.' When, therefore, it is said that He, Jehovah, 'buried him,' KURTZ understands it to mean that the 'Angel of Jehovah,' who was Jehovah's personal representative in all transactions with Israel in the wilderness, did so, and this 'Angel of Jehovah' he regards as identical with Michael the Archangel, and not with the Logos, as HENGSTENBERG does. In conclusion, he adds—

> The death of Moses was not like the death of the first Adam, which issued in corruption, nor was it like that of the second Adam, which was followed by a resurrection. It was rather something intermediate between the two forms of death, just as Moses himself occupied an intermediate position between the first and the second Adam,—between the head of sinful, dying humanity, and the Head of humanity redeemed from sin.

859. We might embrace KURTZ's view in this quotation, if there was any ground for believing that this narrative contains an historically true account of the death and burial of Moses. But the above notes of KURTZ show to what extremities an honest mind must be driven in the attempt to recognise such a statement as infallibly true, and to realise it, as in that case we should be bound to do, in its details and consequences. There is no greater intellectual cowardice than to shrink from contemplating the results to which any tenet fairly leads, and so to profess a belief in the gross, which we shrink from analysing in particulars.

CHAPTER XXI.

RESULTS OF THE EXAMINATION OF DEUTERONOMY.

860. We have now completed the review of this book, and, even if we had not previously proved the fact upon other grounds, the phenomena which we have here observed,—the contradictions, variations, and numerous indications of a more advanced state of civil and religious development,—would be sufficient to satisfy us that it must have been written in a different age from that in which the other four books, generally, of the Pentateuch were written, and in a much later day.

861. Upon this point Riehm observes, *p.*78 :—

The different character of the Deuteronomistic laws from the legislation of the earlier books, and the numerous, and in part important, differences between them, make it impossible to assume that *one* man should have delivered the earlier, as well as the Deuteronomistic, laws. So that, if the earlier books of the Pentateuch, in the form in which they have reached us, had been written by Moses—which I certainly cannot assume, while fully recognising that many laws entirely, and others at least as to their substance, (though not as to their present form,) are derived from Moses,—yet *Deuteronomy, certainly, is composed by another man, living in a considerably later age.* In particular, the complete alteration of the law about tithes and firstlings compels us to this conclusion; for, assuredly, one and the same lawgiver could not have laid down such different directions for the application of the selfsame holy gifts. We cannot help ourselves with the assumption, (in order to maintain the Mosaic origin of the whole Pentateuch,) that Moses himself in the land of Moab, shortly before his death, and the passage of the people over the Jordan, had so changed the laws about those institutions, as well as some others, that they might become more suited to the new relations, into which the people stepped through the possession of Canaan. For, as is quite obvious with respect to the tithe-arrangement, these institutions of the old legislation were themselves already calculated for the people settled in the holy land, and needed at that time no change. [Besides which, it could hardly be supposed that *Moses*, in his last

address, would change completely these earlier laws, which *Jehovah* Himself had issued only a few months previously.]

862. If we now proceed to sum up the 'signs of time,' which we have observed in the course of our examination, we may state the conclusions to which they would lead us, as follows:—

(i) Deuteronomy was written after the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the other four books, since reference is made throughout to matters of fact related in them, and expressly to the laws about leprosy (556).

(ii) Hence it was written (473.xiv,xv,) after the times of Samuel and David; and this is further confirmed by the fact that the laws referring to the *kingdom* (709) seem not to have been known to Samuel, 1S.viii.6–18, nor to the later writer of Samuel's doings.

(iii) The mention of the kingdom in xvii.14–20, with the distinct reference to the dangers likely to arise to the State from the king multiplying to himself 'wives,' and 'silver and gold,' and 'horses,' implies that it was written after the age of Solomon; and this is confirmed by the very frequent references to the 'place which Jehovah would choose,' that is, Jerusalem and the Temple.

(iv) The recognition of the independence of Edom (593) carries down its composition to the time of their complete liberation from the control of the kings of Judah in the reign of Ahaz.

(v) It was written after the time of Hezekiah's Reformation (637–648), when the high places were removed, which the former kings of Judah, even the best of them, had freely permitted.

Upon this point KUENEN observes, *p.*150:—

The Reformation of Hezekiah, as well as that of Josiah, had in view the putting down of idolatry, and the centralisation of public worship. Both, therefore, agree in their object with that of the Deuteronomistic legislation. This latter preceded the reformation of Josiah. Did it also that of Hezekiah?

We must answer this question in the negative:—

(i) Because the oldest record about Hezekiah's Reformation makes no mention whatever of its legislative foundation, whereas it is quite otherwise in the case of Josiah;

(ii) Because Hezekiah's contemporaries, Isaiah and Micah, give no sign of knowing the book of Deuteronomy, which is inexplicable, in case it had exercised so very important an influence upon their lifetime.

(vi) It was written *after* the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign; since the sorrows of that event are evidently referred to (608) as matters which were well known, but which now were things of the past.

(vii) It was written after the great spread in Judah, in Manasseh's time, of the worship of the 'sun and moon and the host of heaven' (605).

(viii) It was written *before* the time of Josiah's Reformation, since the words ascribed to Huldah (574.v) expressly refer to it, and, indeed, there can be little doubt (570–1) that this book, whether alone or with the other books, was that found in the Temple by Hilkiah, and was the direct cause of that Reformation.

(ix) Hence it can scarcely be doubted that the book of Deuteronomy was written, either in *the latter part of Manasseh's reign*, or in *the early part of Josiah's*.

863. EWALD, RIEHM, BLEEK, KUENEN, and others, are of opinion that the most probable supposition is that the book was written in the latter part of Manasseh's reign; DE WETTE, VON BOHLEN, KNOBEL, &c. (with whom we agree, for reasons which shall be presently stated), place its composition in the reign of Josiah. The difference in this point of detail is, of course, inconsiderable, and of no importance whatever with reference to the main question, whether or not this book of Deuteronomy was written by Moses. The above able critics may vary within a limit of thirty or forty years in fixing the precise date of its composition; but they are all agreed in assigning it to the same later period of Jewish history; and this, indeed, may be ranked among the most certain results of modern scientific Biblical criticism.

864. RIEHM, *p.*98–105, fixes the age of the Deuteronomist,

with EWALD, in the latter half of Manasseh's reign, and writes as follows:—

'In D.xxviii.68, among the punishments threatened to the people in case of their departing from Jehovah, *this* is threatened as the sorest and last, that Jehovah will carry them back to Egypt in ships, so that they would be sold there to their enemies into shameful and endless slavery. Hence it appears, *first*, that, in the time of the Deuteronomist, Egypt had become again so strong that he might expect the full destruction of the Israelitish State—not from the Assyrians, (to whom *v.*36, 48–50, refer,)—but from the Egyptians, and, *secondly*, since a removal in *ships* is threatened, that the Egyptians were at that time already powerful at sea. *Lastly*, it follows from the passage about the king, D.xvii.16, which forbids the king to 'cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses,' that at that time already the Egyptian kings sought and employed foreign soldiers, so that the Israelitish king could only obtain horses out of Egypt upon the condition that he, on his part, should send Israelitish foot-soldiers (comp. Is.xxxvi.8), and place them at the disposal of the Egyptian king . . . All this suits Egypt only during the reign of Psammetichus, but does not suit the state of Egypt before that reign. Certainly, we cannot through ancient testimony maintain that Psammetichus had a remarkable fleet; but, since he besieged Ashdod for twenty-nine years, (HEROD.ii.157,) he must have brought the troops which he marched thither, and their supplies, not surely by the laborious land-journey, but by ships; and so it is not improbable that he possessed already a rather considerable navy, and that Pharaoh-Necho, of whom HERODOTUS tells us, ii.159, that he built two fleets, only carried on in this instance, as in others, his father's undertakings.

That, however, through Psammetichus the Egyptian kingdom, altogether weakened through internal dissension, and, as it seemed, tending to its fall, suddenly attained to new power, and raised itself to such might, that it became very dangerous to its neighbours, and even, in course of time, was destructive to the Jews, 2K.xxiii.29, is well known. Since, however, at that time the Assyrian power, after the death of Esarhaddon II, was manifestly tending more and more to its end, while Babylon was not yet an independent, mighty, kingdom, our writer might probably expect the greater danger for the kingdom of Judah from the rejuvenescent Egyptian power, especially since the army of Psammetichus, which was, besieging Ashdod, was in such threatening neighbourhood. That Psammetichus sought and employed strange soldiers, and particularly Arabians, we know from ancient authorities. If, therefore, at any time, the possibility existed of an alliance of the above kind between Judæa and Egypt, it existed in the time of Psammetichus. We must then, with EWALD, assume that Deuteronomy was written during the reign of Psammetichus, . . . *in the latter half of the reign of Manasseh.*

Who, however, was the author, it is impossible to say. The assumption of EWALD, that the author wrote in Egypt, 'in the presence of the unhappy people whom Manasseh had sold into Egypt,' rests upon no foundation, and is altogether improbable. . . . How could such a writer have laid down the command that all

male Israelites should go up to the Temple at Jerusalem three times yearly? The untenable supposition, that Deuteronomy was written by Jeremiah, has already been copiously refuted by KÖNIG, *A. T. Studien*, II. Justly also has EWALD protested against the groundless assumption, that the discoverer of the Law-Book, the High Priest Hilkiah, had himself composed Deuteronomy, but denied his authorship.

That the author must have been a very eminent man, in a spiritual point of view, is certain, and equally so that he, on one side, was well acquainted with the ancient legislation, and, on the other, was influenced by the writings of the earlier Prophets, and himself highly gifted with the Prophetical spirit. And so one might, perhaps, assume that the author was a Priest, who, however, was at the same time conscious of a prophetic gift. More nearly to determine is impossible without arbitrariness. That we do not know so great and very remarkable a man ought not to perplex us, since it is just the same with us in the case of the not less remarkable author of the second part of Isaiah, and since analogous phenomena are *not* wanting in the New-Testament literature, (*e.g.* Ep. to the Hebrews).

Ans. (i) The *moral* difficulty remains the same whether Jeremiah, or any other eminent person, or 'prophetical Priest,' of those days wrote the book of Deuteronomy.

(ii) It seems to us almost incredible that so great a writer as the Deuteronomist —evidently a master-mind, and a man of political, as well as religious, activity,— should have so completely disappeared from history, and left no other work of a similar kind behind him.

(iii) The case of the later Isaiah is not a parallel case, since he lived in the midst of the confusion and distress of the Captivity, of which no historical records have come down to us; whereas the Deuteronomist lived in a well-known age, of which distinct accounts are left to us, possibly by the hand of Jeremiah himself.

(iv) The Epistle to the Hebrews is still less a case in point, especially if written by ST. PAUL, since he left many other signs of his activity behind him.

(v) While admitting that the book *may* have been written, as far as internal evidence shows, in the latter half of Manasseh's reign, yet it seems *more probable*, from the same internal evidence, that its author lived in a yet later age, perhaps in the earlier part of Josiah's time, for the following reasons:—

(α) The expressions in D.xxviii.49,50, — 'Jehovah shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand, a nation of fierce countenance, &c.'—seem hardly to refer to the weak and sickly *Assyrian* power, 'manifestly tending more and more to its end,' but to the young and vigorous *Babylonian* kingdom; and this last, as RIEHM says, was not sufficiently developed till towards the end of Manasseh's days;

(β) We do not know *for certain* that Psammetichus had notable fleets; but we do know this of his son Pharaoh-Nèchо, who was reigning at the time when Josiah came to the throne;

(γ) The Deuteronomist appears to have doubted from which of these two great powers the danger was most likely to come; which corresponds to the fact

that 'Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria (? the Babylonian power) to the river Euphrates,' on which occasion Josiah also went up,—apparently, to fight with the Egyptians,—and was killed, 2K.xxiv.29, in the thirty-ninth year of his life and the thirty-first of his reign;

(δ) The 'book of the Law' was found in the *eighteenth* year of his reign, *thirteen years* before; and previously to that time Josiah seems to have been on friendly terms with Egypt, Jer.ii.18,36, and, perhaps, was lending soldiers, and obtaining horses, in the very way condemned in D.xvii.16. It is probable that this very language of Deuteronomy, or rather, (as we suppose,) the remonstrances of the living Deuteronomist, may have produced this change of relations, which ended, however, fatally for the young king.

(vi) We shall consider fully in the proper place the *negative* arguments of KÖNIG, as well as the *positive indications* of JEREMIAH'S authorship.

865. The following argument, however, tends strongly (in our opinion) to fix the composition of Deuteronomy in the early years of Josiah.

If it really was written in Manasseh's time, we are then met by the following difficulties. In that case, the author may have placed it in the Temple in Manasseh's lifetime, without the knowledge of anyone, which, of course, is conceivable. But then he must have gone his way, *leaving so valuable a fruit of so much labour to the chances of the future*, — or we may say to the overruling of Providence, — without communicating to anyone the fact of its existence; and he must have *died*, without betraying his secret, — without showing any personal interest in the success of his great enterprise, or caring to see any result of it in his own days, — nay, without even making any provision against the possibility of the book itself being neglected, destroyed, or lost, while it lay unknown and unheeded in the Temple, during the latter portion of Manasseh's idolatrous reign. For we take no account of the Chronicler's story of Manasseh's repentance, 2Ch.xxxiii.18,19, of which the book of Kings says nothing.

866. Or if the writer himself survived the reign of Manasseh, and the short reign of Amon, and so was living in the early years of Josiah,—or if any one was then living, to whom the writer,

before his death, *had* communicated his secret,—it seems very difficult to account for the long and total silence with respect to the existence of this book, which was maintained during *seventeen* years of Josiah's reign, when the king's docile piety and youth would have encouraged the production of such a book, if it really existed, and there was such imperative necessity for that Reformation to be begun as soon as possible, with a view to which the book itself was written.

867. Thus it seems to us, on the above grounds only, *most* reasonable to suppose that the book was *in process of composition* during these first seventeen years of Josiah's reign. The youth of the prince—his piety— his willingness to follow the teaching of the Prophets around him—gave every encouragement for such an attempt being made to bring about the great change that was needed. Possibly some years of Josiah's reign had passed before the work was begun, though we can scarcely doubt that it must have taken some time for its completion. Still two or three years, at most, might suffice for this; and during that interval, however short or long, we may conceive insertions to have been made from time to time, as fresh ideas occurred to the writer, and thus we may account in some measure for the numerous repetitions of the same sentiment, by which the book is characterised.

868. But who was the writer? KNOBEL observes very truly, iii.*p.*591 : —

> The author seems to have been an *eminent* man, who took upon himself to make so free with the Law-Book.

Independently of this 'free handling' of the earlier records, the man who could conceive, and carry out so effectively, the idea of adding another book to the existing Tetrateuch, must have been, indeed, a remarkable person. A writer of such originality, power, and eloquence,—of such earnest piety, such ardent patriotism, such tender human affections,—must have surely filled a very prominent position in the age in which he

lived. As we have said, he can hardly have disappeared so completely from the stage of Jewish history, in an age when historical records were diligently kept, without leaving behind any other trace of his existence and activity than this book of Deuteronomy. That *Jeremiah* lived in this very age we know, and that he began to prophesy 'in the thirteenth year of king Josiah,' Jer. i. 2, four or five years before this book was found in the Temple; and we have also seen, as our investigations have advanced, not a few very striking indications of a close resemblance between the language of Jeremiah and that of the Deuteronomist. May it be that the two writers are identical,—that among the prophecies of Jeremiah, during the first five years of his labours, may be reckoned the addresses, which are here delivered under the name of Moses?

We must reserve for another Part of this work the full consideration of this question, as well as of the additional reasons, derived from a close examination of the book of Genesis, which appear to us to determine, with some approach to certainty, the age of the Elohist as contemporary with that of SAMUEL.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

869. As the result of the preceding investigations, it must, as we think, be admitted that the traditional belief, that the whole Pentateuch, with a few unimportant exceptions, was written by Moses himself, can no longer be maintained in face of the plain facts of the case, as they lie before us in this volume. These facts, it would seem, compel us to this conclusion, that, whatever portion of the other four books may have been actually composed by the hand of Moses, whatever of the laws and ceremonies contained in them may have been handed down from the Mosaic age, yet certainly the book of Deuteronomy was *not* written by him, but is the product of a much later time, and bears the distinct impress of that time and its circumstances.

870. And, if this be so, we cannot serve God by wilfully shutting our eyes to the truth, and walking still in darkness, when He is pleased to give us light. It would be no acceptable worship of Him, who is the very Truth, to do so: it would be sinful and displeasing in His Sight. We are bound to obey the Truth, which we see and know, and to follow it whithersoever it may lead us, calm in the assurance that, in so following, we are best doing the blessed Will of our Heavenly Father, that His Voice will cheer and strengthen us, His Hand lead on and uphold us, and we shall know sufficiently all that we need to know for this life and for the life to come. Only we must be 'strong and of good courage'; we must fear no evil, since He is with us, but go straightforward at His Word in the path of duty

871. Unless, therefore, the evidence, which has here been produced, can be set aside by reasonable argument, we must accept it henceforth, as a matter of fact,—which is now, perhaps, to many made plain for the first time, though long well-known to a few scholars here in England, and to very many on the Continent,—that, whatever may be true of the rest of the Pentateuch, the book of Deuteronomy, at all events, was not the work of Moses. We must accept this, I repeat, with all its important consequences.

872. And yet this book it is, and this alone, of which the authorship is actually claimed for Moses. We find mention made in the other books of his 'writing' on several occasions: *e.g.*—

'And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua,' E.xvii.14;

'And Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah . . . and he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people,' E.xxiv.4–7;

'And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel,' E.xxxiv.27;

'And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of Jehovah,' N.xxxiii.2.

From such passages it might be fairly argued, (though it certainly is not distinctly stated,) that other portions also of these books, besides those to which direct reference is made in the above quotations,—perhaps, the main portions of them,—are, of course, to be regarded as also the work of Moses.

873. But that, which can only be inferred in the case of these books, is expressly asserted with respect to Deuteronomy. Not only are we told, D.xxxi.22, that Moses 'wrote' the Song, which we find recorded in D.xxxii, but the writing of the whole book or, at least, of the principal portion of it, is plainly ascribed to him in D.xxxi.9–11:—

'And Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it unto the Priests the sons of Levi. . . . And Moses commanded them saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which He shall choose, thou shalt read this Law before all Israel in their hearing.'

874. We have already said in (575–580) what we have deemed it right to say—not to justify, indeed, but—to explain this proceeding, consistently with the conviction that the writer was a devout Prophet, a true servant of the living God. We shall here add further the remarks of RIEHM on this point. *Gesetzg. Mosis im Lande Moab, p.* 113–126.

But with what right could the author allow himself such a literary fiction? Must we not charge him with the purpose to deceive? With that we should certainly do him wrong. Essentially he has here allowed himself no greater freedom than the author of Ecclesiastes, when he introduces Solomon speaking, and ascribes to this master of wisdom his own thoughts, [or the author of the book of Job, who puts into the mouth of Job and his friends, and the Divine Being himself, his own language]. Why should we concede this freedom to the Philosopher, and not also to the Lawgiver [and Prophet? In and by itself this literary fiction is nowise blamable. There is, however, between that case and ours *this* difference—that the writer of Ecclesiastes, when he introduced Solomon as speaking, had not in his eye any distinct practical object with his fiction,—that his fiction, consequently, is merely poetical; whereas the Deuteronomist, when he ascribed the new Law-Book to Moses, had—if not certainly, yet probably—this object in view, to secure thereby to the new Law-Book respect and recognition. This object, certainly, alters the state of the case; from our moral point of view we cannot justify the proceeding of the Deuteronomist; it appears in the light of the 'Law of perfect freedom' as somewhat insincere. But it would also be an injustice towards the writer, if we desired to measure him by the New Testament rule. . . . . .

What now was the object of the writer in the publication of this new legislation, appearing under the form of an address delivered by Moses in the land of Moab? . . . Usually it is assigned as his chief object to make Jerusalem the only place for the public worship of God. But, certainly, this is not the first and chief direct object, but it is only something which, according to the relations of the time, was necessarily required by the writer's chief object. We must rather take this view of the case. In the time of the Deuteronomist, the whole theocratic state, which was founded on the exclusive worship of Jehovah, was in such great danger, from idolatrous practices getting ever more and more the upper hand, that, unless soon a fundamental and thorough reformation took place, its complete destruction was certain. The King himself, the Princes, even many Priests and Prophets, devoted as they were to idolatry, and promoting it as much as possible, had taken all pains to undermine the very foundations of the state. In addition to this the Judges were arbitrary and unjust, family life was corrupted, the poor were in the greatest want, the rich were hard-hearted and unmerciful; the condition of the slave was disconsolate, and lawless was the cruelty of their masters; in one word, the whole life of the people was in full process of dissolution. The old legislation could not check this impending dissolution, and, without being changed in some respects,

was no longer applicable. There existed now new circumstances and relations, which it could not have taken account of from the first; and many institutions of the present time, such as the kingdom, &c., had in it neither legal sanction nor wholesome restraining definition. Even the prophetical activity had shown itself, notwithstanding the powerful reproofs of the Prophets, insufficient to check the ever-spreading corruption. So the Deuteronomist decided, summoning to his aid together the might of both the Prophet and the Lawgiver, to make the attempt, through a new set of laws laid down in the name and spirit of Moses, to give a new and firmer foundation to the theocratic state. . . . .

But the people was already sunk too low. The destructive tendency to idolatry and to other heathen practices had already struck its roots too deep; dissoluteness of morals had already insinuated itself too much everywhere, and cankered and poisoned everything. The people broke again the newly-made covenant; and so the destruction, threatened by the author as Divine punishment for the repeated breach of the covenant, must no longer be withheld; the state was overthrown and brought to an end by the Chaldæans. On its reconstitution after the return from captivity, it was at first grounded firmly and strongly upon the Law—not that of Deuteronomy only, but the whole Law-Book, already considered as Mosaic. The strong distinction between Priests and Levites was again made of force according to the old legislation. . . . . On the other hand, the restriction of the public worship to the temple-service at Jerusalem was strictly carried out, and attained now its end, to keep the people from idolatry. But there arose now other dangers for the religious life of the people, springing out of this very strict and careful observance of the Law. It sank more and more into dead formalism, and stiffened into this by degrees, till through new chastisements, and at last through the complete cessation of an independent Israelitish state, the whole O. T. 'kingdom of God' drew near its end, in order that the far higher and eternal divine kingdom of the N. T. covenant might step into its place.

875. But this book also it is, in point of fact, which forms, so to speak, the most living portion, the very sum and substance, of the whole Pentateuch. When we speak of the 'Law of Moses,' we mean chiefly the book of Deuteronomy. And we cannot but remember that it is this book also, which is quoted again and again, with special emphasis, in the New Testament: *e.g.*—

'He answered and said, It is written, Thou shalt not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God,' Matt. iv. 4;

'Jesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God,' *v.* 7;

'Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan! for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve,' *v.* 10.

Here we have quotations from D. viii.3, vi.16, vi.13, x.20. And it is well known that there are many other passages in the Gospels and Epistles, in which this book is referred to, and in some of which Moses is expressly mentioned as the writer of the words in question, *e.g.* Acts iii.22, Rom.x.19. And, though it is true that, in the texts above quoted, the words are not, indeed, ascribed to Moses, but are merely introduced with the phrase, 'It is written,' yet in Matt.xix.7 the Pharisees refer to a passage in Deut.xxiv.1 as a law of Moses, and our Lord in His reply, *v.*8, repeats their language, and practically adopts it as correct, and makes it His own.

876. Here, then, we come again upon one of the grave questions, which inevitably must be stirred in the course of this enquiry. We dare not, I repeat, shut our eyes to the plain facts which lie before us, and *prove*, as it seems, beyond a reasonable doubt, the later origin of the book of Deuteronomy. And I can only repeat that there appears to me no other possible solution of this difficulty than that which I have suggested in each of my former volumes, which has been severely censured by many devout persons, but which will now, I trust, after consideration of the authorities produced in the Preface to the present volume, be admitted to be consistent with the most perfect orthodoxy, and certainly not deserving to be spoken of as 'heretical' and 'blasphemous.'

877. I say, then, again, once more, whatever other questions may be raised by the progress of scientific criticism, *this* difficulty vanishes for all who believe that our Lord Jesus Christ was born into the world to be a true 'Son of Man,'—that He was 'made like unto His brethren,'—that He was 'tried in all points like as we are,' was weak, and faint, and weary, as we are, was hungry and thirsty, as we are,—that He was subject also to all the other limitations of our nature, mental and spiritual, as well as bodily, needing food for the mind as well as for the body, and growing, like any other of the sons of men, in wisdom and knowledge as He

did in strength and stature, in both respects within the bounds of human development,—nay, needing also, as we do, supplies of spiritual sustenance, the Living Bread and Living Water, which He too received, as we do, from the fulness of His Father's Love, His Father and our Father, His God and our God.

878. When, however, such words as the above are quoted from Deuteronomy, are they the less true—have they less binding power upon the conscience — because they were written by some later prophet, and not by Moses? are they true *only* because they are 'written' in this 'Book of the Law?' Are they not rather true, because they are true in themselves, by whomsoever written or spoken,—eternally and unchangeably true,— and, as such, come home at once, with living power and authority, to the hearts and consciences of living men?

879. It is 'written' in the Bible, 'Truly, the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun,' Eccl. xi.7. But is the light sweet to our eyes *because* it is thus stated in the Bible—by Solomon, as is generally believed, writing under Divine inspiration? Or would it be less sweet, if the results of modern criticism should show that the book of Ecclesiastes, though ascribed to the 'Son of David, king in Jerusalem,' Eccl.i.1, was *not* written by Solomon, but by some unknown author long after the Captivity? Is not the light sweet to our eyes, because our gracious God and Father has made the sun, and given us our visual powers, that we may open our eyes and they shall be filled with light, and we shall behold the glorious beauty of His universe?

880. And is the Light of Truth only sweet to us—does it only exist for us — because we find the bright reflection of it in the Bible? Is it not rather joy for us to know that God's Truth exists eternally, and shines like the sun in the spiritual heavens, and that we, His children upon earth, have a spiritual sense and spiritual eyesight given us, to which this Light of the inner man is 'sweet,' by which we can 'behold' its brightness, — whether

it comes to us direct from the 'Father of Lights' in some moment of blessed inspiration, or shines upon us as reflected from the pages of the Bible, or, rather, as *refracted* through the human media, by which in the Bible the 'Word of God' is given to us?

881. For will it be any longer maintained, in this age of scientific enlightenment, that all our 'hopes for eternity' depend upon every 'line' of the Bible being vouched by Divine authority as infallibly true? Is the statement, that the 'hare chews the cud,' to be received as true, because written down in Leviticus and Deuteronomy? Or would it have become true, if quoted, as it might have been, in the New Testament, as part of the 'Law of Moses'? No one, surely, with the known facts of science before him, will hesitate to give the answer to *such* a question.

882. But, if we are obliged to allow that some portions of the teaching of the Bible cannot be regarded as having Divine authority,—as being 'faithful' and 'trustworthy' statements, 'infallibly true,'—because they contradict the known facts of science, there are surely others which we must equally reject, because they are at variance with the laws of our moral being, because they conflict at once with the plain lessons of the Gospel, and with those eternal principles of right and wrong, which the great Creator has planted within us, in respect of which it is specially true that man is made 'in the image,' and 'after the likeness,' of God.

883. Must we not feel, for instance, that the Eternal Law of Justice and Equity, which God Himself has written with his own Finger upon the tables of our hearts, is directly at variance with such commands as these quoted below,—that these cannot, at all events, be regarded as utterances of the blessed Will of God,—that the writer of them, though an inspired man, cannot certainly have written *thus* by Divine inspiration? *e.g.*—

(i) D.xxiii.1, which excludes from the congregation of Jehovah

one mutilated, perhaps, in helpless infancy, while those, by whose agency the act in question was encouraged, or, perhaps, performed, are allowed free access to the Sanctuary;

(ii) D.xxiii.2, which excludes in like manner an innocent base-born child, but takes no account of the vicious parent;

(iii) D.xxi.18–21, which commands that a 'stubborn and rebellious son' shall be stoned to death, when oftentimes the father and mother, who by their bad example had corrupted, or by their faulty training had ruined, their child, deserved rather to suffer punishment;

(iv) D.xx.10–15, which orders that any city of any distant people, with whom Israel might be at war, shall first be summoned to surrender, and, if it will make no peace on condition of *all the people becoming tributaries and doing service to Israel*, shall then be besieged, and with Divine help captured; and then it is written—

'When Jehovah thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, *thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword; but the women and the little ones*, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, *shalt thou take unto thyself;* and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which Jehovah thy God hath given thee. Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.

'But *of the cities of these people*, which Jehovah thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, *thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth;* but thou shalt utterly destroy them, the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods: so should ye sin against Jehovah your God.'

884. Such laws as the above are felt at once to be directly contradictory to those first principles of humanity and equity, which God our Creator has planted within us, to be our monitors and guides through life; and they equally contradict the plainest teaching of the Gospel of Christ. I have explained how the writer may be justly relieved from the reproach of having set on record such sanguinary laws as these, with any idea of their being really carried out. The 'rebellious son' is only a figure

of 'rebellious Israel'; and the judgment denounced against his disobedience shadows forth the penalty deserved by those, who will not 'obey the voice of Jehovah,' their Heavenly Father; and so, too, the last of the above laws simply expresses the burning zeal which glowed within him against the idolatrous practices, which were then common among his own people, and which they had adopted either from the Canaanite nations of former days, or more probably from the heathen tribes then living around them.

885. The Prophet here makes use of the tribes of Canaan as a standing type of such idolaters. In the age of Josiah, when these words were written down, those tribes, we may believe, no longer existed: they had long disappeared, or been merged in the Israelitish people. The history teaches us that they never were exterminated,—that 'Uriah the Hittite' served as a captain in David's army, and 'Araunah the Jebusite' had his threshing-floor on the site of the future temple at Jerusalem. But the Deuteronomist, by setting forth before his people the *figure* of these tribes, driven out from their old abodes, as a judgment for their sins, and ruthlessly exterminated by the hands of Jehovah's worshippers, seeks to remind the latter of their duty and of their danger, of the terrible woe of expatriation, and even extermination, which would be their just recompense, if they, too, practised the like abominations. The command to slay the men of a distant city, and to save the women and children, &c. alive, is probably introduced by way of *contrast* to the other more terrible command, and not with any view of its being really executed; and, indeed, in Josiah's time there was little probability of any such distant conquests being made by Israel.

886. In such a way as this we can explain intelligibly the fact, that even a good man, a lover of justice and mercy, an inspired Prophet, could yet write down such laws as these. But it is surely nothing else than a tampering with the truth, an

unintentional, doubtless, but yet a real, dishonesty,—and therefore, if done with a religious motive, only (disguise it as we will) an *idolatrous*, worship, of a God, who is *not* the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the very God of Truth,—if we endeavour to defend such laws as these as truly and infallibly Divine, and really uttered from the mouth of the most Holy and Blessed One, on the principle that—not a mere man like Moses, but—the Divine Being Himself was compelled to adapt His laws to an imperfect state of society,—to 'preconceived and popular ideas,'—and, therefore, was led to utter commands, which a child instructed in the first lessons of the Gospel,—nay, which a heathen walking in that Light, which 'lighteneth every man that cometh into the world,'—can at once condemn as unjust and inhuman.

887. We must, then, even in reading the Scriptures, 'try the spirits, whether they are of God.' In this way only can we do the Will of God, and discharge the true duty, and rise to the true dignity, of man as the child of God. We might wish, perhaps,—many do wish,—to have it otherwise, to be able to fall back upon the notion of an Infallible Book, or an Infallible Church. But God has not willed it so. He will not give us,—at least He has not given us,—a Revelation of such a kind, as to relieve us from the solemn duty of judging, each for himself, what is right and true in His Sight. His Spirit has quickened us, that we may do, as living men, His work in the world: He will not suffer us to abdicate the glorious office to which He calls us. We *must*—not only claim and exercise the *right*, but—bear the *responsibility* of private judgment, upon the things of the life to come, as well as of this world.

888. The Deuteronomist himself will teach us this lesson. He tells us, indeed, that God in all ages will raise up prophets like unto ourselves, xviii. 18, will kindle His Fire within the heart,

and put His words into the mouth of men, who, in all the weakness of humanity, shall speak to their fellow-men all that they feel commanded to teach in His Name,—who shall utter His Eternal Truth, and minister to their brethren the lessons of 'doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness.' And their brethren shall 'hear' them; they dare not neglect the Truth, of whatever kind, which God's own grace imparts and brings home to them from the lips of a fellow-man, however high or humble.

889. But they must not listen to him with a blind unreasoning acquiescence, though He speak to them in the Name of Jehovah, and though the 'sign or wonder' come to pass, xiii.2, which he brought to them as the very credentials of his mission. They must 'try the spirit' of the Prophet's words by that law which they have within them, written upon their hearts. Jehovah, their God, is proving them, to know whether they truly and entirely love Him, and love His Truth, 'with all their heart and with all their soul.' If the words, which that Prophet speaks to them, come home to their consciences as right and true words, then in God's Name let them acknowledge and welcome them, and send them on with a blessing of 'God speed!' to others. If the Voice, which speaks within, declares that the utterance from without is false, then 'shalt thou not hearken,' xiii.3; the word is not God's; and he, who hears, must *not* obey it.

890. In this spirit we must read the book of Deuteronomy itself, and we shall find the Living Bread which our souls may feed on,—we shall find in it the Word of God. And that Word will *not* be at variance with the eternal and essential substance of Christianity, with those words which 'shall not pass away'. Then we shall live no more in constant fear, that some rude stroke of criticism may shake, perhaps, the 'very foundations of our faith,' or that the announcement of some simple fact of science or natural history

may threaten to 'take from us our nearest and dearest consolations.' We shall learn thus to have 'faith in God,' as our Lord has bidden us, Mark xi.22, and not in the written records, through which He has been pleased, by inspiring the hearts of our brother men with life, to quicken and comfort our own. When we hear such words as these—

'Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God doth man live,' D.viii.3 —

'Thou shalt also consider in thine heart that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Living God, thy God, doth chasten thee,' D.viii.5 —

'If from thence—from the very depth of sin-wrought misery—thou shalt seek the Living God, thy God, thou shalt find Him, if thou seek Him with all thy heart and with all thy soul,' D.iv.29 —

we shall joyfully welcome them as messages of truth, not merely because we find them in the Bible, but because they are true—eternally true.

891. It *is* true that God loves us as dear children, and that we may go to Him at all times, as to a wise and tender Father, with a child-like trust and love, as with a child-like reverence and fear. Rather, we *must* go to Him thus if we would please Him, and act upon the words of Him who has taught us all to say, 'Our Father.' We must 'consider in our hearts' that He, who has planted in our breasts, as parents, dear love to our children, a love stronger than death, does by that very love of ours shadow forth to us His own Eternal Love. *Our* love can take in every child of the family; *our* hearts can find a place for all; yes, and our love embraces the far-off prodigal, in his miserable wanderings, no less surely and no less tenderly, than the dear obedient child, that sits by our side, rejoicing in the sweet delights of home. He that has taught us to love our children in this way, how shall He not also love His children, with a Love in which the separate loves of earthly parents are blended, and find their full, infinite, expression,—the Father's loving wisdom and firmness, to guide and counsel, and, if need be, to correct and chasten,—the Mother's tender pity and compassion, that will

draw near with sweet consolations, in each hour of sorrow and suffering, will sympathise with every grief and trial, will bow down to hear each shame-stricken confession, will be ready to receive the first broken words of penitence, and whisper the promise of forgiveness and peace.

892. Ah! truly, the little child may cling to its mother's neck, and the mother's love will feel the gentle pressure, and will delight to feel it: but it is not the feeble clinging of the little one that holds it up; it is the strong arm of love that embraces it. And we, in our most earnest prayers and aspirations, in our cleaving unto God, in our longing and striving after Truth as in these poor enquiries, are but as babes, 'stretching out weak hands of faith' to lay hold of Him, Whom no man hath seen or can see, but Who, unseen, is ever near us, whose tender love embraces all His children, those that are far off as well as those that are near, the heathen and the Christian, the sinner and the Saint.

893. Happy, indeed, are we, who are blessed to know this —to know the high calling and the glorious privileges of the children of God —not that we may be more *safe* than others, who as yet know it not, but that we may be filled with hope and strength and courage in the assurance of this Truth,—that we may be more living and earnest and joyful in our work,—more brave to speak the Truth, to do the Right, to wage eternal war with all that is false and base and evil, within us and without,—more patient in suffering,—more firm and true in temptation and trial,—more sorrowful and ashamed when we have fallen,—more quick to rise, and go on again, in the path of duty, with tears and thanksgivings,—more eager to tell out the Love of God to others, whether to those who as yet are groping, 'if haply they may feel after Him and find Him,' Who 'is not far from any one of them,' 'in Whom they live and move and have their being,' or to those who *have* known Him, but know no longer now the joy of His children, 'sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, fast bound in misery and iron.'

894. But, in all this, it is not our knowledge, however clear, or our faith, however firm and orthodox, or our charity, however bright or pure, that holds us up daily, and binds us to the Bosom of our God. 'Our Father' will delight in all the sacred confidences of His children,—their clingings of faith and hope,—their longings of pure desire for a closer sense of His Presence,—their holy aspirations and penitential confessions. But it is not our prayer that will hold us up. It is His Love alone which does this.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE explained in the body of this Part of my work the reasons which have determined me to confine myself at present to the examination of the First Eleven Chapters of Genesis, reserving to the next Part the consideration of the remaining Chapters, and the discussion, which may then be raised, as to the respective ages of the Elohistic and Jehovistic writers.

I have great hope that the *clearness* and *certainty*, with which the two principal writers of Genesis can be distinguished in these first Chapters, will bring conviction to many, who have hitherto only had misgivings upon the question, or, perhaps, have turned aside from these criticisms altogether, as being in their view too abstruse and uncertain,—and will satisfy them that there is, indeed, truth in the statement, which I have so often repeated, and which, in fact, is the very core and centre of this controversy, *viz.* that the Pentateuch is not in its present form the work of Moses,—or not exclusively his work,—but a *composite* work by different writers of different ages. Here lies the gist of the whole question, however the details, as to the assignment of particular passages, or the exact age of the different writers, may be ultimately settled.

I have shown in chap.ii–viii that these First Eleven Chapters

of Genesis are made up of two documents, in very nearly equal proportions, and that one of these,—that containing the first account of the Creation in G.i,—forms, when its different parts are put together, a complete, unbroken, narrative. With respect to the other, it must be left doubtful at present, whether it was originally also a complete narrative, which has been combined with the former, with the suppression of some clauses, by the hand of a later editor, or whether it was merely supplementary from the first, exhibiting only the additions and insertions, made by a later writer in the primitive story. In any case, we have here the compositions of two writers, not only distinct, but in some points actually at variance with each other, even within the limits of these few Chapters.

The accuracy and cogency of the above analysis may be easily tested by the English reader, though unacquainted with Hebrew, if he will only follow carefully the course of reasoning pursued in one or two sections, with an English Bible in his hand, in which he has marked the Jehovistic passages by a line drawn down the margin, according to the suggestion made below in (30*). Many, I believe, will be more satisfied, as to the main facts of the case, by the consideration of this kind of *internal* evidence, than by any arguments from *without*, such as those based upon the contradictions which may be shown to exist between many of the statements, in these ancient accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, and the results of Science. Here, however, the facts are, for any who are willing to look at them, and they cannot, I believe, in the main be gainsayed.

But, having completed this portion of the work, and thereby established, as I conceive, the right and duty, for myself and for

every minister of God's Truth, to examine seriously, and yet freely, the actual contents of these chapters, with the desire to know what they really contain, I have exercised this right, and have endeavoured to discharge this duty, to the best of my power. The result of my examination I have laid before the reader in the last chapters of this Part, and have proved abundantly, as I believe, that the statements of both the Elohist and Jehovist, in these first eleven Chapters of Genesis,— whatever value they may have, whatever lessons may be drawn from them,— cannot be regarded as historically true, being contradicted in their literal sense, again and again, by the certain facts of modern Science. I trust that by both divisions of my labour in this Fourth Part,—which is complete in itself, and needs not any help from the arguments and criticisms in the preceding portions of my work,—I shall have done something to relieve the cause of Science itself, and the speculations of devout and earnest scientific men, from the charges so often made in former days— made even recently by more than one Bishop of the Church of England—of being injurious to religion, and dishonouring to the Word of God. I shall have done this by showing that the injury and dishonour are not to be charged upon *them*, but upon those who will still insist on teaching, that the mere letter of every part of Scripture is to be regarded as the authoritative, infallible, Word of the Living God.

In discussing the questions raised by the examination of these chapters, I have, as before, availed myself frequently of the language of others, instead of expressing the very same thing in my own words. I have done this, both because I have felt it to be due to those eminent critics, who have led the way

in these enquiries, to give them the credit of research and originality, while making use of their stores of learning, and it seemed more desirable, for the satisfaction of the reader, to produce their actual words, than merely to refer to them by name,—and because, in the case of (so-called) orthodox writers, I preferred to make use of their statements and admissions, as being free from the imputation of having been possibly influenced by a desire to support my own side of the argument. Of critics I have had before me continually, in this part of my work, the writings of HUPFELD, TUCH, von BOHLEN, KNOBEL, KALISCH, SCHRADER, and DELITZCH, — the last, one of the latest, and most strenuous and able, advocates of the traditionary views, whose commentary on Genesis has reached a 'Third edition, revised throughout,' in 1860. Having already, in my former Parts, shown how little has been contributed towards the maintenance of these views by the efforts of SCOTT, KURTZ, HENGSTENBERG, and HÄVERNICK, I have here adopted DELITZCH, as the chief representative of the traditionary school of theologians; and the reader will be able to judge how far he fills up the blank caused by the failure of the others.

I should, indeed, have desired, if it had been possible, to have had recourse for this purpose to some eminent living authority of the Church of England. But I am not aware that any of the existing Bishops or Doctors of the English Church has published any work of importance, connected with the criticism of the Pentateuch. There was, however, one distinguished Prelate of our Church, whom death has only lately removed from us, Archbishop WHATELY of Dublin, to whom a Tract has been publicly ascribed* — and he has not (I believe) disowned

* By Dr. DONALDSON, *Jashar*, 2nd Ed. *p.* 370, *Et nuperrimè, auctor opusculi*

it—bearing upon questions in the second, third, and eleventh Chapters of Genesis. This Tract, the title of which is *Tractatus Tres de locis quibusdam difficilioribus Scripturæ Sacræ, typis J. B. Metzleri, Stuttgartiæ*, was published anonymously in 1849, and, being written in Latin, is little known to English readers. I translate from it the following passage on the 'Tower of Babel.'

G.xi.1–10. This short narrative in the book of Genesis labours under great difficulties.

(i) If we look at the design of those, who attempted to build, in order that they might not be scattered abroad, how was that to be effected by the help of a very high tower? And what dispersion was either to be *feared* by them or *avoided*, since, it would seem, it was permitted to each to choose his own place of abode?

(ii) Let us consider the mode of frustrating their purpose. It is believed that a great multitude of men, through a wonderful change, forgot their ancestral tongue, and spoke suddenly a new language. This would be a great miracle, and yet would not conduce to the end proposed. For, unless they are supposed to have been struck out of their senses by the prodigy, they would have been able to continue their work after a very short inconvenience. Any architect, set over workmen of different tongues, would, in a short time, be able to impart his orders by means of signs: and in the space of a few days they would have learned enough of his words, to be able to go on together, their labours being joined, with continually diminishing difficulty. Besides, when the project of building was dismissed, why was it necessary that they should be all scattered very widely through all regions? How many countries also are inhabited by races speaking different tongues, *e.g.* Wales, Scotland, Ireland, many parts of the East Indies? . . . .

This granted, the whole matter may have taken place thus. Some chief men had determined to found an empire, which should embrace the whole human race. That this empire might have the sanction of religion, they wished to found a temple, dedicated to some idol, in that city which was to be the head of the world. Since it was not in the power of these men, living in the plain, to place that building on a mountain, (which custom afterwards prevailed, as the passages in Scripture testify, which speak everywhere of 'high places,') therefore they determined to erect a very

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cujusdam vilissimi pretii, quem vulgo ferunt, et ego credo, Archiepiscopum esse Dubliniensem, Ricardum Whately, &c. The Tracts are written in very inferior Latin; but it is some evidence of authorship, that on *p.*28 we find a characteristic reference to 'Archbishop WHATELY's Lectures on Political Economy.'

high tower, like an artificial mountain. Such a purpose of founding a false religion could not but be displeasing to the true and living God. He, therefore, entirely frustrated their impious design, by throwing discord into the minds of the ambitious founders. He made them to quarrel about religious worship, by which dissension He would much more certainly vitiate their attempt, than by a diversity of tongues. History abounds in examples of such dissension: we may mention the Jews and Samaritans, Pharisees and Karaites, and, lastly, the various sects of Christians. Thus it came to pass at Babel, that the strongest of the factions kept possession of the city and tower, only dropping the magnitude of the tower and that height which they had originally intended, while the other factions went off in different directions, and settled themselves, some in one locality, some in another.

This is the only instance, as far as I know, of recent Episcopal criticism on this part of the Bible, within the bounds of our National Church,—except an analysis of the History of Joseph, for the use of elementary students in Hebrew, by Bishop OLLIVANT, and the letters of the same Prelate to his Clergy in reply to my first two Parts, in which, however, he distinctly says, *Second Letter*, *p.*26, 'The task of examining *seriatim* the Bishop's minute criticisms, *I must leave to others.*' Indeed, it must be confessed that, in matters of Hebrew criticism, we are in England lamentably behind the learned men of the continent, on whichever side they may have written.

For fifty years, since the time of MARSH and LOWTH, (with the exception of some able articles in Dr. SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, just published,) very little indeed, worthy of the name of the Church and Universities of England, has been done in this department of Biblical literature. And no commentary on the *Old* Testament has yet taken the place of that of the excellent THOMAS SCOTT,—a work admirable for the age in which it was written, but including, of course, none of the remarkable results of modern criticism.

But, as so much stress had been laid upon the writings of

Archbishop USHER and Bishop WATSON of former days, I thought it my duty to refer to them again, while engaged in the consideration of these questions. I was, of course, well aware that their works would throw not a single ray of light upon the *critical* difficulties, which have arisen in this controversy. But, as it had been publicly asserted, on very high authority, that my objections to the infallible accuracy of the Pentateuch, in historical and scientific matters,—

have been again and again refuted, two hundred years ago by Archbishop USHER, more recently by Bishop WATSON and others,—

I took for granted that upon the points, most likely to be discussed in the last chapters of this Part,—leaving out of consideration the critical analysis,—I should certainly find some important observations in these works, some remarks which I should be bound to consider well, and either to allow or to refute.

To my great surprise, after the distinct and pointed reference made to them, I find in these writers nothing, or next to nothing, of this kind. Archbishop USHER deals almost entirely with matters of *chronology*, with which my books are very little concerned. Bishop WATSON scarcely discusses at length a single important point of those, which I have raised in my different volumes. And the most decisive of all his attempts to clear up a difficulty is with reference to the introduction of the name of the town Dan, which I have dwelt upon in (243-4) of my Second Part.

The reader may be reminded that the point in question is, to account for the use of this name familiarly in the narrative, written (it is supposed) by Moses, G.xiv.14, D.xxxiv.1, when the story itself in Jo.xix.47, Ju.xviii, tells us that the name was

not given till long after the death of Moses. Bishop WATSON first suggests that these passages, as well as G.xxxvi.31,—

'And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,'—

may be 'interpolations.' I have shown in (II.243) that, whatever may be the case with this latter passage, those, in which the name 'Dan' occurs, form part of the body and substance of the narrative, and cannot be supposed to be interpolations. Then Bishop WATSON writes, *p.*205:—

But if this solution does not please you, I desire it may be proved that the Dan mentioned in Genesis was the same town as that mentioned in Judges. [This is admitted by such strong defenders of the traditionary view as KURTZ and DELITZCH, —by the former, after having maintained at one time the contrary.] I desire further to have it proved, that the Dan mentioned in Genesis was the name of a *town*, and not of a *river*. It is merely said, Abraham pursued them, the enemies of Lot, to Dan. Now a river was full as likely as a town to stop a pursuit. *Lot*, we know, was settled in the plain of *Jordan*; and Jordan, we know (!), *was composed of the united streams of two rivers, called Jor and Dan.*

I need hardly say that such reasoning, which might be allowed to pass in the days of Bishop WATSON, would not be accepted, as of any value whatever, in our own days. The rivers 'Jor' and 'Dan' are not mentioned in the Bible, and their existence is not, I believe, recognised in the geography of Palestine. Mr. Ffoulkes writes, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, *p.*1129:—

According to the older commentators, 'Dan' was a stream, that rose in a fountain called Phiala, in the district called Panium, and among the roots of Lebanon,—then, after a subterraneous course, reappeared near the town called Paneas, Dan, Cæsarea Philippi, when it was joined by a small stream called 'Jor,' and henceforth united both names in one—'Jor-dan.'

But it has been well observed that the Hebrew word יַרְדֵּן, *Yarden*, 'Jordan,' has no relation whatever to the name 'Dan,' and also that the river had borne that name from the days of Abraham, and from the days of Job, at least five centuries before the name of 'Dan' was given to the city at its source.

It should be added that the number of streams meeting at or about Paneas very far exceeds two.

Yet this is the only instance, in which Bishop WATSON has noticed at length any one of the more important difficulties, which I have brought forward in my different books.

But, having been referred in this manner to the works of Bishop WATSON, as writings of great authority,—and, indeed, since, for more than a quarter of a century, he was Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, he may be considered to have spoken, in ecclesiastical matters, with the weight of Professorial learning, as well as with that of Episcopal authority,—I have consulted those works, and have found some passages, which deserve, I think, consideration under present circumstances. For instance, the following extracts, from his 'Life,' will show what views he held on one particular point, to which attention is strongly drawn at the present time,—namely, the liberty of private judgment, as asserted by our Protestant Church, and secured to every Minister in the very terms of the Ordination Service. It will be seen that, in reference to the Creeds, Bishop WATSON held that they were 'all of human fabrication,' and might be used or disused at pleasure in public worship, being merely venerable documents, which expressed the ancient belief of the Church, but were not binding on the conscience of any clergyman, 'notwithstanding subscription to the 39 Articles,' except so far as he is 'persuaded,' in his own private judgment, that their statements 'may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures.'

I never troubled myself with answering any arguments, which the opponents in the Divinity-Schools brought against the Articles of the Church, nor ever admitted their authority as decisive of a difficulty. But I used on such occasions to say to them, holding the New Testament in my hand, '*En sacrum codicem!* Behold the sacred text! Here is the fountain of truth. Why do you follow the

streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions, of man? . . . Articles of Churches are not of divine authority. Have done with them,—for they may be true, they may be false,—and appeal to the Book itself." i.*p.*68.

'I certainly dislike the *imposition* of all Creeds formed by human authority; though I do not dislike them as useful summaries of what *their compilers believe* to be true, either in natural or revealed religion. . . . As to revealed religion, though all its doctrines are expressed in one book, yet such a diversity of interpretations has been given to the same passages of Scripture, that not only individuals, but whole Churches, have formed to themselves different Creeds, and introduced them into their forms of worship. The Greek Church admits not into its ritual either the Apostles' Creed or the Athanasian, but only the Nicene. The Episcopal Church in America admits the Nicene and the Apostles' Creed, but rejects the Athanasian. The Church of England admits the whole three into its Liturgy; and some of the foreign Protestant Churches admit none but the Apostles'. These and other Creeds, which might be mentioned, are all of human fabrication. They oblige conscience as far as they are conformable to Scripture, and of that conformity every man must judge for himself. This liberty of private judgment is recognised by our Church, (*notwithstanding Subscription to the* 39 *Articles*), when in the service of the Ordering of Priests, it proposes this question, 'Are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which YOU SHALL BE PERSUADED may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?' i. *p.*395–97.

What are the catechisms of the Romish Church, of the English Church, of the Scotch Church, and of all other Churches, but a set of propositions, which men of different natural capacities, educations, prejudices, have fabricated, (sometimes on the anvil of sincerity, oftener on that of ignorance, interest, or hypocrisy,) from the Divine materials furnished by the Bible? And can any man of an enlarged charity believe that his salvation will ultimately depend on a concurrence in opinion with *any* of these niceties, which the several sects of Christians have assumed, as essentially necessary for a Christian man's belief? Oh! no: Christianity is not a speculative business. One good act, performed from a principle of obedience to the declared Will of God, will be of more service to every individual Christian than all the speculative theology of AUGUSTINE. ii.*p.*215.

Nay, he goes even so far as to say, ii.*p.*217,—

I am disposed to accede to your remark that whatever doctrine is not contained in the form prescribed by Christ, for receiving disciples by baptism into His Church, cannot be necessary to be believed by Christians. And you have excited a reasonable doubt, whether the doctrine of the Trinity be positively contained in the baptismal form.

The following passage also, from one of Bishop WATSON's Charges, *Apologies*, &c. *p.*449, is worthy to be commended, at least for the sake of the facts which it mentions, to the notice of some modern defenders of the traditionary theology: —

> The time, I think, is approaching,—or is already come,—when Christianity will undergo a more severe investigation than it has ever yet done. My expectation as to the issue is this,—that Catholic countries will become Protestant, and *that Protestant countries will admit a further Reformation.* In expressing this expectation, which I am far from having the vanity to propose with oracular confidence, I may possibly incur the censure of some, who think that Protestantism, as established in Germany, in Scotland, in England, is in all these, and in other countries, so perfect a system of Christianity, that it is incapable of any amendment in any of them. If this should be the case, I must console myself by reflecting that the greatest men could not, in their day, escape unmerited calumny. Every age has had its Sacheverels, its Hickes's, and its Chenells's, who, with the bitterness of theological odium, sharpened with party rancour, have not scrupled to break the bonds of Christian charity. HOADLEY was called a Dissenter, CHILLINGWORTH a Socinian, and TILLOTSON both Socinian and Atheist. And all of them experienced this obloquy from contemporary zealots, on account of the liberality of their sentiments,—on account of their endeavouring to render Christianity more rational, than it was in certain points generally esteemed to be.

I have quoted some remarkable passages from the *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ* of Dr. THOMAS BURNET,—a pupil of TILLOTSON and CUDWORTH,— who, as Master of the Charterhouse, offered the first formal opposition in England to the assumption by James II of the famous 'dispensing power,' by virtue of which the king endeavoured to impose a Papist, as a pensioner upon the foundation of that house. He surrendered the office of Clerk to the Closet to William III, rather than retract some opinions expressed in this treatise, at which the clergy of those days took offence. But, though they procured his removal from this dignity, he retained his Mastership, and died at the Charterhouse, aged 80, in 1715; nor does it appear that the Convocation, though at that time in the active exercise of its

functions, passed any censure upon his writings. We are told, however, *Biogr. Dict.* Lond. 1761,—

> If OLDMIXON is to be believed, Dr. BURNET missed the see of Canterbury, upon the death of Dr. TILLOTSON, by a representation of some Bishops, that his writings were too sceptical.

Dr. BURNET had not before him the same evidence, which is presented to the critical enquirer of these days. Hence he believed in the historical truth of Noah's Flood, which he attempts to account for in his own way, while showing the impossibility of holding the traditionary view, in the case of the Deluge, as well as in that of the Creation and the Fall. Unfortunately, his Treatise, like Dr. WHATELY's Tracts, was written in Latin, though printed in *England*, in 1692, and *not* anonymously. Otherwise, if the views of this able Divine had been published in the English tongue, so as to be 'understood of the people,' it is probable that we should not now, a century and a half afterwards, be still discussing the historical reality of these ancient narratives.

But though there are some,* who can still use strong language in speaking of such criticisms as these, it is evident that a very

* The following facts have occurred since the publication of Part III of my work.

Bishop WALDEGRAVE (of CARLISLE), addressing a number of school-children, thought it necessary to speak of me as doing actively the Devil's work,—'such a miserable man as Bishop COLENSO.' *Examiner*, Aug. 29, 1863.

Bishop LEE (of MANCHESTER), addressing a meeting of the Bible Society, spoke of me as 'assailing the five books of Moses by misrepresentation the most unpardonable, by distortions of the truth the most monstrous, and with a savage glee and exultation, which would rather become a *successful fiend* in an attempt on what was good, than a minister of a Christian congregation.' *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 28, 1863.

Bishop OLLIVANT (of LLANDAFF) in his recent Charge speaks of my criticisms as

considerable change has already passed over the English mind, in reference to this subject. Even in Scotland, where such extreme views have been hitherto maintained on this point,—of the infallibility of Scripture,—the ground seems to have given way beneath the feet of some of its most strenuous defenders. For instance, one of the most prominent Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, Dr. CANDLISH, has made some remarkable admissions in his recent address at the opening of New College, Edinburgh, from which I quote a few expressions, which will show how far even this divine has already felt constrained by the force of Truth to depart from the traditionary view.

'*All, that is in Scripture, is not Revelation strictly so called,*—[which means, I suppose, 'All, that is in the Bible, is not, in the strict and proper sense, the *Word of God.*'] To a large extent, Scripture is a record of human affairs—of the sayings and doings of men. *Is it to be held and considered infallible,* when it narrates the wars of kings, and inserts the genealogies of tribes and families, as well as when it

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'rash and vain speculations—they are in reality nothing more;' and he adds, 'To the best of my knowledge, there is not a single member of our body that has the slightest sympathy with them, or *regards them in any other light, than as an offspring of that 'evil heart of unbelief,'* against which we are cautioned to 'take heed, lest we depart from the Living God.'' *Record,* Nov. 25, 1863.

Bishop WILBERFORCE (of OXFORD) also in his recent Charge, reported authoritatively in the *Guardian,* Nov. 25, 1863, said that the present movement 'was an attempt to get rid of all belief in the midst of us of any supernatural power gathered up into a Person, whether in the realms of matter or of spirit. A movement in either kingdom was to be resolved into the perpetual acting of a fixed and unalterable law pervading all being. How this law had come to be imposed on the creation was not made so clear by these writers. . . Sometimes, these writers tended to the pantheistic explanation: sometimes, however unconsciously to themselves, *it was a simpler atheism.* [The Right Rev. Prelate then proceeded to cite several passages from Bishop COLENSO's and other publications in illustration of these remarks.]' The quotations from my works are not given; and I am at a loss to conceive how any of my expressions can have yielded even a semblance of support to such a statement as the above. I protest, however, emphatically against the statement itself, as an utter misrepresentation of the whole *spirit* of my writings.

announces an express oracle of heaven, or authoritatively promulgates Divine doctrines and commands?

Dr. CANDLISH, indeed, still maintains the doctrine of 'plenary inspiration,' though, apparently, in a somewhat peculiar sense:—

What God had to communicate to man, was to be communicated not all at once, but, as it were, piecemeal. This, I cannot but think, affords a strong presumption in favour of what is called plenary inspiration. It suggests a reason why God should from the very beginning, and all throughout, exercise such a superintendence over the committing of His communications to writing, as to secure even the *verbal accuracy* of the record. . . Properly speaking, it (Holy Scripture) has but one author, the Holy Ghost, throughout. All the books of it are His; *He is responsible for them all*; and, being so, *He is entitled to the same measure of justice at our hands, which an ordinary writer may claim* (!) . . . It is not simply God speaking to man, and man listening to God. It is rather God coming down to earth, mixing Himself up with its ongoings, and *turning to His own account* (!) the sayings and doings of its inhabitants. Hence the need of discrimination. . . I can see no reason why the HOLY SPIRIT (!) should not use the same latitude that a truthful man would use, when minute exactness is not necessary, and is not pretended,—as, for instance, in the use of round numbers, or in the customary ways of reckoning genealogies, or in the reporting of speeches, where the precise words are not material. Nay, more: I imagine that a man, writing under the assurance of Divine guidance, *might be even less careful than he would otherwise have felt himself bound to be* (!). . . I can well imagine that Evangelists and Apostles may have been led to use more freedom than they would otherwise have ventured upon in dealing with the Old Testament Scriptures, and connecting them with the New Dispensation, by the very fact of their being under *infallible guidance*. . . I confess that, on any other supposition, than that of *infallible guidance*, considering the usual scrupulosity of Jewish Doctors, with reference to the very letter of their sacred writings, the free mode of citation, practised by New Testament writers, seems to me all but inexplicable.

The difficulty just stated might be solved perhaps, on the very simple supposition, that St. PAUL did *not* ascribe to the Scriptures, from which he quoted, that character of *infallible*, *verbal*, *accuracy*, which was attributed to them by the Jewish Doctors of his time, as it is by many Christian Doctors at this day. But it is plain that Dr. CANDLISH has been compelled, as an honest and truth-speaking man, to abandon thus openly the traditional notion, which is still entertained by many, of the infallible accuracy of all Scripture statements in matters of

historical and scientific fact. He still asserts his belief in an 'infallible guidance,'—an 'infallible superintendence,'—such as to maintain even a 'verbal accuracy.' But this does not extend to such matters as the 'wars of kings' and the 'genealogies of tribes and families,'—that is, I presume, to matters *non-essential* to human salvation,—in other words, to God's Design in giving the Revelation. The question then arises, as to what parts *are* essential, and what *not*. And of this, as Dr. CANDLISH does and must allow, *we*, shortsighted creatures, cannot possibly be the judges. *We* may imagine things to be essential, which in the plan and ordering of the Divine Wisdom are *not* essential; and therefore, though assuming an 'infallible superintendence,' we are utterly unable to judge *à priori* what parts of Scripture *must* be recorded with strict verbal accuracy. We can only do—what in these criticisms we are endeavouring to do,—that is, work out,—with all the care and ability which God has given us, and with all the help of our best critical apparatus—*à posteriori*, from the documents actually in our hands,—the real substantial facts, which the Bible contains, and take them as God's facts for our guidance.

But the endeavour to maintain his own modified form of the traditionary view has led Dr. CANDLISH into the utterance of some other strange expressions, which I quote from his work, *Reason and Revelation*, p. 72. They will serve to illustrate more fully the views expressed in the preceding extracts, and will be useful, also, as showing the extravagancies—to use no stronger term—into which a devout man may be unconsciously betrayed, while trying to support, in the face of plain facts, which he cannot and will not ignore, a time-honoured superstition, which is no longer tenable.

There is need of continual discrimination, that we may ascertain the true value and bearing of Scriptural statements, as expressive of the Divine Mind and Will. With ordinary candour, the task of exercising the necessary discrimination is not really difficult. But it is easy, if one is inclined, to create embarrassment,—to confound the earthly occasion with the heavenly lesson,—and to take exception to some things in the Divine procedure, which may appear to be inconsistent with the highest ideal of pure truth and perfect holiness, when *in all fairness allowance ought to be made for the constraining force of circumstances*,—[we, human creatures, are 'in all fairness' to 'make allowance' for the Divine Being falling short of our standard of right, because He is subject to 'the constraining force of circumstances'!] We must regard God, in those dealings of His with men, which Scripture records, as *in some sense laid under a restraint* (!). It is no part of His purpose to coerce the human will, or to disturb and disarrange the ordinary laws, which regulate the incidents of human life, and the progress of human society. There *must* (!) be, on His part, *a certain process of accommodation*. He *cannot* (!) in His Word, any more than in His Providence, have things precisely such, and so put, as the standard of absolute perfection would require. In legislating, for instance, for ancient Israel, *it was not possible* to have the ordinance of marriage, the usages of war, the rights of captives, the relation of master and servant, and other similar matters, affecting domestic order and the public weal, regulated exactly as absolutely strict principle demands (!).

After such a striking instance of the way, in which a pious man, and a theologian of distinction, will attempt to get over the *moral* difficulties, which beset the traditionary view, by assuming that the Plan of the Divine Wisdom, for the Revelation of His Will to man, made it *impossible* for God to give such laws to the people of Israel, as 'absolutely strict principle demands,'—still more, after the attempt of the Bishop of OXFORD, in his recent Charge, to silence all intellectual objections to the infallible accuracy of Scripture in matters of science and history, by assuming beforehand the very point at issue, *viz.* that in every line and letter of the Bible we have the unerring Word of God,*

* The Bishop said: 'The confiding child had no feeling of misgiving, when told by his father that the fire with its intense heat, and the ice with its intense cold, would alike burn his flesh. He did not understand the philosophical reason; but he felt satisfied, because he believed his father's word to be true. The believer, in like manner, from his faith, knew that what God said in nature and revelation

—it is, indeed, time to take seriously in hand a work such as that in which I am now engaged, and to examine carefully, whether we have any reason to believe that such laws were really given through Moses, by the direct utterance of the Almighty, to the people of Israel at all. For this purpose such an analysis, as the reader has here before him of the First Eleven Chapters of Genesis,—especially, when it is continued, as we hope to continue it, through the rest of the Pentateuch,—will be, as we trust, effective in breaking the chain of old habit, and freeing the mind from those fetters of superstitious reverence, which have so long held us all, more or less, enslaved to the mere *name* and *letter* of the Bible.

But, if there are already, even in Scotland, faint lights—

Just breaking over land and main,—

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was true, even although he might not be able to reconcile what seemed to be at variance. Thus, then, these difficulties were to be met. We need not fear to avow that, so far as we could learn the plans of the Almighty from the knowledge we had gained, we should ever accept these apparent discrepancies, both as a discipline of the soul and a trial of our faith; and, whilst we received with a like docility both voices, not daring to doubt the evidence of the senses our Maker has given us, nor to distrust a word which He has spoken to us, knowing that, like bodies moving in various planes, they may cross each other's path without collision, yet that, on the whole, every wide increase of our knowledge tended to show that many things, which seemed to be, were not really contradictory, and that those, which had not yet reached, were approaching to a full reconciliation.' The fallacy of such reasoning,—if applied (as appears to be here intended) to the support of the traditionary view of the scientific and historical truth of every part of the Bible,—is obvious. What is the authority for saying that every statement in the canonical Scriptures is an infallible 'Word of God,'—that, for instance, every statement in the book of Ezra, or Esther, is guaranteed by Divine authority as unquestionably true, and may not be doubted by anyone, on pain of being accounted an 'unbeliever,' while those in Esdras or Judith are open to examination and criticism? Is it not more reverent, more *believing*, not to shut our eyes to the plain facts of the case, but to say withal that we hear God's voice in the Bible, in the midst of all its human imperfections?

a still greater change has taken place in England. I believe that here, indeed, a great step has been made towards a more just and reasonable appreciation of the true value of the Scriptures; and I would venture to hope that my own work, with all its defects, may have contributed, in some degree, with other publications of the present day, to this result. Even while I write, the announcement is made that, on the excellent suggestion of a practical Layman, the Speaker of the House of Commons, a work has been undertaken, under Archiepiscopal and Episcopal authority, to supply English readers with a system of critical commentaries on the Old and New Testament, somewhat similar (it is understood) to the admirable *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch* of German Theology. I rejoice unfeignedly to hear of this. It is the very consummation which I have all along desired,—for which I have all along been hoping. The questions, raised by these criticisms, will now, it is hoped, be fairly faced, and *the truth be made plain, before the English Church and People, on whichever side it lies.*

The special object, however, of this undertaking, in the terms of the announcement, is—

to put the reader in full possession of whatever information may be requisite to enable him to understand the Word of God, and supply him with satisfactory answers to objections resting upon *misrepresentations of its contents.*

This amounts to an acknowledgment, on the part of some of our highest ecclesiastical functionaries, that the information requisite, to enable the English reader to understand the Word of God, has not hitherto been accessible to him. It would be an affectation to ignore the fact, that the words above italicised are meant to characterise particularly my own work, among others; and the distinguished promoters of this design would thus seem

to be committed beforehand to an assumption, that such objections as I have made, to the historical veracity of certain portions of the Pentateuch, do rest upon—not *mistaken* notions, merely, but—'*misrepresentations* of its contents.' But I am confident that the enquiry and discussion, thus entered upon, will terminate ultimately in the eliciting of the truth, and in bringing about a great convergence of opinion in England, upon the subject of the historical verity of many of the Biblical narratives. And I rejoice to see in the name of Prof. HAROLD BROWNE * a

* I take this opportunity of correcting an inaccuracy on *p.*xliv of Part III of my work, where I have said that Prof. BROWNE 'attended *all* the meetings of the Committee,' which sat in judgment on my book. Prof. BROWNE has written to me as follows: 'I never was one of those, who attributed to you either want of ability or want of honesty. I protested in Convocation against your writings being called 'puerile.' I am also desirous of correcting a false impression on your mind. Touching the Committee of Convocation, I objected to its appointment, and moved an amendment, when it was proposed. I did not think it the best way of dealing with the case. It was because the Prolocutor pressed me to serve on it, that I was induced to do so. But I was only able to attend *two* out of the *nine* sittings,—not *all*, as you seem to have heard. I did not like the form which the Report took, and I frequently expressed my dislike.'

I have also on the same page said, speaking of the Committee of Convocation, 'They then proceed to cite from the book a further proposition, which they evidently mean to characterise as 'heretical' and 'blasphemous.'' I am glad to find that here also I am mistaken, and that it was never intended to characterise *any* of my statements as 'heretical.' For this I have the authority of a member of the Committee, who writes, 'I wish to assure you that your inference on *p.*xliv,—'they *evidently* mean to characterise as heretical and blasphemous,'—is quite without foundation. Our intention was, to disclaim the duty of determining what was or was not heretical, and this disclaimer applies to all the propositions cited. It never occurred to me that our language could have been taken in the way in which it has struck you.'

I supposed that the Committee of Convocation must have meant to characterise my statements as 'heretical and blasphemous,' since they reported that 'three propositions, being the main propositions of the book, involve *errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of Faith in the Bible as the Word of God,*' and that another proposition 'questions our blessed Lord's Divine knowledge, *as witnessed in Scripture by the Holy Ghost.*'

guarantee of the sincerity and candour, with which one portion of this important work, that connected with the Pentateuch, will be undertaken.

Meanwhile, as far as my own justification is concerned, it will, I believe, in the opinion of many, be considered to be complete, when they peruse the following recently-expressed judgments of others, in reference to the main facts of these criticisms.

I shall first quote extracts from communications which I have received from Prof. KUENEN of Leyden, one of the most eminent critics of the present day in Holland, and especially distinguished in this department of Biblical Criticism. Prof. KUENEN writes, with reference to Part I and Part II:

'I see, in your critical labours, more than a mere important episode of the Church-conflict of our days. It appears to me that through you already, in Part I, the attention has been fixed upon a series of facts, which, in the latest time, have been too much neglected, with great damage to the truth. You have entered upon the enquiry, as to the value and origin of the narratives about the Mosaic time, from a side to which by many scarcely any attention has been paid. This I say in the first instance with reference to myself. While writing my Introduction to the Pentateuch and to the Book of Joshua, I was, it is true, aware of the unhistorical character of many narratives: but I had not hitherto given to myself proper account of the extent of the difficulties. They could only be fully and plainly brought into the light through the method followed by you; and they now lie bare before everyone who is willing to see. When I take into consideration in how unsatisfactory a way even some of the very best writers indicate and clear out of the way these difficulties, I consider your endeavour to treat them entirely apart, and exhibit them visibly, as equally opportune and useful. As far as I am concerned, should the opportunity arise for me to treat again expressly of the Pentateuch, either in my lectures, or in writing, I shall not neglect thereby to make use of the light kindled by you.

'When engaged upon the Third Part of my 'Hist. Crit. Enquiry,' in which I shall have to speak about the Psalms, I shall have an opportunity of studying expressly the Elohistic and Jehovistic Psalms, with an eye to your enquiry about them in chap. xii–xviii of Part II. I wish to do so with all the calmness and

impartiality, with which so thorough a demonstration as yours deserves to be treated.

'But I may not detain you longer with my remarks. Regard them only as a proof that I have read your important work with care, and that I hope still further to do so, when the course of my studies shall give me occasion for it. The question as to the composition of the Pentateuch and the age of its portions is so intricate, that it may well be that at first no unanimous agreement will be arrived at respecting it. But the difference of feeling that remains is small in comparison with the great main-point, and with the important consequences which follow from it. It is to me a cause of great joy that the main-point also, through your work, is put anew clearly into the light, and will certainly be recognised in a continually widening circle.' *June* 23, 1863.

'I gladly give you the desired permission to insert in your Preface the portion of my former letter translated by you. It not only expressed then, but it expresses also now, so entirely my feeling, that I allow it to be published without any hesitation.' *Nov.* 23, 1863.

For many the name of KUENEN will have its due weight: while others, who know him only as a foreign theologian, will, perhaps, regard him as, most probably, 'tainted with neology.' This, however, cannot be said of another witness, who comes recommended as an English clergyman, filling more than one office of distinction,—one of the few Hebrew scholars in England,—I mean the Rev. J. J. S. PEROWNE, B.D. Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, examining Chaplain to the Bishop of NORWICH, and late Hebrew Lecturer of King's College, LONDON, and Assistant Preacher of Lincoln's Inn.

The story of the article upon the Flood in Dr. SMITH'S 'Dictionary of the Bible' is well-known,—how when you turn to 'DELUGE,' you find '[FLOOD],' and, when you turn to 'FLOOD,' you are referred on to '[NOAH].' The delay is generally understood to have arisen from the conservative tendencies of the editor or publisher, and the difficulty of encountering the subject, in such a way as not to shock too strongly the popular

religious notions of the day. However, the second and third volumes of this valuable work have now appeared; and Mr. PEROWNE, it seems, has contributed the articles on 'NOAH' and 'PENTATEUCH.' To what extent the writer's own opinions are in accordance with the traditionary view, may be judged from the following extracts, which I make from the first of these articles.

If the words, 'unto a cubit shalt thou finish it *above*,' refer to the window, and not to the ark itself. they seem to imply that this aperture, or skylight, extended to the breadth of a cubit the whole length of the roof [525 feet]. But, if so, it could not have been merely an open slit, for that would have admitted the rain. Are we then to suppose that some transparent, or at least translucent, substance was employed? It would almost seem so. *Note.* The only serious objection to this explanation is the supposed improbability of any substance like glass having been discovered at that early period of the world's history. . . Arts and sciences may have reached a ripeness, of which the record, from its scantiness, conveys no adequate conception. [In that case, would the ark have had only *one* 'skylight' and *one* door?] But besides the windows there was to be a door. 'This was to be placed in the side of the ark. 'The door must have been of some size to admit the larger animals, for whose ingress it was mainly intended. It was, no doubt, above the highest draught-mark of the ark, and the animals ascended to it probably by a sloping embankment.' SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. *p.* 565.

It should be remembered that this huge structure was only intended to float on the water, and was not, in the proper sense of the word, a ship. It had neither mast, sail, nor rudder; it was, in fact, nothing but an enormous floating house or oblong box. . . Two subjects only were aimed at in its construction: the one was that it should have ample stowage, and the other, that it should be able to keep steady upon the water. *Ibid.* ii. *p.* 566.

Mr. PEROWNE, indeed, has been obliged, in common with many others, to abandon the notion of a *Universal* Deluge, which alone the Bible plainly speaks of.

'It is not only the inadequate size of the ark to contain all, or anything like all the progenitors of our existing species of animals, which is conclusive against an universal Deluge. . . It is true that Noah is told to take two 'of every living thing of all flesh': but that could only mean two of every animal *then known* to him, unless we suppose him to have had supernatural information in zoology imparted, —a thing quite incredible. . . Again, how were the carnivorous animals supplied with food during their twelve months' abode in the ark? This would have been

difficult even for the very limited number of wild animals in Noah's immediate neighbourhood. For the very large numbers, which the theory of a universal Deluge supposes, it would have been quite impossible, unless again we have recourse to miracle, and either maintain that they were miraculously supplied with food, or that, for the time being, the nature of their teeth and stomach was changed, so that they were able to live on vegetables. But these hypotheses are so extravagant, and so utterly unsupported by the narrative itself, that they may be safely dismissed without further comment. . . Indeed, it is out of the question to imagine that the ark rested on the top of a mountain (Ararat), which is covered for 4,000 feet from the summit with perpetual snow, and the descent from which would have been a very serious matter both to men and other animals. ii.*p.*567–569.

Yet the statement in Gen.vii.5, that the tops of the mountains were not seen until seventy-three days after the Ark 'rested,' proves that, if it rested on Ararat at all, it must have been upon the summit. I have shown, however, in chap.xx of this Part that a *partial* Deluge, of the kind here described, is quite as impossible as a general one. There is no use, therefore, in twisting the plain meaning of the Scripture, to make it say what to the 'wayfaring man' it certainly does not say. But I doubt if any article could be written upon the Deluge *in this day*,—by any one who desired to maintain some character as a man of science or, indeed, of common sense,—*more* conservative than that which Mr. PEROWNE has written. He is, therefore, I presume, a most unexceptionable witness.

Let us now, then, see what Mr. PEROWNE has to say about the Pentateuch. I must commend him for the candour and courage which he has shown, in speaking out plainly the truth as he sees it. But let my readers—my lay-readers, especially—consider the force of the following admissions, coming from a writer, who is still trammeled, it is plain,—as we see by his remarks on the Deluge,—by the influence of his educational training and prepossessions.

If, without any theory casting its shadow upon us, and without any fear of consequences before our eyes, we read thoughtfully only the Book of Genesis, we can hardly escape the conviction, that it partakes of the nature of a compilation. It has, indeed, a unity of plan, a coherence of parts, a shapeliness and an order, which satisfy us that, as it stands, it is the creation of a single mind. But it bears also manifest traces of having been based upon an earlier work; and that earlier work itself seems to have had embedded in it fragments of still more ancient documents. . . .

At the very opening of the book, peculiarities of style and manner are discernible, which can scarcely escape the notice of a careful reader even of a translation,—which certainly are no sooner pointed out, than we are compelled to admit their existence. The language of chap. i.1–ii.3, (where the first chapter ought to have been made to end), is totally unlike that of the section which follows, ii.4–iii.23. This last is not only distinguished by a peculiar use of the Divine Names,—for here, and nowhere else in the whole Pentateuch, except E.ix.30, have we the combination of the two, Jehovah-Elohim—[in other places we have such expressions as, 'Jehovah, the Elohim of Heaven,' Gen.xxiv.3,7, 'Jehovah, the Elohim of my master,' *v.*12,27,42,48, &c. but not 'Jehovah-Elohim' simply (78)],—but also by a mode of expression peculiar to itself. It is also remarkable for preserving an account of the Creation, distinct from that contained in the first chapter. It may be said, indeed, that this account does not contradict the former(?), and might, therefore, have proceeded from the same pen. But, fully admitting that there is no contradiction, the representation is so different, that it is far more natural to conclude that it was derived from some other, though not antagonistic, source. . . Still, in any case, it cannot be denied that this second account has the character of a *supplement*,—that it is designed, if not to correct, at least to explain, the other. And this fact taken in connection with the peculiarities of the phraseology, and the use of the Divine Names in the same section, is quite sufficient to justify the supposition, that we have here an instance, not of independent narrative, but of *compilation from different sources*. . .

We come now to a more ample examination of the question, as to the distinctive use of the Divine Name. Is it the fact, as Astruc was the first to surmise, that this early portion of the Pentateuch, extending from G.i to E.vi, does contain two original documents, characterised by their separate use of the Divine Names, and by other peculiarities of style? Of this there can be no reasonable doubt. We do find, —not only scattered verses, but—whole sections thus characterised. . . And we find, moreover, that in connection with this use of the Divine Names, there is also a distinctive and characteristic phraseology. The style and idiom of the Jehovah sections is not the same as the style and idiom of the Elohim sections. . . . The alleged *design* in the use of the Divine Names will not bear a close examination. How, on the hypothesis of Hengstenberg, can we satisfactorily account for its being said in vi.22, 'Thus did Noah, according to all that God (*Elohim*) commanded

him, so did he,' and in vii.5, 'and Noah did according to all that *Jehovah* commanded him,' while again, in vii.9, *Elohim* occurs in the same phrase? The elaborate ingenuity, by means of which HENGSTENBERG, DRECHSLER, and others, attempt to account for the specific use of the several names in these instances, is, in fact, its own refutation. The stern constraint of a theory could alone have suggested it. . .

Still this phenomenon of the distinct use of the Divine Names would scarcely of itself prove the point, that there are two documents which form the groundwork of the existing Pentateuch. But there is other evidence pointing the same way:—

(i) We find, for instance, the same story told by the two writers, and their two accounts manifestly interwoven; and we find also certain favourite words and phrases, which distinguish the one writer from the other. . .

(ii) But, again, we find that these duplicate narratives are characterised by peculiar modes of expression, and that, generally, the Elohistic and Jehovistic sections have their own distinct and individual colouring.

There is, therefore, it seems, good ground for concluding that, besides some smaller independent documents, traces may be discovered of two original historical works, which form the basis of the present book of Genesis, and of the earlier chapters of Exodus. Of these there can be no doubt that the Elohistic is the earlier. The passage in E.vi establishes this, as well as the matter and style of the document itself. Whether Moses himself was the author of either of these works is a different question. . .

So far, then, judging this work simply by what we find in it, there is abundant evidence to show that, though the main bulk (?) of it is Mosaic, certain detached portions of it are of later growth. *Ibid.* ii.*p*.774–8.

The above extracts are enough for my purpose, and they are written by the 'Examining Chaplain of the Bishop of NORWICH.' Mr. PEROWNE differs from me decidedly in some important points of criticism. In particular, he maintains that Moses wrote the whole book of Deuteronomy, whereas I believe that a later Prophet wrote it about the time of Josiah; and I have given, as I conceive, what amounts to a positive demonstration of that fact in my Third Part. Among other things, I have there shown (553) that in Deuteronomy there are *thirty-three* expressions, evidently familiar to the writer, since some of them are repeated *more than ten times* in that book, and each on the average *eight times*,—not one of which is used even once in any

of the other four books of the Pentateuch. Hence we have at any rate this dilemma. If Moses *did* write Deuteronomy, then he did *not* write *the last part of Numbers*, which recounts the transactions of the *last year* of the wanderings, down to the very day on which the discourses in Deuteronomy are supposed to be uttered. And, if he did not write these chapters of Numbers, then he did not write a very large portion of the rest of the four books; since no critic will deny that the same hand (hands), which composed the last seventeen chapters of Numbers, was (were) concerned also in writing a great part of the previous history. Hence, if Moses wrote the book of Deuteronomy, he certainly did *not* write the greater part of the other four books. Or, if he did write the last part of Numbers, and the kindred matter in the other four books, then he did *not* write the Book of Deuteronomy.

I have given, as I believe, sound reasons for the conclusion, —maintained by BLEEK, DAVIDSON, EWALD, HUPFELD, KNOBEL, KUENEN, and a host of other eminent critics,—that Deuteronomy was not written till towards the close of the kingdom of Judah. As Mr. PEROWNE does not refer to my criticisms, it is possible that none of my books were published till after his own labours were completed; and, indeed, my Part III, on Deuteronomy, could not have been seen by him, till after his article on the Pentateuch was printed. But this is only a difference in detail. The passages, above quoted from Mr. PEROWNE's paper, are abundantly sufficient to confirm me in the opinion that the '*great main point*,' for which I am contending, is undeniably true, and that the traditionary oipnion concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch must henceforth be abandoned. It is plain that the Pentateuch is not by any means the work of one single hand,

the hand of Moses, but a composite work, the work of different hands in different ages; and, therefore, though critics may ascribe to Moses himself, some more, some less, and some none at all, of the *written* story, as it now lies before us, yet this is merely a question of detail, which can only be settled with more or less certainty by such processes of careful, laborious, and conscientious criticism, as those which I have endeavoured, to the best of my power, to carry out in my different volumes. And who so fitting, as the Clergy of the Church of England, to conduct and complete such criticism?

For our ordination vows, as Ministers of a Protestant Church, not only do not forbid, but positively bind us in the most solemn way, in the face of the Congregation, to make such enquiries, and to declare the results of them, if we think it needful or desirable to do so. Every presbyter of the National Church is solemnly pledged at his ordination to 'be diligent in reading of the holy Scriptures, and of such *studies* as help to the knowledge of the same,'—of such critical study, therefore, as contributes to the more thorough understanding of the Pentateuch, as well as the New Testament. Further, he is then solemnly pledged to teach nothing as necessary to salvation, but what he '*shall be persuaded* may be concluded and proved by the same';—he is not, therefore, to teach that 'all our hopes for eternity depend' upon belief in the historical truth of Noah's Flood or the story of the Exodus, or on the trustworthiness of every line in the Bible, if in his own mind and conscience he is not persuaded that the Scriptures, when carefully examined, suffice to 'conclude and prove' the truth of such statements. And every Bishop is then pledged to banish and

drive away, 'privately and *openly*,' all erroneous doctrine, contrary to God's Word,—such as that which lays down the traditionary view of Scripture, stated above. Such vows are taken by a Bishop at his Consecration, in the presence of the people, 'to the end,' it is said—

that the Congregation present may have a trial, and bear witness, how you be minded to behave yourself in the Church of God.

The Church, moreover, in the Ordination Service, does solemnly require a Bishop also to declare, that he will 'exercise himself faithfully in the holy Scriptures, and to call upon God by prayer, for *the true understanding of the same*,' and that he will 'teach or maintain nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the same.' In this vow is expressed the spirit of our Protestant Church, the very principle of the *Reformation*, which, in the words of Dean HOOK, *Manchester Church Congress*, 1863,—words that cannot be repeated too often,—is—

the necessity of asserting the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—

in opposition to the principle of *Mediævalism*, which, he says, is,—

when the assertion of the truth is likely to promote discord, to postpone the true to the expedient.

As Bishop WATSON has justly argued, these promises, so solemnly made, must overrule all others.

But 'we are perplexed by our *Subscriptions*, which the Law of the Land, at present, requires to be made by everyone admitted to Holy Orders.' Undoubtedly we are; and, if subscription* is to be regarded as expressing an unqualified assent

* At present, the Law requires that every layman admitted to a vote in the Senate of either of our great Universities, shall sign the Thirty-nine Articles.

to everything subscribed, then, as Dean STANLEY has very truly said,—

> There is not one clergyman in the Church of England, who can venture to cast a stone at another: they must all go out, from the greatest to the least, from the Archbishop in his palace at Lambeth to the humblest curate in the wilds of Cumberland.

It is a state of things much to be regretted; for it cannot be said that such compromises, as are now almost universally practised on some point or other, are at all conducive to a healthy, vigorous, religious life, either among the teachers or the taught. Even His Grace the Archbishop of CANTERBURY declared in the House of Lords that he could not, and would not, *himself* in certain cases fulfil the 'engagement,' to which he bound himself, when admitted to the Sacred Office. And now the Bishop of OXFORD has said that he will protect his clergy in so doing, if consulted beforehand, and if the case is one which he approves.

Happily, our Church, as a National Institution, is not the creation of the Bishops and Clergy, but of the will of the Nation, expressed in Parliament. And, as Parliament has reformed it already more than once, it may do so again, and remove some, at least, of those hindrances, which now prevent it from discharging properly its office, as the Great Religious Educator of the people. The very law, which, as Bishop WILBER-

Here is an 'engagement,' on the strength of which the Master of Arts has received his power to vote upon important questions, affecting vitally, it may be, the future welfare of the Universities, and their relations to the National Church. Yet who will assert that every such layman is bound by this 'engagement' to believe in all the points of the Thirty-nine Articles unto his life's end, or to give up his vote, and take no further part in the management of the Universities, if he comes at any time to entertain a doubt upon any one of them?

FORCE thinks, relieves him from the necessity of enforcing the Canons, is a law of the State, with reference to which no consent of the 'Church' was previously asked,—no approval even of 'Convocation' needed. A similar law may before long be passed to relieve the difficulties, which press more heavily on other minds. And the time seems fast ripening for this—when the voice of religious and earnest laymen shall be heard throughout the land, calling loudly on Parliament to interfere for such a Reform.

Bishop WILBERFORCE has said that—

> The press teemed with the writings of men, who professed to believe in the Bible, but to deny its supernatural character,—to receive what has been revealed, but to reject revelation.

I believe this statement to be so far true, that there, probably, never was a time, when the press, as a whole, was more distinctly characterised by the general *religious* tone, which marks all classes of writings,—from the poems of the Laureate and the most eminent works on Science, to the popular periodical, the daily and weekly journal, the common school-book. This is certainly one of the most striking features of the literature of the age, that the *spirit* of religion pervades it everywhere, while there is certainly exhibited, as generally, a decided dislike to that formal dogmatic theological teaching, on which the Bishop of OXFORD lays so much stress, without which he considers the religious life cannot even exist.

But the truth is, and we must rejoice to know it, that there has been a remarkable awakening of the religious life in this our day, altogether without the pale of Church dogmas. Men of learning and science, generally, do recognise the existence of 'Providence, Revelation, and Grace,'—though they

do not adopt certain narrow definitions of these words. They 'believe in the Bible,' though they do not believe in the historical or scientific truth of all its statements; they believe that God reveals Himself to the spirit of man, though they do not suppose that His Revelation of Himself is confined to one nation, or to one set of books. There is, in our days, a general acceptance of the Highest and Deepest Truths, as revelations in themselves, the communications of the Divine Being to His children, without a slavish adherence to the forms in which they have appeared, or to the authoritative ecclesiastical system of doctrine, to which some would limit their existence for us. And this very fact is the most impressive protest against the threat, which is held out, that, if men will not shut their eyes, and receive without questioning every 'jot and tittle,' which the Church administers or each book of the Bible contains, they will be left before long without religion—without life, without hope, and without God in the world.

Having quoted from one eminent divine in the Free Church of Scotland, I will here add some words from a Lecture lately delivered by the Rev. Dr. LEE, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, which are well worthy of very serious consideration, *Edinburgh Courant*, Nov. 25, 1863:—

We remark, all of us, and some of us complain, that the pulpit no longer occupies its own place,—that it no longer leads men's minds,—that, while myriads of both sexes still listen to preaching, its former influence, at least with one sex, is wellnigh gone. What may be the reason of this change? Is it due to some change in the people, or to some change in the preaching? Are men become more worldly, more stupid, more ignorant, more licentious, more conceited than they were, when the pulpit was the great power, and the minister the most revered oracle? Or have the preaching and the popular mind changed their relative positions,—so that, instead of the sermon being in advance of the popular ideas, it lags behind them, and, instead of performing the part of a propelling power, it serves, and, perhaps, is

intended to serve, as a brake or drag on its too rapid advance, as the preacher esteems it? . . . When the minister guided the people, he was mentally in advance of them. His doctrine formed their opinions, because he was master of more information, more thought, than they possessed . . . Our sermons no longer determine their religious notions even, much less their opinions on moral and social questions. This may displease, but it should not surprise us. The remedy is in our own hands. They will follow again the moment we lead. . . This brings me to enquire why we have so generally thus lost our hold on the minds of the more intellectual portion of the community,—a fact, which a man must be wofully blind if he do not see. . . We, ministers, are mainly chargeable with turning the living spirit of Christianity into a dead letter,—a letter which killeth, instead of a spirit which giveth life. The history of this process is soon told. The Reformers found Christianity a mass of traditions,—and, as a consequence, the thinking classes generally sceptical. They (the Reformers) clothed the Christian doctrine in the garb of their own convictions. It so became for their age a living thing, and consequently it engaged the attention, excited the interest, and won the convictions of their enquiring contemporaries. But *their convictions have become our traditions*, and, as such, have for every succeeding generation lost their vitality more and more. . . A new culture,—the progress of literature, and particularly of science,—the creation of new sciences and the discovery of new arts,—the improvement of political institutions,—the new position taken by the labouring population,—the universal demand for knowledge,—the refusal on all hands to be satisfied unless the why and the wherefore be given,—this new society has new wants, religious as well as social and political. . . . No one generation can interpret Christianity for a succeeding generation. They cannot, because they do not think the thoughts which move the hearts of the succeeding generation. . . Even those topics, which our Reformers and elder divines elaborated so carefully, and which interested their world so profoundly, are felt not to be to us what they were to them. Other questions are pressing upon us, for which the cry is for an answer out of the Scriptures. Other burdens are loading our spirits, for which we seek relief from the same source, if it can furnish this.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON also is reported to have spoken recently at Stroud, as follows, *Guardian*, Nov. 25, 1863:—

But while we teach, as a Christian people, the primary importance of a *religious* education, let us not shrink from acknowledging the humiliating fact, that, as regards *intellectual* cultivation, many of the nations of the Continent, some of our own colonies, and even the half-civilised country of Japan, are in advance of us. These are grave considerations, not only for the philanthropist and the Christian, but for the statesman and the politician. They are considerations which closely

touch national welfare, because, while you daily cultivate the intellect of the people of this country, unless you enable the working man to assert his position as a human being, and *make the most of the intellect which God has given him*, we must be the sufferers in that great race of competition, to which all the nations of the world are exposed.

The fact here noticed deserves, indeed, serious consideration from all who love their country. It is true that, while religious instruction is abundantly supplied in our schools, yet the secular education of the people is, for the most part, lamentably defective, nor are any earnest attempts yet made generally to remedy the evil. But how can it be otherwise? Surely, unless the way is first cleared, through such labours as those in which I am now engaged, by removing the contradictions which at present exist between the popular notions of Religion and the results of Science, it is impossible that the education of the people should be carried on to any great extent in England. For Englishmen, certainly, as Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said, will not be content with *merely* secular and scientific teaching for their children. God forbid that they should be! It is the great hope of our land, —the great strength and security of our social state,—that the English people, as a whole, demand that education shall be religious. But, while religious teaching is connected inseparably with the traditionary belief in the historical truth of all parts of the Bible,—a belief, which the advance of knowledge in our days shows to be utterly untenable,—it is obvious that no considerable scientific progress *can* be made in our schools. The schoolmaster will not dare to introduce questions of Science, going at all beyond the usual routine, by which the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge are supposed to be 'reconciled' with well-known facts. Nay, he himself has very probably been reared in some Training Institution, from which all free

scientific teaching must be banished, lest 'one single line' of Scripture should be shown to be 'untrustworthy,' in a scientific or historical point of view, and so 'all our hopes for eternity,'—'all our nearest and dearest consolations,'—should be suddenly, at one stroke, undermined.

I believe, then, that in endeavouring to do faithfully, to the best of my power, such a work as this,—in which I maintain that Religious and Scientific Truth are one, and that, what God hath joined, no man, and no body of men, has a right to put asunder,—I am but discharging, however imperfectly, my duty as a Minister of the National Church, and promoting the cause of national education and improvement at home, as well as of those Missionary labours abroad, to which, in God's Providence, my own life must be more especially devoted. If it would be wrong for a Christian Missionary of our day, to mislead a class of native catechists, by teaching them that the Earth is flat, and the sky a solid firmament, above which the stores of rain are treasured,—when God has taught us otherwise,—it must be equally wrong and sinful, to teach them that the Scripture stories of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, are infallible records of historical fact, *if* God, by the discoveries of Science in our day, has taught us to know that these narratives—whatever they may be—are certainly not to be regarded as *history*.

But, using now the word 'Church' in its true, ancient, and venerable sense, as a general expression for the great Catholic Body, which embraces all faithful souls throughout the world,—all those who have been 'called-out' to receive more of Divine illumination than others,—all those who have been quickened with the word of Truth, and have heard and obeyed it, as far

as they heard it,—all those on whose eyes the Light of God has shone, 'the Light which lighteneth every man that comes into the world,' and who have striven by God's grace to walk in it,—in one word, as embracing all true men and women, servants of God, sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty,—by whatever name they are known to men, by whatever forms they may worship, whatever measure of the knowledge of Himself, and of His highest Revelations of Himself, He may have been pleased to impart to them,—I am fully satisfied that the cause of Truth *must* now advance in the Church in England,—perhaps, as fast as is desirable, seeing that many strong prejudices and prepossessions have still to be removed, the rooting up of which, however necessary to ensure the free growth of true Religion, and the full development of the Christian Life, must be a somewhat slow and painful work.

The difficulty is, indeed, increased by the conduct of those, who, without stating what *is* to be believed, about the stories of the Creation and the Deluge, or the numbers of the Exodus, —without stating distinctly *what* our own Church says is to be believed on these points, and *where* she has said it,—without stating *what they themselves believe*,—are frightening their flocks from looking calmly, in the fear and faith of God, at the plain, naked, Truth,—delivering solemn warnings against some dark tremendous evil, which, they say, is approaching daily nearer, and cannot be kept off, and even now overshadows us,—telling us that, in all the literature of the day, in the works of poets, historians, reviewers, journalists, there is a lurking infidelity, and that in all the noble utterances of science, and clear conclusions of Biblical criticism, we may only be 'hearing the echoes of the coming footfall of the great

Antichrist.' Thus it is that the hearts of men and women, unlearned, may be troubled for a time, and their minds held in painful suspense, possessed with a feeling of dread and uncertainty.

How different would it be, if all the more enlightened of the clergy were to take at once the stand, which in the end must assuredly be taken,—were to take boldly God's facts, as they are, and bring them forth, in their habitual teaching, so making them by degrees familiar to the people! When such teaching as this is confirmed by the speaking earnestness of a pure and holy life, and enforced by a course of loving and devoted labour for the good of men, there need be no fear of men making shipwreck of their trust in God, or finding suddenly all their hopes for eternity failing, all 'their nearest and dearest consolations' taken from them. Without any dangerous shock to their faith, a superstitious reverence for the letter of the Bible would then give way to a right and intelligent appreciation of the true value of the Scriptures, as containing God's Word, a blessed and glorious Revelation of His Eternal Truth to Man.

J. W. NATAL.

23 Sussex Place, Kensington, W.
Dec. 9, 1863.

*** Since the above was in type, the recent Charge of the Bishop of St. David's has been published. I need hardly say that Bishop Thirlwall does not come forward in any sense as my patron or advocate. But, while blaming what he considers to be indiscretion, rashness, hastiness of publication, and too great confidence of expression, on my part, he yet fully justifies the principle of such a work as I have undertaken, in the following passages. I commend them to the reader's

careful consideration, not on account of the bearing which they have on that part of the controversy which is personal to myself, but for the sake of the judicial clearness, with which Bishop THIRLWALL has described the proper limits of the action of Convocation in respect of books, and for the sake also of his distinct recognition of the ample latitude allowed to the clergy by the law of our Church, in their enquiries into the genuineness and authenticity of the Biblical writings.

'*The Church has not attempted to fence the study of the Scripture, either for Clergy or Laity, with any restrictions as to the subject of enquiry*, but has rather taught them to consider every kind of information, which throws light on any part of the Sacred Volume, as precious, either for present or possible use. . . *If the enquiry is to be free, it is impossible consistently to prescribe its results.*' *p.*91.

'The Resolution [of Convocation], by which the Bishop of NATAL'S book was condemned, assumes a paternal authority, which rather suits an earlier period in the education of the world; and it presupposes a childlike docility and obedience, in those over whom it is exercised, which are now very rarely to be found. It also suggests the question, what practical purpose it was designed to answer. Two were indicated in the Committee's Report,—'the effectual vindication of the truth of God's word before men,' and the 'warning and comfort of Christ's people.' But it is not clear how either of these objects could be attained by a declaration, that 'the book involves errors of the gravest and most dangerous character.' Both seem to require that the censure should have pointed out the errors involved, or have stated the doctrine which the book had at least indirectly impugned, so as to make it clear that the alleged errors affected, not merely *prevalent opinions*, but truths universally recognised as part of the Church's creed.' *p.*101.'

'According to the view which I have ventured to take of the proper limits of synodical action in the cognisance of books, the Committee overstept those limits. They were appointed to examine the Parts which had then appeared of the Bishop's work, and to report 'whether any—and if any *what*—opinions, heretical or erroneous in doctrine, were contained in it.' They extracted three propositions, which they have characterised as we have seen. . .

'It may seem, indeed, as if the Committee, in their mode of dealing with the first of the propositions, which they cite or extract for censure, had shown that they were aware of the precise nature of the function they had to perform, and meant to confine themselves to it. That proposition is,—'The Bible is not itself God's Word.' The author himself immediately adds, 'But assuredly 'God's Word' will be heard in the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it.' Of this qualification, the Committee, in their remarks on the proposition, take no notice whatever. But they first observe that the proposition, as they cite it, 'is contrary to the faith of the Universal Church, which has always taught that Holy Scripture is given by inspiration of the Holy Ghost.' They seem to have overlooked that this statement, however true, was irrelevant; but they then proceed to refer to the

Articles and Formularies of our own Church, which are, indeed, the only authority binding on her ministers. But, unfortunately, not one of the passages, to which they refer, applies to the proposition condemned. Many, indeed, among them do clearly describe the Bible as the 'Word of God.' But not one affirms that 'the Bible is *itself* God's Word.' . . No doubt, the expression indicated that the author made a distinction between the Bible and the Word of God, and considered the two terms as not precisely equivalent or absolutely interchangeable. . . And there is certainly high authority for the distinction. Among the numerous passages of the New Testament, in which the phrase, *the Word of God*, occurs, there is not one in which it signifies the Bible, or in which that word could be substituted for it without manifest absurdity. But, even in our Articles and Formularies, there are several, in which the two terms do not appear to be treated as synonymous. . . *If the Word of God is to be found nowhere but in Holy Writ, not only would no other Christian Literature be properly called sacred, but the Bible itself would be degraded to a dead and barren letter, and would not be a living spring of Divine Truth.* On the whole the Report first attaches an arbitrary meaning to an ambiguous expression, and then charges it with contradicting authorities, which are either wholly silent upon it, or seem to countenance and warrant it. . .

'But, in their treatment of the next proposition, the Committee seem almost entirely to have lost sight of the principle, which, although misapplied, appeared to guide them in their examination of the first. For, with a single insignificant exception, they confront it, not with our Articles and Formularies, but with *passages of Scripture.* Quotations from Scripture may add great weight to a theological argument; they are essential for the establishment of any doctrine of a Church, which professes to ground its teaching on Scripture; but they are entirely out of place, where the question is, not whether a doctrine is true or false, but whether it is the doctrine of the Church of England. . . This is no legal refinement, but a plain dictate of common sense; and it does not at all depend on the composition of the tribunal, before which such questions are tried, so as to be less applicable if the Court consisted entirely of ecclesiastics. . . I should think it a great misfortune to the Church, if Convocation, sitting in judgment on the orthodoxy of a theological work, though without any view to proceedings against the author, should ignore and practically reject that principle. And, if in this respect, the Report betrays the influence of a personal prepossession, which, however natural, ought not to be allowed to sway the decisions of a grave assembly, — above all, so as to bring them into conflict with the highest legal authorities of the Realm,— we have the more reason to rejoice that it did not obtain the sanction of the Upper House.

'When I look at the Scriptural arguments adduced in the Report, against the second proposition extracted for condemnation, they do not seem to me of such a

quality, as to deserve to form an exception, if any could be admitted, to the rule which would exclude them from such an investigation. . . The Committee observe that 'Moses is spoken of, by our Blessed Lord in the Gospel, as the writer of the Pentateuch.' I suspect that even a layman, little acquainted with the manifold aspects of the question, and the almost infinite number of surmises, which have been or may be formed concerning it, would be somewhat disappointed, when he found that the proof of this statement consists of three passages, in which our Lord speaks of Moses and the Prophets; of the law of Moses, and of writings of Moses. It is true that it would not be a fatal objection to the argument, that the word 'Pentateuch' does not occur in the Bible. It might have been so described, as to connect every part of its contents with the hand of Moses, as distinctly as if the observation of the Committee had been literally true. But in fact this is not the case; and still less is any such distinct appropriation to be found in any of the passages, cited by the Committee in support of their assertion, that 'Moses is recognised as the writer of the Pentateuch in other passages of Holy Scripture.' They are neither more nor less conclusive than the language of the Seventh Article, to which the Committee confine all the reference they have made to the judgment of the *Church* on this question,—though this was the only matter into which it was their proper business to inquire. The Article alludes to 'the law given from God by Moses,'—a slender foundation for any inference as to the record of that law, much more as to the authorship of other parts of the Pentateuch, especially as the name of Moses does not occur in the enumeration of the canonical books in the Sixth Article. If the question had been as to the authorship of the book of *Psalms*, few persons probably would think that it had been dogmatically decided by the Church, because in the Prayer-Book the Psalter is described as the 'Psalms of David.'

'The third proposition, 'variously stated in the book,' relates to the historical truth of the Pentateuch, which the author denies, not in the sense that everything in it is pure fiction, but that all is not historically true. . . . But it is to be regretted that the Committee should again have lost sight of the object for which they were appointed, and have omitted to refer to any doctrine of the Church, which the author has contradicted. This was the more incumbent on them, since a recent judgment has formally sanctioned a very wide latitude in this respect. It is clear that, in such things, there cannot be two weights and two measures for different persons, and also that it does not belong to any but legal authority to draw the line, by which the freedom, *absolutely granted in theory*, is to be limited in practice. . . .

'These are the propositions, which they extract as the 'main propositions of the book,' which, though not pretending to 'pronounce definitively whether they are or are not heretical,' they denounce as 'involving errors of the gravest and most dangerous character.' But they proceed to cite a further proposition, which the author states in the form of a question, to meet an objection which had been raised against

his main conclusion, as virtually rejecting our Lord's authority, by which, as the Committee state, 'the genuineness and the authenticity of the Pentateuch have been guaranteed to all men.' Whether the passages, in which our Lord quotes or alludes to the Pentateuch, amount to such a guarantee, is a point which they do not discuss. They only observe that the proposition 'questions our Blessed Lord's Divine knowledge,'—and with that remark they drop the subject.

'Considering that this proposition is incomparably the most important of all that they cite, . . . one is surprised that it should have been dismissed with so very cursory and imperfect a notice. For it is not even clear that it correctly expresses the author's meaning. The question, which he raises, does not properly concern our Lord's Divine knowledge, that is, the knowledge belonging to His Divine Nature. It is whether His human knowledge was coextensive with the Divine Omniscience. It is obvious, at the first glance, what a vast field of speculation, theological and metaphysical, is opened by this suggestion. . . . Bishop JEREMY TAYLOR observes: 'They, that love to serve God in hard questions, use to dispute whether Christ did truly, or in appearance only, increase in wisdom. . . . Others . . . apprehend no inconvenience in affirming it to belong to the verity of human nature, to have degrees of understanding as well as of other perfections; and, although the humanity of Christ made up the same person with His Divinity, yet they think the Divinity still to be free, even in those communications which were imparted to His inferior nature. . . . ' It is clear to which side TAYLOR inclines. But I must own I should be sorry to see these hard questions revived. . . . Still more should I deprecate any attempt of the Church of England to promulge a new dogma for the settlement of this controversy. And I lament that the Committee of the Lower House should have expressed themselves, as if either there was no 'dispute' on the subject, or it belonged to them to end it by a word. But, at least, as their remark indicated that the Bishop had, in their judgment, fallen into some grave error, it was due, not only to him, but the readers of their Report, and to the Church at large, that they should have pointed out what the error was by a comparison with the doctrine of the Church which it was supposed to contradict.' *p.*103–115.

Bishop THIRLWALL then makes some remarks on expressions of mine, in respect of which, however, he has somewhat misapprehended my meaning. In 'consoling myself' with the reflection that 'our belief in the Living God remains as sure as ever, though not the Pentateuch only, but the whole Bible, were removed,' I meant to say that, the fact of the existence of the Living God having been once revealed to us, we should retain the belief in Him, as our Heavenly Father, whatever might become of the Pentateuch or the whole Bible. In using the word 'remain,' I meant to imply that our ideas of the Divine Being have been in a great measure derived from the Bible. But I meant also to say that they do not depend solely on the Bible,—that God is, in His own Eternal Nature, True, Just, and Loving, and will be so, whatever criticism may do for the Pentateuch,—that

whatever of substantial and eternal truth we may have learned from the Pentateuch or from the whole Bible, *that* will *remain* eternally for us, though the Bible itself, having done its great work in conveying such truth to man, were even taken from us, and its words forgotten in the next generation. It has been the channel of the Divine Gift to us, but is not the Gift itself.

Bishop THIRLWALL adds, *p.*123:—'*A great part of the events related in the Old Testament has no more apparent connection with our religion than those of Greek and Roman history.* . . . The history, so far as it is a narrative of civil and political transactions, has no essential connection with any religious truth; and if it had been lost, though we should have been left in ignorance of much that we desired to know, our treasure of Christian doctrine would have remained whole and unimpaired. *The numbers, migrations, wars, battles, conquests, and reverses, of Israel, have nothing in common with the teaching of Christ, with the way of salvation, with the fruits of the Spirit.* They belong to a totally different order of subjects. They are not to be confounded with the spiritual revelation contained in the Old Testament, much less with that fulness of grace and truth, which came by Jesus Christ. Whatever knowledge we may obtain of them, is, in a religious point of view, a matter of absolute indifference to us; and, if they were placed on a level with the saving truths of the Gospel, they would gain nothing in intrinsic dignity, but would only degrade that with which they are thus associated. Such an association may indeed exist in the minds of pious and even learned men: but it is only by means of an artificial chain of reasoning, which does not carry conviction to all beside. *Such questions must be left to every one's private judgment and feeling, which have the fullest right to decide for each, but not to impose their decisions, as the dictate of an infallible authority, on the consciences of others. Any attempt to erect such facts into articles of faith, would be fraught with danger of irreparable evil to the Church, as well as with immediate hurt to numberless souls.*'

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TRUTH, THROUGHOUT HER WHOLE DOMAIN, ILLIMITABLE AS IS ITS EXTENT, IS ONE IN PRINCIPLE AND HARMONIOUS IN DETAILS. IT IS NO OTHER THAN THE HAVING OUR CONCEPTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REALITY OF THINGS. AND TRUTH IN EXPRESSION (=VERACITY) IS THE ADAPTING OF OUR LANGUAGE, WRITTEN OR SPOKEN, TO THE HONEST UTTERANCE OF OUR CONCEPTIONS. . . . AN ASSERTION CANNOT BE TRUE IN THEOLOGY, AND FALSE IN GEOLOGY, OR ANY DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE; NOR INVERSELY. IT REALLY IS AN INSULT TO MEN'S UNDERSTANDINGS, TO ADMIT INDIRECTLY, THAT THERE ARE AFFIRMATIONS OR DOCTRINES IN THE RECORDS OF REVEALED RELIGION, WHICH ARE DISPROVED BY THE CLEAREST EVIDENCE OF SCIENCE, AND THEN TO PROSCRIBE INVESTIGATION, WITH A SOLEMN PRETENCE OF MYSTERIES NOT TO BE INQUIRED INTO, AN HYPOCRITICAL TONE OF REVERENCE FOR SACRED THINGS. THE VEIL IS TRANSPARENT: NO MAN CAN BE DECEIVED BY IT: BUT IT IS LAMENTABLE THAT ANY SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DECEIVE BY IT. . . . . TRUE THEOLOGY, ON THE CONTRARY, ATTRACTS TO ITSELF, ILLUSTRATES, AND HARMONISES, ALL OTHER KNOWLEDGE. IT IS THE SCIENCE WHICH RELATES TO THE AUTHOR AND PRESERVER OF THE WHOLE DEPENDENT UNIVERSE,—WHATEVER MAY BE KNOWN CONCERNING HIM, FOR THE NOBLEST PURPOSES OF INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT, OF PERSONAL VIRTUE, AND OF DIFFUSIVE HAPPINESS. . . . IT IS THE FRIEND OF ALL SCIENCE: IT APPROPRIATES ALL TRUTH: IT HOLDS FELLOWSHIP WITH NO ERROR. — DR. PYE SMITH, *Geology and Science, p.452.*

PART IV.

THE FIRST ELEVEN CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

1. We have considered at length in Part III the phenomena, which are disclosed upon a closer examination of the Book of Deuteronomy; and we have seen that they appear to fix the date of the composition of that book,—with the exception of a few older passages imbedded in it,—about the age of the reign of Josiah. Whether or not the Prophet Jeremiah, who lived in that age, was himself the writer of it,—as some indications would seem to imply,—is a very secondary question. In due time we shall produce the remainder of the evidence, which, in our judgment, is of weight for or against this supposition. For the present it is sufficient to know that the main portion of this book has been composed by some great writer of that age, towards the end of the Jewish monarchy, and more than eight centuries after the time usually assigned to the Exodus.

2. It has been objected, however, by some of my Reviewers, that the supposition of the later origin of Deuteronomy is at once contradicted by the fact, that the *Samaritans*, while rejecting all the other Canonical books of the Jews, yet received the Pentateuch *complete*, though, it is true, with very many and important variations from the Hebrew copies. This fact, it is said, supplies a proof that the Pentateuch *in its entirety*,—including, therefore, the Book of Deuteronomy,—must have existed *before* the separation of the two kingdoms, and must have been

already recognised as an ancient system of Laws, having paramount Divine authority, in the undivided kingdom, in the times of David and Solomon. Otherwise, (it is argued,) it cannot be supposed that the Ten Tribes, when they separated under Jeroboam from Judah, would have felt bound to adopt it as their Law-Book, — much less that, in still later days, after the Captivity, when such violent hostility is known to have prevailed between the Jews and the Samaritans, these latter would have actually been willing to increase their existing Law-Book, (supposed to be the Tetrateuch,) by the addition of the Book of Deuteronomy, which had only recently been discovered, and received as authoritative, in the last days of the kingdom of Judah.

3. The argument, thus stated, may seem at first sight very plausible. But it will not bear a close examination; and, though in former days it was urged as of great force, — among others by Dean GRAVES, i.14—it has now been abandoned by the most strenuous defenders of the traditionary view, distinguished also by their learning, such as HÄVERNICK and HENGSTENBERG. It may be well, however, to satisfy the English reader fully on this point, before we go further; and a careful consideration of the actual circumstances, under which the Samaritan Pentateuch was composed, will show that the above view is wholly untenable.

4. It is well known that the Samaritans were the inhabitants of the central district of Palestine, after the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes by the Assyrians, when the great body of the Israelites was carried into Captivity, and the Assyrian king supplied their place by introducing a body of colonists from distant parts of his empire, as we read in 2K.xvii.24 :—

'And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.'

These foreign settlers formed with the remaining Israelites a mixed population, from whom descended the later Samaritans. The story in the Book of Kings goes on to say of them, *v.*25,—

'And so it was that, at the beginning of their dwelling there, they feared not Jehovah; therefore Jehovah sent lions among them, which slew some of them.'

Upon this, we are told, they laid the matter before the king of Assyria, who sent 'one of the Priests, whom they had carried away from Samaria,' to set up among them the worship of Jehovah, *v.*28,—

'and he came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear Jehovah.'

5. Not a word is said about his teaching them to keep the 'Law of Jehovah.' And the context plainly shows that he did *not* teach them to observe the commands of the Pentateuch, and that the worship of Jehovah, which he introduced among them, and which is expressed by saying that he taught them to '*fear* Jehovah,' was after the corrupt fashion of the kingdom of Israel, and near akin to idolatry itself, with which it was, in fact, combined, *v.*32–41 :—

'So they feared Jehovah, and made unto themselves indiscriminately (E. V. 'of the lowest of them') priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. They feared Jehovah, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations, *whom they carried away from thence*, [or, E.V. marg., '*who carried them away from thence*']. Unto this day they do after the former manners; they fear not Jehovah, neither do they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or after the law and commandment, which Jehovah commanded the children of Jacob whom He named Israel,—with whom Jehovah had made a covenant, and charged them, saying, Ye shall not fear other gods, nor bow yourselves to them, nor serve them, nor sacrifice to them. . . Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner. So these nations *feared* Jehovah, and served their graven images, both their children and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day.'

6. We must remember that the above was written by some historian of the kingdom of *Judah*, probably, long after the Jewish Captivity,—at all events, not earlier than the time when the 'children's children' of those, who were thus taught to 'fear Jehovah,' practised the same idolatrous Jehovah-worship as their fathers had done before them. And the language of the above

passage,—especially the clause italicised, whichever version we take,—seems to imply that the writer is speaking of idolatrous *Israelites*, quite as much as of the heathen colonists: in other words, it implies that the number left behind of the Ten Tribes, and not carried off into Captivity, was, probably, far larger than is generally imagined,—a fact of some importance to the right understanding of some points in the later history, as we have had already occasion to observe (821).

7. It would seem, then, that, when mention is made of a general Captivity of Israel, we must suppose a reference, principally, to the chief people of the towns and villages, including, no doubt—and as, indeed, the story expressly implies—the Priests. The lower part of the population,—especially those living in the country,—appear to have been left behind in considerable numbers; and, in fact, as noticed in (821), the *Chronicler* tells us, 2Ch.xxx.1,5,10,11,xxxi.1, that—

'Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem, to keep the Passover unto Jehovah, the God of Israel. . . So they established a decree, to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba even to Dan. . . So the posts passed from city to city, through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulon; but they laughed them to scorn and mocked them. Nevertheless, divers of Asher, and Manasseh, and of Zebulon, humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem. . . And, when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in *Ephraim* also and *Manasseh* until they had utterly destroyed them all.

8. This record, however, is by the hand of the Chronicler, and, as we have seen already in the case of so many of his data, it cannot be relied on,—more especially, as the book of Kings says nothing whatever about this Passover in the days of Hezekiah, and, in fact, in more than one point, is strongly at variance with the Chronicler's statements. Thus the above passage asserts that in Hezekiah's days the 'high places and altars' were 'thrown down' in Ephraim and Manasseh; and among

these, we must presume, Jeroboam's great altar and high place at Bethel, in particular,—the very fountain head of the idolatries of Israel,—must certainly have been destroyed. But we read of Hezekiah's great-grandson, Josiah, in 2K.xxiii,15;19,20—

'Moreover, the *altar that was at Bethel*, and the *high place, which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made*, both that altar and the high place he brake down, and burned the high place, and stamped it small to powder, and burned the (grove) Asherah . . . And all *the houses also of the high places, that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made*, to provoke (Jehovah) to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel. And he slew all the priests of the high places, that were there, upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them, and returned to Jerusalem:'

9. In short, it is plain, from the whole description in the Book of Kings, that the effort made in the reign of Hezekiah, towards the centralisation and purification of the worship of Jehovah, was carried through, for a time, with greater energy and success by *Josiah*, who purged Judah and Israel of idolatry, after the discovery of the 'Book of the Law' in the Temple. And then was kept the great Passover, about which we read,—

'Surely there was not holden such a Passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah, but in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, wherein this Passover was holden to Jehovah in Jerusalem.' 2K.xxiii.22,23.

From the more authentic statements of this history we gather also that the authority of *Josiah* extended over the mixed population of Samaria, composed of Israelites and heathens, as well as over Judah.

10. Up to this time, we hear nothing of the 'Law of Jehovah' being practised, or even known, in Samaria; nor is there any indication, as yet, of any virulent feeling of mutual animosity, existing between the Jews and Samaritans. At length the Jews themselves were carried into Captivity, and, after a further lapse of time, they received the permission to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the Temple, B.C. 536,—about *two centuries* after the Captivity of Israel, B.C. 721. The Samaritans, we are

told, Ezr.iv, wished to take part in this work, (which they would hardly have done, if *pure heathens*), but were stoutly refused by the Jews; and therefore they did their best to hinder the building of the Temple, and for a long time succeeded.

11. On this account, great hostility must have been roused among the Jews, generally, against the Samaritans,—yet not, it seems, among *all* the Jews, since we find that, in Nehemiah's time, many of them, even Priests, had married strange women, Neh.xiii.23, and a grandson of Eliashib, the High Priest, *v.*28, 'was son-in-law to *Sanballat the Horonite*,' one of the great adversaries of the Jews, of whom we read, Neh.iv.1,2 —

'When Sanballat heard that we had builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. And he spake before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said, What do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned? And *Tobiah the Ammonite* was with him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.'

And, with respect to this Tobiah, Nehemiah writes, vi.17–19:

'Moreover in those days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto Tobiah, and the letters of Tobiah came unto them. For there were many in Judah sworn unto him, because he was the son-in-law of Shechaniah the son of Arah, and his son Johanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah. Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my matters to him. And Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.'

12. At a later period still, the Samaritans built a Temple for themselves on Mount Gerizim.

The occasion of their doing this is thus related by JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*xi.7,8. Under Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, Sanballat, the Samaritan Satrap, gave his daughter in marriage to the Jewish Priest, Manasseh, *brother* of the High Priest Jaddua, hoping in this way to connect himself with the Jewish people. Jaddua, however, and the Jewish people, disliked this marriage, and insisted that Manasseh should either vacate the Priestly office, or put away his Samaritan wife. Upon this, his father-in-law promised him, that, if he would keep his wife, he would make him High Priest at the Temple, which he would build

forthwith on Mount Gerizim, like that at Jerusalem. Manasseh agreed to this; and with him also many other Jews, and many Priests and Levites, who lived in the same kind of marriage with strange wives, fell off in a body, and joined Manasseh, and went with him to Samaria. Subsequently, after the defeat of Darius by Alexander, Sanballat went over to the conqueror, and, having obtained his permission, 'he used the utmost diligence, and built the Temple, and made Manasseh the Priest'; and the town of Sichem, at the foot of the mountain, became then, and afterwards, a place of refuge for all Jews, who, expelled by their own people for transgression of the Law, went over to the Samaritans.

13. Such is the account which JOSEPHUS gives of this matter. It seems as if, notwithstanding the chronological discrepancy,* the event described must be the same as that to which reference is made in the passage quoted above from Neh.xiii.28, where Nehemiah tells us that he expelled one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the High Priest, son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite. But then, this man, according to Neh.xii.11, must have been the *uncle*, not the brother, of Jaddua. It is possible that JOSEPHUS may have made a mistake, and set the age of Sanballat too low. On this supposition, it may be presumed, (as, indeed, the language of Neh.xiii.28, 'I chased him from me,' seems to imply,) that Manasseh did go to his father-in-law, as JOSEPHUS states, accompanied by some of the Jews mentioned in Neh.xiii.23, as having married foreign wives, and was at once made High Priest in Samaria.

14. But, taking the earliest date, it is evident that it must have been long after the return of the Jews themselves from Captivity, when, by the arrival of Priests of some authority from Jerusalem, the worship of Jehovah was once more set

* Nehemiah's administration is apparently placed in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C.465—425, while the reign of Darius Codomannus began B.C.336.

forward, more vigorously than ever, among the semi-heathen community of Samaria, who were then living, we must suppose, in almost entire ignorance and neglect of the Law, the observance of which was now enforced with so much rigour at Jerusalem. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if, under the circumstances of the case, and with the special sanction of Sanballat himself, these Priests were able to introduce among them without any difficulty the Pentateuch, which had now been, since Josiah's time,—for, at least, *two centuries*,—known and recognised among the Jews as the 'Law of Moses.' And among the Samaritans this part of the Bible, and this alone, is held in authority down to the present day.

15. Dean STANLEY writes, *Sinai and Palestine*, *p.*240:—

> Probably, in no other locality has the same worship been sustained, with so little change or interruption, for so great a series of years, as on this mountain (Gerizim), from the time of Abraham to the present day. In their humble synagogue at the foot of the mountain, the Samaritans still worship,—the oldest, and the smallest, sect in the world, distinguished by their noble physiognomy and stately appearance from all other branches of the race of Israel. In their prostrations at the elevation of their revered copy of the Pentateuch, they throw themselves on their faces, not in the direction of Priest or Law, or any object within the building, but obliquely towards the Eastern summit of Mount Gerizim. And up the side of the mountain, and on its long ridge, is to be traced the pathway, by which they ascend to the sacred spots, where they alone, of all the Jewish race, yearly celebrate the Paschal sacrifice.

16. In this age, then—at the earliest, 120 years after the return of the Jews from Babylon, perhaps, 220 years after that event—it is possible that the Samaritans were first made acquainted more intimately with the Pentateuch. There is no proof even of this; but the fact in itself seems not improbable. *Before* this time, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that they had any copy of the Law among them. Doubtless, there prevailed among the Ten Tribes at first, when they separated from Judah, something like the same amount of acquaintance with those portions of the Pentateuch, which were then actually in existence, as prevailed among the people of the kingdom of

Judah. But this, from all the indications which the historical and prophetical writings afford, must have been, at the best, very slight and superficial.

17. According to our view, indeed, the greater portion of the Tetrateuch *had* been written before the end of Solomon's reign, immediately after which the division of the two kingdoms took place. But this document, as we believe—and as all the history seems to imply—was not generally known to the people. It was, probably, kept by the Priests, and laid up in the private archives of the Temple, and there may have been consulted occasionally by distinguished persons, Royal, Priestly, or Prophetical. But there is no sign whatever that it was recognised in those days as authoritative and Divine,—none that it was *published*, or that copies of it were multiplied, for the general edification of the people. Thus only can we account for the utter neglect, by the very best kings of Judah, of so many of the plainest commands of the Mosaic Law; thus only can we understand how, both in Judah and Israel, all along, from the days of Samuel downwards, till the reign of Hezekiah, the high places were allowed to stand, and the Passover was neglected.

18. A century, however, after the Captivity of Israel, B.C.721, the Samaritan mixed people heard, no doubt, of that grand event, the discovery of the 'Book of the Law' in the days of Josiah, B.C.624; and they appear to have felt the power of his hand in the 'Great Reformation' which ensued, when he threw down their altars and high places, and slew their Priests. But even in Judah itself, as we have seen (574.xi), the effects of the Reformation seem to have been but short-lived: it is doubtful if they endured to the end of Josiah's own reign; and it is certain that, in the days of his successors, the old idolatries were practised again as of old. It can scarcely be believed that in this age the Samaritans received the Pentateuch; but, if they did, they would receive with it, of course, the Book of Deuteronomy also. Two centuries more, at least, passed away

before Manasseh and his fellow-Priests came down to set up a more regular worship of Jehovah in Samaria.

19. Now, that the Samaritan Text* was not made before this event, and was probably composed at a still later time than this, is indicated by these two facts:

(i) The Samaritan Text contains *only* the Pentateuch, and not the Book of Joshua, which undoubtedly, (from the internal evidence of its contents), formed part originally of the same document as the Pentateuch itself,—a great portion of it, as we shall see hereafter, being the work of the Deuteronomist. Hence, when the Samaritan Text was made, the Book of Joshua must have been already separated from the Five Books of the Law. In this way, perhaps, may be explained the fact of their not receiving the book of Joshua; as they would not surely have abandoned this book, if they had once been accustomed to regard it as authoritative and Divine. They, probably, wished only to obtain the 'Law of Moses,' and this they found comprised fully in the Pentateuch.† Now it is supposed that this separation of the book of Joshua from the other five books was first made in the time of Ezra (228),—so that the Text must have been made after this time, at all events.

(ii) The Samaritan Text, in its variations from the Hebrew, frequently resembles the *Septuagint* Version, from which it may be inferred that the Samaritans obtained the copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch, from which *their* Text was made, from the *Alexandrian* Jews of Egypt, from whom, indeed, they would be likely to obtain it more readily than from those of Jerusalem.

20. HÄVERNICK writes, *Pent. p.*435:—

Already, under Alexander, Samaritans had been transplanted into Egypt,

* The Sam. *Version* was made from the Sam. *Text* at a later date.

† There may have been other reasons, why the Samaritans stopped short with the death of Moses, rejecting the book of Joshua,—such as dislike of the *unity* of Israel, which that book presents, and especially of the strong censure passed in Jo.xxii upon any, who should 'build an altar, beside the altar of Jehovah,' before which all Israel was to worship. They had *a* book of Joshua, but not the Canonical Book.

JOSEPH. *Ant.*xi.8.6. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, [after Alexander's death,] transplanted a multitude of them to lower Egypt and Alexandria, *Ant.*xii.1.1. [This Ptolemy reigned forty years, and was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, in whose reign the *Sept. Vers.* was made, *Ant.*xii.2.1.] Hence Samaritans came in close contact with Alexandrian Jews, and a dispute arose between them about building a Temple at Leontopolis, in which both parties appealed to the Law.

There must have been persons *then* among the Samaritans, who occupied themselves by profession with the Pentateuch and the study of it. The peculiar character, however, of Alexandrian Judaism must have impressed itself upon them all the more, as they themselves came to it devoid of a firm point of support and a fixed religious character. Thus they took up many dogmas and principles, such as the avoidance of anthropomorphisms, the pure spirituality of the angels, the doctrine of the Resurrection, the special prominence given to Moses and the Pentateuch above all the other persons and writings of the O.T. These things were communicated to their Pentateuch, and they certainly introduced into it alterations of that sort with so much the more freedom, as in this too they had only to follow the example of the Alexandrian Jews. In this way arose that recension of the Pentateuch, which even still possesses force and validity among the Samaritans, as the document of their religion,—the striking agreement of which with the Alexandrian recension can be satisfactorily explained only by this external and internal contact of the two parties. This revision, however, as the nature of the case, and also the condition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, indicate, is to be conceived as only a *gradual* one, undertaken with reference to different circumstances and objects; and this circumstance also (?) leads to the adoption of our previous conclusion, that the Samaritans must have brought the Pentateuch with them into Egypt.

21. Whatever may be the force of HÄVERNICK's argument, to show that 'the Samaritans must have brought the Pentateuch with them into Egypt,'—a point which we neither assert nor deny,—yet this, at all events, is plain, or, at least, is highly probable, that the present Samaritan Pentateuch, which agrees so closely with the Septuagint Version, was not composed before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C.285–237, nearly three centuries after the days of Ezra. So that not only is the fact, that the Samaritans recognise the Pentateuch, no proof whatever that it was completed at an earlier time than that which we have assigned to it in the days of Josiah, but the character of their Pentateuch rather seems to imply that they did not even possess a copy of the Pentateuch *before* they received it from the Jews of Alexandria.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE PENTATEUCH.

22. We shall now proceed to redeem to some extent the promise made in (487), so far, we trust, as to satisfy the reader, by actual presentation before his own eyes of the fact itself, that the Book of Genesis is, as we have said, a composite narrative, the product of different authors, to each of whom may be assigned his own particular part of the work. As HUPFELD justly observes, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, *p.*2:—

> When in this manner we are enabled to put together the parts which belong to each source into a well-proportioned organic whole, a living body, so that each manifestly appears in its own peculiar and distinct form, then have we the best possible proof of the right of making such a distinction,—then, without any polemics, we have here the most simple and most effective practical refutation of a host of 'Replies,' and of all the ingenuity expended upon them.

23. We have seen already (217) what effect the being brought face to face with the actual facts of the case, by a close and careful study of the Pentateuch in the original tongue, has wrought upon the mind of a candid, straightforward, critic such as KURTZ, devoted, heart and soul, to the maintenance, as far as possible, of the traditionary view. He had pledged himself to 'maintain and defend' that view — of 'the whole Pentateuch, as at present existing, being from the hand of Moses,'— while admitting that 'the argument was not wholly free from difficulties'; and he makes the asseveration—

> in spite of these difficulties, which at the time we knew we had not *perfectly* removed, we thought with a good conscience to maintain and defend the unity of Genesis.

Yet, when he had reached the end of his work, he felt compelled, by a conscientious regard for truth, to state that he could no longer do this:—

We cannot conceal the fact, that our examination of the middle books of the Pentateuch has brought us more and more to the conclusion, that several authors have taken part in the composition of the Pentateuch.

Again, it is well known that EWALD, in one of his earliest critical works, *Die Komp. der Genesis*, 1823, defended strenuously the absolute unity of Genesis. A closer study of the subject has compelled him, however, as has been the case with so many other earnest, sincere, and devout enquirers, to change entirely his views in this respect.

24. In like manner DELITZCH, one of the latest (3rd Ed., 1860), and (as we shall see) most resolute, defenders of the traditionary view, has yet been forced to depart thus far from the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, *Gen.p.*37 :—

From the results of my investigations, I have formed to myself the following idea of the mode of formation of the Pentateuch. The *kernel*, or *basis*, of it was written by Moses himself, in the Covenant-roll, which is now worked into the history of the Law-giving in E.xix–xxiv. The other laws of the Sinaitic desert, till they reached the plains of Moab, were delivered by Moses orally, but they were committed to writing by the Priests, within whose province this lay. Since Deuteronomy does not at all imply the existence of the whole older legislation in writing, but rather recapitulates it with great freedom, we need not assume that the actual codification took place already during the march through the wilderness. It was completed, however, soon after taking possession of Canaan. Upon the soil of the Holy Land the history of Israel began first to be written, having now reached a resting-point: the historical description of the Mosaic time necessitated of itself the writing down of the Mosaic legislation in its whole extent. A man, such as Eleazar the son of Aaron the Priest, wrote the great work beginning with 'In the beginning He created,' in which he included the 'covenant-roll,' and perhaps, inserted only short notices about the last discourses of Moses, since Moses had written them down with his own hand. A second, such as Joshua, one who was a Prophet and spake as a Prophet, or one of those 'elders' upon whom the spirit of Moses rested, and many of whom out-lived Joshua, completed this work, — not, of course, from the impulse of his own will, nor merely out of an inward call, but under some kind of authorisation, and incorporated in it the whole of Deuteronomy, upon which he had formed his own mind. Somewhat in this way

arose the Law, not without the employment of other written documents by both writers.

25. And even Dr. PYE SMITH,—though he seems only to be aware of peculiar phenomena existing in the first chapters of Genesis, and has evidently not studied the subject critically,—goes so far as to admit as follows, *Geology and Scripture, p.*184: —

It is not irrelevant here to remark that the earlier part of the Book of Genesis consists of several distinct compositions, marked by their differences of style, and by express formularies of commencement. From the evidence of language and of matter, we have no slight reasons for supposing that Moses compiled the chief parts of the Book of Genesis, by arranging and connecting ancient memorials, under the Divine direction, and probably during the middle part of his life, which he spent in the retirements of Arabia. Thus, though it is impossible to affirm with confidence such a position, yet it appears far from improbable that we have, in this most ancient writing in the world, the family archives of Amram and his ancestors, comprising the history of Joseph, probably written in great part by himself,—documents from the hands of Jacob, Abraham, Shem, Noah (!),—and, possibly, ascending higher still, authentic memorials from Enoch, Seth, and Adam.

26. Certainly, our own view of the origin and composition of the Pentateuch differs materially in detail from the above, as well as from that of the Rev. W. H. HOARE, who admits the existence of two distinct writers in the Pentateuch, but supposes Aaron to have been the Elohist, and Moses the Jehovist. We have given at full length, as we have proceeded, the evidence which appears to commend our own theory, so far as the progress of this work has at present allowed: and much more remains yet to be adduced in support of it.* But the example of such men

* TUCH, *Gen.p.*xciii, after recapitulating the 'signs of time,' which he finds in the Elohistic document, states his conclusion to be, that 'it is, consequently, the first fruit of the progress, out of the condition of religious and political indifference, to a settled state of order and regulated social life, which the people made chiefly through the activity of SAMUEL. . . . Who the writer may have been cannot [? with *certainty*] be conjectured. *We might imagine* SAMUEL, *and consider the primary document to be the last service which he, withdrawn from public occupations, in the evening of his life, rendered to his people rescued by its activity.*' It will be seen that TUCH's suggestion corresponds exactly with our own view, expressed in (285): 'It is very conceivable that, when he (SAMUEL) gave up to SAUL the reins of government, more especially during the last twenty years, when he lived retired from public life, he may have devoted himself to such labours as

as KURTZ and DELITZCH, struggling manifestly with their own previous convictions, yet honestly confessing the conclusions to which a devout and faithful study of the Pentateuch has led them, contrasts strongly with the conduct of some in England, who, without having even studied the question, — without having even read through the original text, or given attention to the criticisms founded upon it, — not only condemn such labours as these *in toto*, but denounce all critical results whatever, which differ from the traditionary views on this subject.

27. We shall at present confine the reader's attention to the first eleven chapters of Genesis. In these chapters, the parts belonging to the different authors can be very easily distinguished, and can, in most instances, be assigned with confidence to their respective writers. After the eleventh chapter, the question becomes somewhat more complicated, by the appearance of interpolations by other hands. Still, throughout the whole book of Genesis, the primitive narrative can be traced without much difficulty, and, as we hope to show in the sequel, can be almost reproduced in its original form.

28. A few words must here be said as to the method which will be pursued in the following analysis. We have already stated (210–6) that, throughout the book of Genesis, two different hands at least are distinctly visible, one of which is characterised by the *constant* use of the name Elohim, the other by the intermixture with it of the name Jehovah, — on which account the writers are usually called the 'Elohist' and 'Jehovist,' respectively. And we have mentioned also in (213) certain peculiarities of expression, which mark the style of the Elohistic writer. We must not, however, assume, for the purposes of the present analysis, that all this will be granted beforehand. Rather,

these, for the instruction and advancement of his people.' As these words were written without any knowledge of TUCH's criticisms, it is possible that the agreement may be something more than accidental.

we must lay aside all previous notions, as to the characteristics which distinguish the different writers, and endeavour to track the footsteps of each, from one passage to another, by means only of the internal evidence, which a close consideration of the text itself may furnish. In this department of Biblical literature, as in many other branches of Science, it is only this minute, laborious, *microscopic* examination,—however neglected and, perhaps, despised by many, who are impatient of such slow processes, and delight to expatiate in 'larger and grander views' of the whole subject,—which can really be of service, in enabling us to lay a sound basis of fact, upon which to construct a reasonable and trustworthy theory, as to the age and authorship of the different parts of the Mosaic story.

29. While, therefore, we shall retain in the following analysis the words 'Elohist' and 'Jehovist,' as convenient designations for the two principal writers, whose hands can be plainly discerned in these chapters, yet the reader will find that nothing has been taken for granted beforehand; but each passage, as it passes under review, is traced to its writer by means of distinct, internal, evidence, which shows that it belongs to that particular writer, and not to the other. It will be found that the sections, marked as 'Elohistic,' are all linked together, each being connected, by its modes of thought or forms of expression, with other Elohistic passages, and having no such relation to the Jehovistic sections,—while these latter not only exhibit among themselves a corresponding *family* resemblance, very distinct from that which marks the style of the Elohist, but also contain expressions, which appear to indicate that they were composed at a time, when the Elohistic narrative was already existing, and known to the Jehovistic writer.

CHAPTER III.

ANALYSIS OF GEN.I.1–IV.26.

30. i.1–ii.3 (E.35*) is manifestly *Elohistic*, and the work of one hand throughout.

It is thought by some,—among others, by DELITZCH,—that ii.4[a]—

'These are the generations of the Heaven and the Earth in their creation'—

is also Elohistic, for the following reasons :—

(i) It contains הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ, *hashamaim vĕhaarets*, 'the Heaven and the Earth,' *as in* i.1,ii.1, the words being used *with* the articles; whereas in ii.4[b] we find the words *without* the articles (*as in* xiv.19,22), and in different order, אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם, *erets vĕshamaim*, 'Earth and Heaven.'

(ii) The expression בְּהִבָּרְאָם, *bĕhibbarĕam*, 'in their creation,' corresponds to the Elohistic language in v.2, בְּיוֹם הִבָּרְאָם, *bĕyom hibbarĕam*, 'in the day of their creation.'

(iii) It suits best the first account of the Creation in chap.i; in which alone the

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* E., J., J.E., are used, as before, to denote the words 'Elohim,' 'Jehovah,' 'Jehovah-Elohim'; and (E.35) implies that 'Elohim' occurs 35 times in the section, i.1–ii.3, and 'Jehovah' not at all. The expressions *v.*4[a], *v.*4[b], &c., are used to denote, respectively, the *first*, *second*, &c., clauses of *v.*4.

In these notes, the phrase *as in* will be used when it is desired to draw attention to the fact, that a passage or expression, under consideration, is *identically the same* as the expression used in another place by the *same* writer; *comp.* (compare) implies that there is a *close resemblance* between two passages; while *contr.* (contrast) will be employed to mark a *variation* or *disagreement*, between the language or mode of thought of one writer and that of another.

The reader is recommended to *mark* each one of the Jehovistic passages, when he is satisfied about it, in an English Bible, by a line drawn down the margin. This will be found very convenient for reference.

It will be remembered that in the Eng. Vers. 'Elohim' is represented by GOD, 'Jehovah' by LORD, and 'Adonai' by Lord.

actual creation of 'the Heaven,' i.8, and 'the Earth,' i.10, is described; whereas chap.ii mentions only the formation of *man*, ii.7, *plants*, ii.9, *animals*, ii.19, and *woman*, ii.22.

31. In that case, also, since in all other passages of the Bible, where the phrase, 'these are the generations,' occurs, *viz.* G.v.1, vi.9, x.1, xi.10,27, xxv.12,19, xxxvi.1,9, xxxvii.2, N.iii.1, R.iv.18, 1Ch.i.29, it is found at the *beginning* of the genealogy or history to which it refers, it has been suggested, *e.g.* by SCHRADER, *Studien*, *p.*40, that the Jehovist *may* have removed it from the place where it originally stood, at the beginning of chap.i, and employed it to form the introduction to his own narrative.

But in x.20,31,32, we have instances of somewhat similar formulæ, — 'these are the sons of Ham,' 'these are the sons of Shem,' 'these are the families of the sons of Noah after their generations,' — inserted *at the end* of the corresponding parts of the narrative. And DELITZCH says justly, *p.*133 : —

Here, if anywhere, was there occasion given for the Elohist to change into a *sub*scription what would otherwise have been a *super*scription, (as in many similar instances in Leviticus and Numbers, *e.g.* at the close of each of these books,) in order that the work might commence with 'In the beginning.'

32. On the other hand, the Jehovist, if he had before him i.1, as it now stands, may, perhaps, have adopted some of its expressions, 'the Heaven and the Earth,' and the verb בָּרָא, *bara*, 'create,' in forming the commencement of his own narrative. He afterwards, as we shall see, himself uses בָּרָא in vi.7, and, perhaps, the phrase, 'these are the generations,' in x.1. And, as in *v.*4^{b}, 'in the day of Jehovah-Elohim's making &c.,' he appears to have imitated the E. language in v.1, 'in the day of Elohim's creating &c.,' so he may also have derived the expression 'in their creation' from that in v.2, 'in the day of their creation'; and v.1,2, as we shall see (42), followed *next* after ii.3 in the E. story.

33. If *v.*4^{a} belongs to the Elohist, it would strongly confirm the view of TUCH and others, as to the way in which the Jehovistic insertions have originated; since then the long

Jehovistic section following would begin with a broken sentence,—'in the day of Jehovah-Elohim's making Earth and Heaven,'—and the *supplementary* character of the Jehovist's work would be plainly indicated: unless, with EWALD, we connect *v.*4^{b} with *v.*7, taking *v.*5,6, as a parenthesis,—'In the day of &c. . . . *then* Jehovah-Elohim formed man, &c.'—which seems, however, rather forced.

But, the evidence being so nearly balanced, we shall retain it as the first clause of the Jehovistic narrative, without deciding to whom it really belongs,—whether to the Elohist, or to the Jehovist, or, perhaps, to a later compiler. In any case, the involved construction in *v.*4, when compared with the verses which precede and follow it, is a sign that it does not proceed in an independent, original, form from the pen of either of the principal writers, but contains expressions of both fused together, to form the connecting link between two distinct narratives

34. ii.4–25 (J.E.11) is *Jehovistic*, the writer using throughout, not Elohim, as the writer of i.1–ii.3, but Jehovah-Elohim, and showing himself to be a *different* writer by the following variations, which exist between his account of the Creation and that of the former writer:—

(i) *v.*6, 'a mist rose from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground': *contr.*i.9,10, where the earth is described as emerging from the waters, and as being, therefore, already saturated with moisture;

(ii) *v.*7, man is created *first* of all living creatures, *before* the birds and beasts, *v.*19: *contr.*i.26, where he is created *last* of all, *after* the birds and beasts, i.21,25;

(iii) *v.*7, man is '*formed* of the dust of the ground': *contr.*i.27, where man is '*created* in the image of God,' and, apparently, by a direct act of creative power;

(iv) *v.*7, the *man* is made by himself, without the *woman*, who is made *last*, *v.*22, by a kind of afterthought, *v.*18: *contr.*i.27, where man and woman are created together, last of all created things;

(v) *v.*15, the man, after being made, is placed alone in the garden, 'to till it and to keep it,' receiving also alone by himself the Divine command; and he continues in the garden some time by himself, long enough to 'call names to all the cattle, and to the fowl of the heaven, and to every animal of the field,' *v.*20: *contr.*i.28, where

man and woman, on the sixth day, immediately after their creation, are blessed together, and are together endowed with dominion over the whole earth;

(vi) *v.*21.22, the woman is made out of one of the man's ribs: *contr.* i.27, where the woman is described, apparently, as created in the same kind of way as the man, by a direct act of creative power.

35. It is obvious that two accounts of the Creation, so different from each other in general character, and in some points varying so remarkably from each other, cannot have proceeded from one and the same hand. Accordingly, observing the peculiar use of the Divine Name in them, we are already justified in using the names 'Elohist' and 'Jehovist' to designate the two writers, whoever they may have been, in whatever age they may have lived, to whom these two sections, i.1–ii.3, ii.4–25, may be now with good reason assumed to be due. We shall find, as we proceed, that the remaining sections of these first eleven chapters separate themselves at once, when attention is paid to the internal evidence which they present, into two sets of passages, differing from each other in tone of thought and forms of expression, and, with one or two exceptions, distinctly referable to the same two writers, to whom must be assigned the composition of the above two primary sections.

36. We now add the following remarks upon the Jehovistic passage, ii.4–25.

(i) In *v.*20 we have for the first time the name אָדָם, 'Adam,' used *without* the article, as a Proper Name, by which is abruptly *anticipated* the statement, which follows in its proper place in the Elohistic narrative, v.2, — 'and He called their name Adam in the day of their creation.' Otherwise, we find used הָאָדָם *ha-Adam*, 'the man,' as in i.27, except in iii.17,21,iv.25. It is only, however, in iv.25 that the name first occurs without the article, as the *subject* of the verb. In the other three instances, ii.20, iii.17,21, it occurs in the form לְאָדָם, *lĕ-Adam*, 'to Adam,' which, perhaps, should be pointed לָאָדָם, *la-Adam*, 'to the man.'

(ii) The Jehovist *may* have adopted the name from the Elohist in i.26, (where it is found without the article, as *object* of the verb), or from v.2; and he wishes, apparently, to connect it with אֲדָמָה, *ădamah*, 'ground,' in ii.7,—'and Jehovah-Elohim formed the man (*ha-Adam*) of dust out of the ground (*ha-Adamah*).'

(iii) *v.*23, the Jehovist notes the derivation of the name אִשָּׁה, *ishah*, 'woman,' from אִישׁ, *ish*, 'man.'

37. iii.1–24, *Jehovistic.*

This section is manifestly due to the writer of the preceding section, whoever he may be, since it not only contains the same peculiar form of the Divine Name, but is full of references to it, as is shown below, while it betrays no such relation to the previous Elohistic section,—a fact, which confirms very strongly our previous conclusion as to the difference between the two authors.

(i) Jehovah-Elohim is employed throughout (*nine* times) as the name of the Divine Being, *as in* ii.4–25, except in *v.*1,3,*5*, where the writer abstains from placing the Sacred Name in the mouth of the serpent: *contr.* the use of Elohim, exclusively, in i.1–ii.3;

(ii) *v.*1,2,3,8,10, 'the garden,' *as in* ii.8,9,10,15,16;

(iii) *v.*1–3, 'is it so that Elohim has said, &c.': *comp.* the command in ii.16,17;

(iv) *v.*1,14, 'animal of the *field*,' *as in* ii.19,20: *contr.* 'animal of the *earth*,' i.25,30;

(v) *v.*1,14,18, שָׂדֶה, *sadeh*, 'field,' *as in* ii.5,5,19,20;

(vi) *v.* 3, 'the tree which is *in the midst of the garden*': *comp.*ii.9;

(vii) *v.5*, 'in the day of your eating of it': *comp.*ii.17, 'in the day of thy eating of it';

(viii) *v.5*, 'knowing good and evil,' *v.*22, 'for the knowledge of good and evil': *comp.*ii.9,17, 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil';

(ix) *v.*6,12,15,16,20, הוּא, 'he, she, it,' used for the substantive verb, *as in* ii.11, 13,14,19;

(x) *v.*7, 'they knew that they were naked,' *v.*10, 'I was afraid, because I was naked,' *v.*21, 'and clothed them': *comp.*ii.25, 'they were both naked';

(xi) *v.*17,19,23, הָאֲדָמָה, *ha-ădamah*, 'the ground,' *as in* ii.5,6,7,9,19: *contr.* the use of this word *once* only in the previous Elohistic section, i.25, with reference only to things '*creeping upon* the ground';

(xii) *v.*18, 'herb of the field,' *as in* ii.5;

(xiii) *v.*20, the name חַוָּה, *khavvah*, 'Eve,' derived from חָוָה, *khavah*, 'live': *comp.* the derivation of the names 'Ădam,' ii.7, 'Ishah,' ii.23;

(xiv) *v.*22, 'and Jehovah-Elohim said': *comp.* the secret speech which is ascribed to Jehovah-Elohim in ii.18; but the somewhat similar E. passage, i.26, is essentially different in character, being merely an expansion of the creative words, 'And Elohim said,' in *v.*3,6, &c.; and, obviously, the statement in i.26, 'and Elohim said, Let us make man . . . so Elohim created man,' does not at all resemble the almost perplexed deliberation of the Divine Being with Himself, introduced in iii.22;

(xv) *v.*22,24, 'tree of life,' *as in* ii.9;

(xvi) *v.*23, 'till the ground,' *as in* ii.5;

(xvii) *v.*23, 'the ground from which he was taken': *comp.* the account of Adam's formation in ii.7;

(xviii) *v.*23.24, 'garden of Eden,' *as in* ii.15; *comp.* also 'Eden,' ii.8,10.

N.B. In *v.*15,15, the verb שׁוּף, *shuph*, 'bruise,' is very probably used, after

the manner of the Jehovist, with a play on the word שְׁפִיפֹן, *shĕphiphon*, 'adder' or 'horned snake,' xlix.17.

38. We may now assume that the writer of ii.4–iii.24 is one and the same person, and different from the Elohistic author of i.1–ii.3. We may further observe that this Jehovistic writer is in the habit of using strong *anthropomorphisms*, ascribing to the Deity ordinary human actions.

Thus we have Jehovah-Elohim spoken of as —

(i) forming the man of dust out of the ground, ii.7;
(ii) breathing into his nostrils, ii.7;
(iii) planting a garden, ii.8;
(iv) taking the man, and leaving him in the garden, ii.15;
(v) bringing the birds and beasts to Adam, ii.19;
(vi) desiring to see what he would call them, ii.19;
(vii) taking out one of the man's ribs, ii.21;
(viii) closing up the flesh in its place, ii.21;
(ix) making the rib into a woman, ii.22;
(x) bringing the woman unto the man, ii.22;
(xi) walking in the breeze of the day, iii.8;
(xii) making coats of skins, iii.21;
(xiii) clothing the man and woman, iii.21;
(xiv) driving them out of the garden, iii.24;
(xv) taking precautions to prevent their return, iii.24;
(xvi) reasoning within himself in human fashion, ii.18, iii.22.

39. As above observed (30.iii), the Jehovist does not dwell at length upon the creation of the Heaven and the Earth, nor does he even mention at all the 'light,' 'firmament,' 'seas,' 'luminaries,' 'reptiles,' and 'fishes,' of the Elohistic document. He is evidently concerned mainly with *man* and his doings, and is intent on describing (i) his happy life in Paradise, blessed with the institution of marriage, in connection with which the beasts and birds are introduced, *v.*19, formed out of the ground, and brought to Adam to be named, inasmuch as among these are found the domestic animals, which supply a certain kind of companionship, and prevent his feeling himself altogether 'alone,' which was 'not good' for him, *v.*18,— and (ii) the terrible change, by which this happy state was lost. This special object,

which the writer had in view, accounts for the somewhat abrupt manner in which he begins, ii.4. TUCH observes, *p.*40 :—

Let us imagine the Jehovistic writer, with his purpose in his eye, set down before the preceding cosmogony. Why should he repeat circumstantially, what in that was freely described? Why should he relate again the separation of the Heaven from the Earth, the division of the waters, the creation of the heavenly bodies, [the production of the reptiles and fishes,] which did not specially concern his particular purpose? With a few words, then, he puts all this together, 'in the day of Jehovah-Elohim's making Earth and Heaven,' so at once passing over to that which he purposes to describe.

40. iv.1–26, *Jehovistic.*

This section, it will be seen, belongs to the same writer as the two preceding sections,—though he uses now 'Jehovah' only, instead of the compound name 'Jehovah-Elohim.' This appears from the numerous references made in it throughout to ii.4–iii.24, whereas there is no indication of any relationship to the Elohistic section, i.1–ii.3.

(i) *v.*1, 'Eve,' *as in* iii.20 : the Elohist does not mention at all the name of the first woman, nor does it occur anywhere else in the O.T. ;

(ii) *v.*2, the name קַיִן, *Kayin*, 'Cain,' derived from קָנָה, *kanah*, 'acquire,' and probably, also, 'Abel,' from הֶבֶל, *hevel*, 'vanity, nothingness': *comp.* the derivations of 'Adam,' ii.7, 'Ishah,' ii.23, 'Eve,' iii.20 ;

(iii) *v.*2,12, 'till the ground,' *as in* ii.5,iii.23 ;

(iv) *v.*2,3,10,11,12,14, הָאֲדָמָה, *ha-ădamah*, 'the ground,' *as in* ii.5,6,7,9,19, iii.17,19,23 ; whereas the word is used only *once* in the Elohistic section i.1–ii.3, in the expression '*creeping upon* the ground,' which phrase the Jehovist, as we shall see, *never* employs ;

(v) *v.*4,22,26, גַּם, *gam*, 'also,' *as in* iii.6,22 ;

(vi) *v.*4,20,21,22,26, הוּא, *hu*, 'he, she, it,' *as in* ii.11,13,14,19, iii.6,12,15,16,20 ;

(vii) *v.*7, תְּשׁוּקָה, *tĕshukah*, 'desire,' *as in* iii.16 ; *nowhere else in the Bible*, except Cant.vii.10 (11) ; and note that it is used here, G.iv.7, with אֶל, *el*, 'unto,' *as in* iii.16, but in Cant.vii.10(11) with עַל, *hal*, 'upon' ;

(viii) *v.*7, 'and towards thee its desire, and thou—thou shalt rule over it' : *comp.* iii.16, 'and towards thy husband thy desire, and he—he shall rule over thee' ;

(ix) *v.*8, שָׂדֶה, *sadeh*, 'field,' *as in* ii.5,5,19,20, iii.1,14,18 ;

(x) *v.*9, 'where is Abel thy brother?' *comp.*iii.9, 'where art thou?'

(xi) *v.*9, אָנֹכִי, *ănochi*, 'I,' *as in* iii.10 ;

(xii) *v.*10, 'and He said, What hast thou done?' *comp.*iii.13, 'and He said, What is this thou hast done?'

(xiii) *v.*11, 'cursed art thou,' &c. : *comp.* the curses in iii.14,17 ;

(xiv) *v.*11, 'cursed art thou *out of* the earth': *comp.*iii.14, 'cursed art thou *out of* all the cattle and *out of* every animal': *comp.* also iii.1, 'the serpent was subtle *out of* all animals';

(xv) *v.*11, 'take out of,' *as in* iii.19,22,23;

(xvi) *v.*12, 'when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee its strength': *comp.* the sentence on Adam, iii.17–19;

(xvii) *v.*14, גָּרַשׁ, *garash*, 'drive away,' *as in* iii.24;

(xviii) *v.*14, 'face of the *ground* (E.V. *earth*),' *as in* ii.6;

(xix) *v.*15, Jehovah 'set a mark upon Cain': *comp.* the anthropomorphisms in ii.7,8,15,19,21,22, iii.8,21,24;

(xx) *v.*15, לְבִלְתִּי, *lĕvilti*, 'not to,' *as in* iii.11;

(xxi) *v.*16, the name נוֹד, 'Nod,' is derived, apparently, from נָד, *nad*, 'vagabond,' *v.*12,14; *comp.* the derivations of Adam, Ishah, Eve, Cain, as in (ii) above;

(xxii) *v.*16, קִדְמַת, *kidmath*, 'eastward of,' *as in* ii.14; *nowhere else in the Pentateuch*, though it occurs in 1S.xiii.5, Ez.xxxix.11;

(xxiii) *v.*16, 'Eden,' *as in* ii.8,10,15, iii.23,24;

(xxiv) *v.*25,26, the writer *may* have adopted the names, 'Seth' and 'Enos,' from the Elohistic account in v.3,6, as, perhaps, he has adopted the name 'Adam,' *v.*25, from i.26 or v.2;

(xxv) *v.*25, the name שֵׁת, *Sheth*, 'Seth,' derived from שִׁית, *shith*, 'appoint': *comp.* the derivations of Adam, &c., as above in (ii),(xxi).

N.B. In i.1–ii.3 the *Elohist* uses הָאָרֶץ, *ha-arets*, 'the earth,' *twenty-two* times, and הָאֲדָמָה, *ha-ădamah*, 'the ground,' only *once*; whereas in ii.4–iv.26 the *Jehovist* uses the former, with the meaning 'earth,' only *six* times, and the latter *fourteen* times. [N.B. The E.V. translates erroneously 'earth' instead of 'ground,' in i.25,iv.11,14,vi.1,7,20,vii.4,8,ix.2.] In some of these latter fourteen instances it is true, הָאֲדָמָה *must* have been used, as in the phrase 'till the ground,' iii.23, iv.2,12; but in other places the Jehovist uses it where he might have employed הָאָרֶץ, *e.g.* ii.6,iv.14, 'face of the *ground*,' *contr.* i.29, 'face of all the *earth*,'—ii.7, 'dust of the *ground*,' but we find 'dust of the *earth*' in *all* other passages, G.xiii.16,xxviii.14, E.viii.16,17,17(12,13,13), 2S.xxii.43, 2Ch.i.9, Job.xiv.19, Is.xl.12, Am.ii.7,—ii.9,19, 'out of the *ground*,' &c., *contr.*i.11,24, 'let the *earth* bring forth,' &c.—iii.19, 'till thou return unto the *ground*,' but Ecc.xii.7, 'then shall the dust return to (עַל, h*al*, 'upon') the *earth*,' &c.

The word 'Adamah' may be repeated purposely with greater frequency throughout this section with special reference to the name 'Adam'; but the writer seems to have had also a partiality for the use of this word, as appears more plainly from (45,i.) below. Of course the use of *ha-ădamah* can only be regarded as a peculiarity of style, when the writer employs it where he might as well have used *ha-arets*.

41. We have suggested in (346) a possible explanation of the reason, which may have led this author to use constantly the name 'Jehovah-Elohim' in his first section, ii.4–iii.24, from

which he passes off to 'Jehovah' in chap.iv, which latter name he uses generally afterwards :—

This circumstance rather suggests the idea, that the writer composed it at a time when the Name (Jehovah), though already familiar to himself, was not yet universally employed, and that he wished in this way to commend it to popular acceptance, instead of really adopting it as a word already common in the mouths of the people.

It remains to be seen whether this suggestion will be confirmed or contradicted by the further progress of our investigations.

CHAPTER IV.

ANALYSIS OF GEN.V.1–VII.24.

42. v.1–32 (except *v.*29), *Elohistic.*

This section is the continuation of the Elohistic narrative, i.1–ii.3, to which it refers distinctly, but *not at all* to the Jehovistic passage, ii.4–iv.26.

(i) *v.*1, 'in the likeness of Elohim made He him': *comp.* i.27, 'in the image of Elohim created He him';

(ii) *v.*1,2, בָּרָא, *bara*, 'create,' *as in* i.1,21,27,27, ii.3; the Jehovist also uses this word, ii.4 (?), vi.7, but less freely;

(iii) *v.*1,3, דְּמוּת, *dĕmuth*, 'likeness,' *as in* i.26;

(iv) *v.*2, 'male and female created He them,' *as in* i.27;

(v) *v.*2, 'He blessed them,' *as in* i.28;

(vi) *v.*3, 'in his likeness, after his image': *comp.* i.26, 'in our image, after our likeness';

(vii) *v.*3,4,&c. (*twenty-eight* times), הוֹלִיד, *holid*, 'make-to-bear=beget': *contr.* the Jehovistic expression יָלַד, *yalad*, used in the sense of 'beget,' iv.18,18,18.

43. *v.*29 is a *Jehovistic* interpolation, as appears—not only from its containing the name 'Jehovah,' but also—from its referring distinctly to the Jehovistic section, ii.4–iv.26.

(i) 'over our work and over the pain of our hands': *comp.* the 'work and pain' imposed on Adam in iii.17–19;

(ii) עִצָּבוֹן, *hitsavon*, 'pain,' *as in* iii.16,16,17,—*nowhere else in the Bible*;

(iii) 'the ground which Jehovah cursed': *comp.* iii.17, 'cursed is the ground for thy sake';

(iv) The name נֹחַ, *Noăkh*, 'Noah,' connected with נִחַם, *nikham*, 'comfort': *comp.* the derivations of 'Adam,' ii.7, 'Ishah,' ii.23, 'Eve,' iii.20, 'Cain,' iv.1, 'Nod,' iv.16, 'Seth,' iv.25.

N.B. The true derivation of the name נֹחַ, *noăkh*, is from נוּחַ, *nuăkh*, 'rest.' The Jehovist, as we shall see, in other cases refers names to words, from which they are not really derived.

Probably, the original conclusion of *v.*28 was 'and begat Noah,' *as in* *v.*6,9,12,15,18,21,25. In *v.*3 the Elohist writes '*and begat* [not 'begat *a son*'] in his likeness, after his image, *and called his name Seth.*' This also suggests that the Elohist would not have written in *v.*28,29, as now it stands 'and begat *a son*, and called his name Noah,'—in other words, that he did not write 'begat a son' at the end of *v.*28, but 'begat Noah,' and that the Jehovist, or a later compiler, has substituted 'a son' for 'Noah,' in order to introduce the explanation of the name.

44. vi.1–8, *Jehovistic.*

In *v.*5 the E.V. and Vulg. have *Elohim*: but the Heb., Sam., and all the other ancient versions and Targums, have 'Jehovah,' except that the LXX has Κύριος ὁ Θεός.

Also in *v.*2,4, occurs the phrase 'sons of Elohim'= angels. But this was the current designation of angels, which any writer, however thoroughly Jehovistic, must have used, as the phrase, 'sons of Jehovah,' is never employed. So in the Jehovistic framework of the book of Job (336, *note*) the expression is twice used, i.6, ii.1, and in each case ELOHIM is used *with* the article, as here, הָאֱלֹהִים, *ha-Elohim.* In Job xxxviii.7, the phrase is used *without* the article; and in Ps.xxix.1,lxxxix.7, we have בְּנֵי אֵלִים, *běne elim*, lit. 'sons of mighty-ones.'

45. Thus it appears that this section is quite Jehovistic, and it connects itself with the previous Jehovistic matter, and with that exclusively, by the following links.

(i) *v.*1,7, 'face of the *ground*,' *as in* ii.6, iv.14: the partiality of the Jehovist for the use of the word אֲדָמָה (40, N.B) is here very strongly marked,—*v.*1, 'when man began to multiply on the face of the *ground*,'—*v.*7, 'I will wipe out man from off the face of the *ground*,'—in both which cases the E.V. has 'earth';

(ii) *v.*1, הֵחֵל, *hekhel*, 'began': *comp.* הוּחַל, *hukhal*, 'it was begun,' iv.26;

(iii) *v.*3, מְאָה, *meah*, 'hundred': *contr.* the expression מֵאַת, *měath*, in the construct form, which is used repeatedly by the Elohist in v.3,6,18,25,28;

(iv) *v.*3,4, גַּם, *gam*, 'also,' *as in* iii.6,22, iv.4,22,26;

(v) *v.*3, הוּא, *hu*, 'he, she, it,' *as in* ii.11,13,14,19, iii.6,12,15,16,20, iv.4,20, 21,22,26;

(vi) *v.*3, גַּם הוּא, *gam hu*, 'he, she, it, also,' *as in* iv.4,22,26;

(vii) *v.*4, יָלַד, *yalad*, 'beget,' (E.V. 'bear'), as in iv.18,18,18: *contr.* the E. expression הוֹלִיד, *holid*, 'beget,' v.3,4,&c. (*twenty-eight* times);

(viii) *v.*5, יֵצֶר, *yetser*, 'formation': *comp.* יָצַר, *yatsar*, 'form,' ii.7,8,19;

(ix) *v.*6, יִתְעַצֵּב, *ithhatsev*, 'he was pained': *comp.* עִצָּבוֹן, *hitsavon*, 'pain, iii.16,17, v.29;

(x) *v.*7, 'from off (מֵעַל, *mehal*) the face of the ground,' as in iv.14: see also (i) above;

(xi) *v.*3,6,7, the writer attributes to the Deity human affections, disappointment, change of plan, &c: see (38);

(xii) *v.*3,7, 'and Jehovah said': *comp.* the secret speeches ascribed to Jehovah in ii.18,iii.22.

N.B. In *v.*7 we have רֶמֶשׂ, *remes*, 'creeping-thing': hence this expression is not confined to the Elohist, i.24,25,26, as some have supposed.

46. vi.9–22, *Elohistic*, except *v.*15,16.

(i) *v.*9, 'these are the generations': *comp.* 'this is the book of the generations,' v.1;

(ii) *v.*9, Noah 'walked with Elohim,' *as in* v.22,24;

(iii) *v.*10, הוֹלִיד, *holid*, 'beget,' *as in* v.3,4,&c. (*twenty-eight* times); *contr.* the J. expression יָלַד, *yalad*, 'beget,' iv.18,18,18,vi.4;

(iv) *v.*10, 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth,' *as in* v.32;

(v) *v.*11,12, would hardly have been written by one, who had already written *v.*5–8;

(vi) *v.*12, '*and Elohim saw* the earth, *and behold!* it was corrupted': *comp.* i.31, '*and Elohim saw* all that He had made, *and behold!* it was very good';

(vii) *v.*17, 'all flesh in which is a spirit of life': *comp.* i.30, 'all in which is a living soul';

(viii) *v.*19, זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה, *zachar uněkevah*, 'male and female,' *as in* i.27,v.2;

(ix) *v.*20,20,20, 'after his kind,' *as in* i.11,12,21,&c. (*ten* times);

(x) *v.*20, 'every creeping thing of the ground,' *as in* i.25;

(xi) *v.*21, אָכְלָה, *ochlah*, 'food,' *as in* i.29,30;

(xii) *v.*17, אֲנִי, *ăni*, 'I'; *contr.* the J. expression, אָנֹכִי, *ănochi*, 'I,' iii.10, iv.9.

47. vi.15,16, *Jehovistic.*

These verses appear to be *Jehovistic*; since the Elohist seems to have completed *his* directions for the making of the Ark in *v.*14,—'make it of cypress-wood, make it in cells, pitch it within and without,'—after which begins a fresh set of directions,—'and this is how thou shalt make it, &c.' It is, however, impossible to speak with confidence here, as the indications

are slight, and these last words *might* be understood to mean, 'This is how thou shalt determine the *dimensions* of the Ark.' But after this follow the directions for a 'light' and a 'door,' *v.*16, which are here separated from the other Elohistic detail in *v.*14, 'make it in cells.' Also the *preciseness* of these directions, in *v.*15,16, corresponds much more with the style of the Jehovist than with the simple generalisations of the Elohist.

48. vii.1-5, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*1, the writer refers to '*the* Ark,' as already known, whether referring to the Elohistic narrative, or to his own words (?) in vi.15,16, or to the *well-known* Ark of the legend;

(ii) *v.*1, 'thou and all thy house': *contr.* the E. expression, vi.18, 'thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives, with thee';

(iii) *v.*2, 'thou shalt *take* to thee': *contr.* the E. expression, vi.20, 'they shall *come* unto thee,' *i.e.* come of themselves; the E. says that Noah is to 'take' of the *food*, and 'gather' it 'to him,' vi.21;

(iv) *v.*2,2, אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ, *ish vĕishto*, ('the husband and his wife' =) 'the male and his mate': *contr.* the E. expression, זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה, *zachar unĕkevah*, 'male and female,' i.27,v.2,vi.19, which, however, the Jehovist also uses in vii.3;

(v) *v.*2, הוּא, *hu*, 'he, she, it,' *as in* ii.11,13,14;19, iii.6,12,15,16,20, iv.4,20,21, 22,26, vi.3;

(vi) *v.*3, גַּם *gam*, 'also,' *as in* iii.6,22, iv.4,22,26, vi.3,4;

(vii) *v.*4, אָנֹכִי *ănochi*, 'I,' *as in* iii.10, iv.9; *contr.* the E. אֲנִי, *ăni*, 'I,' vi.17;

(viii) *v.*4 מָחָה, *makhah*, 'wipe out,' = destroy, *as in* vi.7: *contr.* the E. expression הִשְׁחִית, *hishkith*, or שִׁחֵת, *shikheth*, 'corrupt' = destroy, vi.11,12,12,13,17;

(ix) *v.*4, '*I will wipe out* all the substance, *which I have* made, *from off the face of the ground*': *comp.* vi.7, '*I will wipe out* man, *whom I have* created, *from off the face of the ground*';

(x) *v.*4, 'from off the face of the ground,' *as in* iv.14,vi.7: *comp.* also 'face of the ground,' ii.6,vi.1, and 'the ground,' so often repeated (40, N.B.);

(xi) *v.*5, 'and Noah did according to all which Jehovah commanded him, צִוָּהוּ, *tsivvahu*'; *contr.* the E. form of expression, vi.22, 'and Noah did according to all which Elohim commanded him, צִוָּה אֹתוֹ, *tsivvah otho*.'

N.B. In *v.*3 we have 'upon the face of all the earth,' as in the E. passage, i.29; hence this expression is not confined to the Elohist.

49. As already remarked (208-9), it is obvious that a strong discrepancy exists between the Jehovistic command in vii.2,3, 'to take by *sevens* of every clean beast and of every fowl,' and the

Elohistic direction in vi.19,20, that '*two* of every living thing, of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing,' should be brought into the Ark. DELITZCH supposes, *p.*256, that three *pairs* were taken of each clean animal, and *an odd male* for the purpose of sacrifice. After the above plain exhibition of the difference of the sources, from which the two accounts are derived, it is needless to discuss this and other attempts which have been made to 'reconcile' the difficulty. But we will quote the words of KALISCH on this point, *Gen.p.*183 :—

> The text not only repeats several of the statements already distinctly made, but, what is more important, it is in one point *irreconcilable with the preceding narrative.* Noah was commanded to take into the Ark *seven* pairs of all clean, and one pair of all unclean, animals, vii.2,3; whereas he had before been ordered to take *one* pair of *every* species, vi.19,20, no distinction whatever between clean and unclean animals having there been made. All the attempts at arguing away this discrepancy have been utterly unsuccessful. The difficulty is so obvious, that the most desperate efforts have been made. Some regard the second and third verses as the later addition of a pious Israelite; while Rabbinical writers maintain that six pairs were *taken* by Noah, but one pair *came to him spontaneously*! Is it necessary to refute such opinions? . . . We appeal to every unbiassed understanding. The Bible cannot be abused to defy common sense, to foster sophistry or perverse reasoning, to cloud the intellect, or to poison the heart with the rank weeds of insincerity.

50. vii.6-9, *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.*6, 'and Noah was a son of six hundred years': *comp.*v.32, 'and Noah was a son of five hundred years';

(ii) *v.*6, 'flood of waters,' *as in* vi.17;

(iii) *v.*7, 'and he went, Noah, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives, with him, into the Ark': *comp.* vi.18, 'and thou shalt go into the Ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives, with thee'; and *contr.* the J. expression, 'go thou, and all thy house, into the Ark,' vii.1;

(iv) *v.*7, אִתּוֹ, *itto*, 'with him': *comp.* אִתָּךְ *ittach*, 'with thee,' vi.18,19; and *contr.* the J. expressions, עִמָּהּ, *himmah*, 'with her,' iii.6, עִמָּדִי, *himmadi*, 'with me,' iii.12;

(v) *v.*8, 'out of the cattle, &c. two, two, they came unto Noah': *comp.* the same form of sentence, vi.20, 'out of the fowl, &c. two out of all shall come unto thee';

(vi) *v.*8, 'cattle, fowl, all that creepeth upon the ground': *comp.* the same three classes of creatures, vi.20, 'fowl, cattle, (all=) every creeping-thing of the ground';

(vii) *v.*8, 'creepeth upon the ground': *comp.* 'creeping-thing of the ground,' i.25, vi.20;

(viii) *v.*9, 'two, two,' *comp.* vi. 19,20;

(ix) *v.*9, 'they *came unto* Noah': *comp.* vi.20, 'shall *come unto* thee,' and *contr.* the J. expression, 'thou shalt *take* to thee,' vii.2;

(x) *v.*9, 'male and female,' *as in* i.27,v.2,vi.19;

(xi) *v.*9, 'as Elohim commanded Noah, צִוָּה אֶת־נֹחַ *tsivvah eth-Noăkh*': *comp.* vi.22, 'as Elohim commanded him, צִוָּהוּ אֹתוֹ *tsivvah otho*'; *contr.* vii.5, צִוָּהוּ, *tsivvahu.*

N.B. HUPFELD, *die Q. der G., p.*7, considers that *v.*8ª is Jehovistic, as referring to the mention of 'clean' and 'unclean' animals in *v.*2, whereas the Elohist makes no such distinction in vi.20. But such distinctions may have existed at all times in Israel, independently of the Levitical law, and, therefore, these words *may* belong to the Elohistic writer, whenever he lived; and, in fact, the phrase here used for 'unclean,' אֵינֶנָּה טְהֹרָה *eynennah tĕhorah*, differs in form from that used in *v.*2, לֹא טְהֹרָה *lo tĕhorah*, which fact seems rather to point to a different writer. When we take notice of (v)–(x) above, it would seem that *v.*8,9, merely describe complete obedience to the command in vi.19,20.

51. vii.10, *Jehovistic.*

'it came to pass after the seven days that the waters of the flood were upon the earth': *comp.* vii.4, 'for after yet seven days I will cause-it-to-rain upon the earth.'

52. vii.11, *Elohistic.*

(i) 'in the six-hundredth year of Noah's life': *comp.* vii.6, 'Noah was a son of six hundred years';

(ii) 'the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened': *comp.* the idea of the waters *beneath*, and the waters *above*, the firmament, i.6,7;

(iii) תְּהוֹם, *tĕhom*, 'deep,' *as in* i.2.

53. vii.12, *Jehovistic.*

'and the *rain* was *upon the earth forty days and forty nights*': *comp.* vii.4, 'I will cause-it-to-*rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights.*'

Obviously, this Jehovistic statement of the forty days' rain is here inserted awkwardly, out of its proper place in the story. It is introduced more suitably to the context before and after in *v.*17, *after* the description of Noah and his family going into the Ark on the first day: whereas both *v.*10 and *v.*12 interrupt the continuity of the narrative.

54. vii.13–16[a], *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.*13, 'Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, Noah's wife, and his sons three wives, with them': *comp.* vi.10, vii.7, and *contr.* the J. expression, 'thou and all thy house,' vii.1;

(ii) *v.*13, אִתָּם, *ittam*, 'with them': *comp.* אִתָּךְ, *ittach*, 'with thee,' vi.18,19, אִתּוֹ, *itto*, 'with him,' vii.7; and *contr.* the J. expressions, עִמָּהּ *himmah*, 'with her,' iii.6, עִמָּדִי, *himmadi*, 'with me,' iii.12;

(iii) *v.*14,14,14,14, 'after his kind,' *as in* i.11,12, &c. (*ten* times), vi.20,20,20;

(iv) *v.*14, 'every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth,' *as in* i.26; *comp.* also i.28, 'every animal that creepeth upon the earth,' i.30, 'everything creeping upon the earth';

(v) *v.*15, 'they came unto Noah into the Ark,' *as in* vii.9: *comp.* also 'shall come unto thee,' vi.20, and *contr.* the J. expression, 'thou shalt take unto thee,' vii.2;

(vi) *v.*15,16, 'all flesh,' *as in* vi.12,13,17,19;

(vii) *v.*15, 'two, two,' *as in* vii.9; *comp.* vi.19,20;

(viii) *v.*15, 'all flesh, in which is a spirit of life,' *as in* vi.17: *comp.* also i.30, 'all, in which is a living soul';

(ix) *v.*16[a], 'male and female,' *as in* i.27,v.2,vi.19,vii.9;

(x) *v.*16[a], 'as Elohim commanded him, צִוָּה אֹתוֹ, *tsivvah otho*,' *as in* vi.22: *comp.* also vii.9, 'as Elohim commanded Noah, צִוָּה אֶת־נֹחַ *tsivvah eth-Noäkh*': *contr.* the J. expression, vii.5, where 'commanded him' is expressed by צִוָּהוּ, *tsivvahu*;

(xi) The above phrase, 'as Elohim commanded him,' evidently *closed* originally this E. passage, as the like phrase closes the E. passages, vi.22, vii.9.

55. In *v.*13 we read, 'On that very same day went Noah, &c. into the Ark,' *i.e.* apparently, on the same day that 'the fountains of the great deep were broken up, &c.,' *v.*11, and the Flood began: whereas, according to the Jehovist, *v.*1,4,—'and Jehovah said to Noah, Go thou, and all thy house, into the Ark. . . for *yet seven days*, and I will cause-it-to-rain upon the earth,'—it would seem that Noah and his family were to go into the Ark *seven days before* the beginning of the Flood. If it be said that Noah was to go in a week before the Flood, and was to employ the interval in 'taking to him' the animals, *v.*2,3, so as to go in *finally* on the very same day when the Flood began, yet *v.*14 appears to say that the animals also went in, together with Noah, on that same day,—'they, and every beast after its kind, &c.' DELITZCH writes, *p.*259:—

On this same day, says *v.*13,—*viz.* on the first day of the forty, after the expiration of the seven appointed days,—went Noah with his family into the Ark.

The animals also, as is plain from *v.*14, went in on this same day of the beginning of the rain. [But *v.*7–9 say that Noah and the animals 'went into the Ark,' and *v.*10 implies that they had been in the Ark seven days when the rain began.]

56. vii.16^{b},17, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*16^{b}, 'and Jehovah shut up after him': *comp.* the J. anthropomorphisms in (38),vi.3,6,7;

(ii) *v.*16^{b}, reference is here made to the *door* provided by the Jehovist (?) in vi.16;

(iii) *v.*17, 'and the Deluge was forty days upon the earth': *comp.* the very similar form of sentence, *v.*12, 'and the rain was upon the earth forty days';

(iv) *v.*17, 'forty days' [LXX 'and forty nights']: *comp.* the 'forty days and forty nights' of rain, vii.4,12.

N.B. The Elohist says, *v.*24, that 'the waters were mighty upon the earth 150 days,' and he evidently means that they went on increasing during all this time, since *after* this he says, viii.2, 'the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heaven were stopped.' This seems to show conclusively that *v.*17^{a}, 'and the flood was *forty* days upon the earth,' must belong to the Jehovist.

DELITZCH says, *p.*259:

The forty days' rain was only the *introduction* of the catastrophe, which went on increasing through continually new accumulation of streams from above and beneath. [But there is no foundation for this statement in the text.]

57. vii.18-20, *Elohistic*, except *v.*18^{b},19,20^{a}.

It is difficult to assign *v.*18,19,20, to their respective authors: we believe, however, *v.*18^{a},20^{b}, to be Elohistic, and the rest to be Jehovistic, for the following reasons.

(i) *v.*19^{a} is *Jehovistic*, since it contains מְאֹד מְאֹד, *mĕod mĕod*, 'very, very'; *comp.* the same expression in the J. passage, G.xxx.43, and *contr.* the corresponding E. expression, בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד, *bimod mĕod*, G.xvii.2,6,20, E.i.7;

(ii) *v.*19^{b},—'and all the high mountains, that were under all the heaven, were covered,'—is also, most probably, *Jehovistic*, since it only *intensifies* the statement of *v.*20^{b},—'and the mountains were covered';

(iii) *v.*20^{b} must, consequently, have been written by another hand, and is, therefore, most probably, *Elohistic*;

(iv) *v.*20^{a} is *Jehovistic* since it contains מִלְמַעְלָה, *milmaʿlah*, 'upward,' *as in* vi.16, which we have assigned to the Jehovist(?), towhom belong, apparently, all the minute details as to the number of *cubits*, vi.15,15,15,16, and here, 'fifteen cubits upward the waters were mighty';

(v) *v.*18^{b},—'and the Ark went upon the face of the waters,'—appears to be also *Jehovistic*, describing a further stage of the action of the waters beyond that mentioned by the Jehovist in *v.*17^{b},—'and the waters multiplied, and they raised

the Ark, and it was lifted from off the earth, and the Ark went upon the face of the waters';

(vi) *v.*18ᵃ,—'and the waters were mighty and multiplied greatly upon the earth,'—appears to be *Elohistic*, since the same phrase as here, וַיִּרְבּוּ מְאֹד, *vayyirvu měod*, 'multiplied greatly,' occurs in the E. passage, xlvii.27, and the compound expression, גָּבַר וְרָבָה, *gavar věravah*, 'be mighty and multiply,' corresponds exactly, *mutatis mutandis*, (since '*fructify*' could not be used of the *waters*,) to the favourite E. formula, פָּרָה וְרָבָה, *parah věravah*, 'fructify and multiply,' i.22,28, viii.17, ix.1,7, xvii.20, xxviii.3, xxxv.11, xlvii.27, xlviii.4.

N.B. In *v.*20ᵃ we read, 'Fifteen cubits upward the waters were mighty.' The writer, perhaps, meant it to be understood that the waters stood, at their highest, 15 cubits over 'all the high mountains, that were beneath all the heaven,' *v.*19, and that the Ark, which was 30 cubits high, vi.15, floated half below the water, so that, when driven by the wind over the mountain-tops, it would just touch the top of Ararat, and ground at once, as soon as the waters fell.

It will be seen that, if the above conclusions be adopted, the Elohistic narrative will be left complete. But we cannot, of course, rely with confidence upon the accuracy of our reasoning, at this point of the analysis, where the indications are so few and indecisive, just as they are (47) in the case of vi.15,16.

58. vii.21, *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.*21, 'all flesh,' *as in* vi.12,13,17,19, vii.15,16;
(ii) *v.*21, גָּוָה, *gavah*, 'die,' *as in* vi.17;
(iii) *v.*21, 'that creepeth upon the earth,' *as in* i.28,30, vii.14;
(iv) *v.*21, חַיָּה, *khayyah*, 'animal'=wild-beast, *as in* vii.14;
(v) *v.*21, שֶׁרֶץ, *sheretz*, 'swarming-things,' שָׁרַץ, *sharats*, 'swarm,' *as in* i.20,21.

59. vii.22,23ᵃ, *Jehovistic.*

These words, as far as 'and they were wiped-out of (E.V. 'destroyed from') the earth,' are a mere repetition of *v.*21, and of such a kind, that they could hardly have been penned *immediately after v.*21 by the *same* writer. Accordingly we shall find that they exhibit unmistakable signs of the Jehovistic author.

(i) *v.*22, 'all *in whose nostrils* was *the breath* of a spirit *of life*': *comp.* ii. 7, 'He breathed into his *nostrils the breath of life*'; *contr.* the E. expression, vi.17, vii.15, '*in which* was a spirit of life.'

(ii) *v.*22, חָרָבָה, *kharavah*, 'dry land': *contr.* the E. expression, i.9,10, יַבָּשָׁה *yavashah*, 'dry land';

(iii) *v.*23ª, 'and He wiped out [E.V. 'was destroyed,'] all the substance, which was upon the face of the ground, from man unto cattle, unto creeping thing, and unto fowl of the heaven': *comp.*vi.7, 'I will wipe out man, whom I have created from off the face of the ground, from man unto cattle, unto creeping thing, and unto fowl of the heaven,' and vii.4, 'I will wipe out all the substance, which I have made, from off the face of the ground';

(iv) *v.*23ª,23ª, מָחָה, *makhah*, 'wipe-out'=destroy, *as in* vi.7, vii.4: *contr.* the E. expression, הַשְׁחִית, *hishkhith*, or שִׁחֵת, *shikheth*, 'corrupt'=destroy, vi.11,12,12, 13,17;

(v) *v.*23ª, יְקוּם, *yĕkum*, 'substance,' *as in* vii.4;

(vi) *v.*23ª, 'face of the ground,' *as in* ii.6, iv.14, vi.1,7, vii.4.

60. vii.23ᵇ,24, *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.* 23ᵇ, אִתּוֹ, *itto*, 'with him': *comp.* 'with thee,' vi.18,19, 'with him,' vii.7, 'with them,' vii.13; and *contr.* the J. expressions עִמָּהּ, *himmah*, 'with her,' iii.6, עִמָּדִי, *himmadi*, 'with me,' iii.12;

(ii) *v.*24, 'the waters were mighty,' *as in* vii.18ª;

(iii) *v.*24, מֵאַת, *mĕath*, 'hundred,' *as in* v.3,6,18,25,28; *contr.* the J. expression מֵאָה, *meah*, vi.3;

(iv) *v.*24, 'a hundred and fifty days': *comp.* the data of time in vii.11, and see N.B.).

CHAPTER V.

ANALYSIS OF GEN. VIII.1–XI.26.

61. viii.1–5, *Elohistic*, except *v.*2[b] and *v.*4[b].

(i) *v.*1, 'every animal,' *as in* vii.14;

(ii) *v.*1, 'every animal, and all the cattle': *comp.* vii.14;

(iii) *v.*1, 'that was with him in the ark,' *as in* vii.23[b];

(iv) *v.*1, אִתּוֹ, *itto*, 'with him': *comp.* vi.18,19, vii.7,13, 23[b], as quoted in (60.i);

(v) *v.*2[a], 'the fountains of the deep,' 'the windows of heaven,' *as in* vii.11;

(vi) *v.*2[a], תְּהוֹם, *tĕhom*, 'deep,' *as in* i.2, vii.11;

(vii) *v.*3, 'a hundred and fifty days,' *as in* vii.24;

(viii) *v.*3, מְאַת, *mĕath*, 'hundred,' *as in* v.3,6,18,25,28, vii.24: *contr.* the J. expression, מֵאָה, *meah*, vi.3;

(ix) *v.*4, 'in the seventh month, in the seventeenth day of the month,' and *v.*5, 'in the tenth, in the first of the month': *comp.* vii.11, 'in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month.'

N.B. Reckoning one month = 30 days, so that 150 days = 5 months, we have the date of the beginning of the flood, 2mo. 17d. (vii.11) + the time of its continuance, 5mo. (vii.24, viii.3) = 7mo. 17d., the time when the ark grounded, viii.4, — from which it follows that all these notices of time are by the same writer.

62. viii.2[b], *Jehovistic.*

HUPFELD, *Q. der G. p.*132, regards *v.*2[b],3[a], 'and the rain was restrained out of heaven, and the waters returned from off the earth, returning continually,' as Jehovistic, for the following reasons: —

(i) *v.*2[b] refers to the 'rain' in vii.4,12, which the Elohist does not mention in vii.11;

(ii) *v.*3[a] is superfluous before *v.*3[b], 'and the waters decreased at the end of 150 days,' and *v.*5, 'and the waters were decreasing continually until the tenth month':

(iii) *v.*3[a] is even contradictory to what follows; since in *v.*3[b] we have given the moment of the *commencement* of the decrease of the waters, 'at the end of the 150 days'; and yet in *v.*3[a] they have been 'returning continually' already;

(iv) In both *v.*3[b] and *v.*5, חָסַר, *khasar*, 'decrease,' is used, and not שׁוּב, *shuv*, 'return,' as in *v.*3[a].

Ans. It seems probable that *v.*2[b] does belong to the Jehovist; since the two parts of the combined statement, 'the windows of heaven were stopped (E.), and the rain was restrained out of heaven (J.),' would then correspond exactly to those of the statement in vii.11,12, 'the windows of heaven were opened (E.), and the rain was upon the earth (J.).'

But we refer 3[a] to the Elohist for the following reasons:—

(i) The Elohist himself has mentioned already in *v.*1 that 'the waters subsided,' even before stating that 'the fountains of the deep, &c. were shut': so that he did not, apparently, regard this as contradictory to *v.*3[b],5;

(ii) The expression, 'at the end of (מִקְצֵה, *miktseh*) 150 days,' implies rather '*about* the end of, *within*, 150 days,' and not '*after* the end &c.,'—the Hebrew expression being used to imply *intra terminum*, not *extra terminum*, as may be seen in G.xlvii.2;

(iii) *v.*3[a], 'the waters *returned* &c.,' may refer to their returning to their receptacles above and below the firmament, from which they had been poured out.

(iv) The form of expression in *v.*3[a], הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב, *haloch vashov*, 'going and returning' = returning continually, corresponds exactly with that in *v.*5, which Hupfeld himself assigns to the Elohist, הָלוֹךְ וְחָסוֹר *haloch vĕkhasor*, 'going and decreasing' = decreasing continually.

63. viii.4[b], *Jehovistic.*

We assign this clause 'uponthe mountains of Ararat,' to the Jehovist for the following reasons:—

(i) If it had formed part of the original verse, the Hebrew idiom would have required that it should follow immediately after וַתָּנַח הַתֵּבָה, *vattanakh hattevah*, 'and the Ark rested,' and not be brought in, as here, at the end of the verse;

(ii) The Jehovist shows special acquaintance with the geography of the East, and he shows a fondness for giving the names of places, *comp.* ii.10–14, iv.16,17, x,xi.1–9, which does not appear in the Elohist;

(iii) The Jehovist fixes the residence of men after the Flood at first in the neighbourhood of Armenia, xi.1–9;

(iv) Both writers refer to the 'mountains,' the Elohist in vii.20[b], viii.5, the Jehovist in vii.19; but the *particularity of detail* is more in accordance with the style of the Jehovist (47,57.iv).

64. viii.6–12, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*6, 'forty days,' *as in* vii.4,12,17;

(ii) *v.*6, חַלּוֹן, *khallon*, 'window': *comp.* the direction for making the '*light*' צֹהַר, *tsohar*, vi.16, to which the writer evidently refers in this passage, since he speaks of Noah opening 'the window *which he had made*'; *comp.* also the reference to the '*door*,' vi.16, in vii.16[b];

(iii) *v.*7,8,12, שִׁלַּח, *shillakh*, 'put-forth,' *as in* iii.23;

(iv) *v.*7,11, 'from off the earth,' *as in* vii.17: but the Elohist also uses the phrase in *v.*13;

(v) *v.*8, '*to see* if the waters were lessened &c.': *comp.* ii.19, '*to see* what he would call them';

(vi) *v.*8, 'from off the face of the ground,' *as in* iv.14,vi.7,vii.4: *comp.* also 'face of the ground,' ii.6,vi.1,vii.23;

(vii) *v.*9, 'upon the face of all the earth,' *as in* vii.3; but the Elohist also uses this phrase in i.29;

(viii) *v.*10,12, 'seven days,' *as in* vii.4,10: *comp.* the use of the number 'seven' in iv.15,24,vii.2,3;

(ix) *v.*10,12, 'he added to put forth,' *v.*12, 'it added not to return again'; *comp.* the similar phrases in iv.2,12,viii.21, in the last of which the same form is used twice with עוֹד, *hod*, 'again,' as it is here in *v.*12, but *with* the prep. לְ, *lĕ*, 'to,' *as in* iv.2, which is omitted here in *v.*10,12, as it is also in iv.12;

(x) *v.*10,12,12, עוֹד, *hod*, 'again,' *as in* vii.4;

(xi) *v.*11, 'at the time of evening,' *as in* the J. passage, xxiv.11: *comp.* also xix.1, xxix.23, xxx.16, and, especially, iii.8, xxiv.63, xlix.27, where לְ, *lĕ*, 'at,' is used as here;

(xii) The Elohist mentions only the *day*, *month*, and *year*, of the most notable events of the flood, vii.6,11,viii.4,5,13,14: the Jehovist marks the stages of its progress by 'seven days' and 'forty days,' vii.4,10,12,17, viii.6,10,12;

(xiii) In *v.*7,8, we have '*the* raven,' '*the* dove,' the Heb. words being used with the *article*, and it has been argued that this proves that this passage must be due to the *Elohist*, as he alone speaks of a single pair of doves, and here, apparently, he names the one male bird: but the article may express 'the *well-known* raven,' &c., or (as DELITZCH says, p.263,) 'the raven, that was with him in the Ark,' &c.: *comp.* '*the* serpent,' iii.1, '*the* Ark,' vii.1, '*the* garment,' ix.23, '*the* place,' xxviii.11, '*the* bush,' E.iii.2, in each of which passages the article is similarly used with a noun, which has not been mentioned before.

(xiv) That we are right in assigning to the Jehovist this section about the raven and dove, is further confirmed by the inconsistency which exists in the data of time, as the story now stands. Between the time when 'the tops of the mountains were seen,' *v.*5, on the first day of the *tenth* month, and the time when 'the waters were dried up from off the earth,' *v.*13, on the first day of the *first* month (of the next year), would be an interval of *three* months = 90 days. If we deduct the 40 days of waiting, *v.*6, we have 50 days remaining for the sending out of the raven and dove; whereas the story plainly implies an interval of 7 days only between each sending, to which might be added 7 days more after the dove was sent out the second time, —making only 21 days altogether.

N.B. It must have been supposed that Noah, either by reason of the *size*, or *situation*, or *construction*, of the window, or because of the elevation of the Ark on the top of Ararat, could not see for himself what was passing upon the plains below.

65. viii.13–19, (except *v.*13^{b}), *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.*13, 'in the six hundred and first year': *comp.* vii.11, 'in the six hundredth year of Noah's life'; *comp.* also v.32,vii.6;

(ii) *v.*13, 'in the first, in the first of the month,' and *v.*14, 'in the second month, in the seven-and-twentieth day of the month': *comp.* vii.11,viii.4,5;

(iii) *v.*16, 'thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy son's wives, with thee,' *as in* vi.18,vii.7,13; *contr.* the J. expression, 'thou and all thy house,' vii.1;

(iv) *v.*16,17, אִתָּךְ, *ittach*, *v.*17, אִתֵּךְ, *ittĕcha*, 'with thee,' *v.*18, אִתּוֹ, *itto*, 'with him': *comp.* vi.18,19,vii.7,13,23^{b},viii.1; *contr.* the J. expressions עִמָּהּ, *himmah*, 'with her,' iii.6, עִמָּדִי, *himmadi*, 'with me,' iii.12;

(v) *v.*17,19, 'every animal,' *as in* vii.14,viii.1;

(vi) *v.*17, 'every animal that is with thee': *comp.* viii.1, 'every animal . . . that was with him';

(vii) *v.*17, 'every animal . . . out of all flesh': *comp.* vi.19, 'every thing living out of all flesh';

(viii) *v.*17, 'all flesh,' *as in* vi.12,13,17,19, vii.15,16,21;

(ix) *v.*17, בְּ, *bĕ*, 'among,' used *distributively, as in* vii.21;

(x) *v.*17, 'among fowl and among cattle,' *as in* vii.21;

(xi) *v.*17, 'every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth,' *as in* i.26,vii.14: *comp.* also i.28,30;

(xii) *v.*17, שֶׁרֶץ, *sharats*, 'swarm,' *as in* i.20,21,vii.21;

(xiii) *v.*17, פְּרָה וְרִבָּה, *parah vĕravah*, 'fructify and multiply,' *as in* i.22,28;

(xiv) *v.*18, 'Noah, and his wife, &c.,' *as in* (iii) above;

(xv) *v.*19, 'everything creeping upon the earth,' *as in* i.30.

66. viii.13^{b}, *Jehovistic.*

(i) 'face of the ground,' *as in* ii.6,iv.14,vi.1,7,vii.4,23,viii.8;

(ii) this statement,—'and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and saw, and behold! the face of the ground was dry,'—introduces into the account, as it now stands, the anomaly, that the ark was *uncovered* nearly *two months* before Noah and his family and the multitude of animals came out of it, as appears from *v.*13,14.

67. The later *ecclesiastical* year began in the *Spring.* But in the older time the 'Feast of Ingathering' was 'in the *end* of the year,' E.xxiii.16, so that the new year, apparently, began in *Autumn.* It is probable that this more ancient reckoning is observed in this account of the Flood, which in that case began, according to the story, about the middle of the second month, vii.11, *i.e.* about the beginning of November, and lasted over the five wet and stormy winter months, vii.24, viii.3, till the bright days of Spring came round, and the waters were 'dried

up from off the earth' during the heat of summer. But then the herbivorous animals coming out of the Ark in the *second* month (November), viii. 14, would be in want of food till the spring.

N.B. The latter name, בּוּל, *Bul*, 1K.vi.38, of this *second*—afterwards, *eighth*—month is derived from the root, יָבַל, *yaval*, 'flow, as rain,' from which also comes מַבּוּל, *mabbul*, 'Deluge.'

68. viii.20–22, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*20, these sacrifices require the 'seven' pairs of clean animals provided by the Jehovist, vii.2,3, to which also the expression 'clean cattle' in this verse refers;

(ii) *v.*21, 'Jehovah smelled the sweet savour': *comp.* the J. anthropomorphisms in (38).vi.3,6,7,vii.16^{b};

(iii) *v.*21, 'Jehovah said unto His heart': *comp.* the secret speeches ascribed to Jehovah, ii.18,iii.22,vi.3,7;

(iv) *v.*21, 'His heart,' *as in* vi.6;

(v) *v.*21, I will not add to *curse again the ground for man's sake*': *comp.* iii.17, '*cursed is the ground for thy sake*,' *v.*29, 'over *the ground, which Jehovah cursed*';

(vi) *v.*21, '*curse* the ground': *comp.* the J. curses in iii.14,iv.11,v.29;

(vii) *v.*21, 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth,' *as in* vi.5;

(viii) *v.*21, יֵצֶר, *yetser*, 'formation,' *as in* vi.5: *comp.* יָצַר, *yatsar*, 'form,' ii.7,8,19;

(ix) *v.*21, 'I will not *add to* curse *again*,' 'I will not *add again to* smite,' *as in* viii.21: *comp.* also iv.2,12,viii.10;

(x) *v.*21,21, אָסַף, *asaph*, 'add,' used with לְ, *lĕ*, 'to,' *as in* iv.2;

(xi) *v.*21,21,22, עוֹד, *hod*, 'again,' *as in* vii.4, viii.10,12,12;

(xii) *v.*21, בַּעֲבוּר, *bahăvur*, 'for the sake of,' *as in* iii.17;

(xiii) *v.*21, הַכּוֹת, *hakkoth*, 'smite,' *as in* iv.15;

(xiv) *v.*21, כָּל־חָי, *kohl-khay*, 'all living,' *as in* iii.20.

69. ix.1–17, *Elohistic.*

(i) *v.*1, 'and ELOHIM blessed Noah, and his sons': *comp.* the E. blessing on Adam, i.28,v.2;

(ii) *v.*1,7, פְּרָה וְרִבָּה, *parah vĕravah*, 'fructify and multiply,' *as in* i.22,28,viii.17;

(iii) *v.*1, 'fructify, and multiply, and fill the earth,' *as in* i.28;

(iv) *v.*2,10,10, 'every animal of the *earth*,' *as in* i.30: *contr.* the J. expression, 'every animal of the *field*,' ii.19,20,iii.1,14;

(v) *v.*2, 'the fear of you, and the terror of you, shall be upon every animal of the earth, &c.': *comp.* the E. passage i.26,28, 'let them have dominion over' the fish, fowl, cattle, &c.;

(vi) *v.*2, בְּ, *bĕ*, 'among,' used *distributively*, *as in* vii.21, viii.17;

(vii) *v.*2, 'all that creepeth the ground' (E.V. 'earth'): *comp.* i.25,vi.20, 'every creeping-thing of the ground,' vii.8, 'all that creepeth upon the ground';

(viii) *v.*2, 'fishes of the sea': *comp.* 'fish of the sea,' i.26,28;

(ix) *v.*3, 'every creeping-thing that liveth'; *comp.* i.21, 'every living soul that creepeth';

(x) *v.*3, אָכְלָה, *ochlah*, 'food,' *as in* i.29,30,vi.21;

(xi) *v.*3, 'to you it shall be for food,' *as in* i.29;

(xii) *v.*3, 'green herb,' *as in* i.30;

(xiii) *v.*5, 'every animal,' *as in* vii.14, viii.1,17,19;

(xiv) *v.*6, 'in the image of Elohim made He man,' *as in* i.27;

(xv) *v.*7, שָׁרַץ, *sharats*, 'swarm,' *as in* i.20,21,vii.21,viii.17;

(xvi) *v.*8, 'unto Noah and unto his sons *with him* (אִתּוֹ, *itto*),' and *v.*10,10, 'with you': *comp.* vi.18,19, vii.7,13,23[b], viii.1,16,17,17,18, all E. passages; *contr.* the J. expressions, עִמָּהּ, *himmah*, 'with her,' iii.6, עִמָּדִי, *himmadi*, 'with me,' iii.12;

(xvii) *v.*9,11,15, 'my covenant,' *as in* vi.18;

(xviii) *v.*9,11,17, 'establish (הֲקִים, *hekim*), a covenant,' *as in* vi.18;

(xix) *v.*10, 'among fowl and among cattle,' *as in* vii.21, viii.17;

(xx) *v.*10,12,15,16, 'every living soul,' *as in* i.21;

(xxi) *v.*10,12, 'that is with you,' *comp.* 'that was with him,' vii.23[b], viii.1, 'that is with thee,' viii.17;

(xxii) *v.*11,15, שְׁחָת, *shikheth*, 'corrupt, destroy,' *as in* vi.11,12,13,17: *contr.* the J. expression, מָחָה, *makhah*, 'wipe out,' vi.7, vii.4,23[a];

(xxiii) *v.*11,15,15,16,17, 'all flesh,' *as in* vi.12,13,17,19, viii.15,16,21, viii.17;

(xxiv) *v.*13, נָתַן, *nathan*, 'give,' in the sense of 'set, place,' *as in* i.17;

(xxv) *v.*15,16, 'remember,' *as in* viii.1;

(xxvi) *v.*15,16, 'every living soul among all flesh': *comp.* vi.19, 'every living thing out of all flesh,' viii.17, 'every animal . . out of all flesh.'

70. In ix.3 the Elohist records the permission to eat animal food, as given only *after* the flood, in agreement with his account of the Creation, where we read, i.29—

'And ELOHIM said, Behold, I give you every herb seeding seed, which *is* on the face of all the earth, and every tree in which *is* the fruit of a tree seeding seed: to you it shall be for food.'

The Jehovist, however, makes Abel a 'tender of sheep,' iv.2: and, though sheep might, no doubt, have been kept only for the sake of their *wool* or *milk*, yet in iv.4 the firstlings of the flock are sacrificed, and only, or chiefly, their *fat* seems to have been offered. It may be fairly inferred that, according to the Jehovist, the rest was supposed to be eaten afterwards, as in the case of ordinary peace-offerings.

71. ix.18–27, *Jehovistic.*

It might be doubted whether *v.*18,19 belong to the Elohist or Jehovist: but we assign them to the latter, because of the expression, 'Ham — he is the father of Canaan,' *v.*18, which is repeated in *v.*22. And the Elohist has already mentioned *thrice* by name the three sons of Noah, v.32, vi.10, vii.13, and can hardly have needed to mention them again. This is confirmed by (i) below, and see also (73.iv,xviii), (75.i).

(i) *v.*18, הוּא, *hu*, 'he, she, it,' as in ii.11,13,14,19, iii.6,12,15,16,20, iv.4,20,21, 22,26, vi.3, vii.2;

(ii) *v.*20, 'began,' *as in* vi.1: *comp.* iv.26;

(iii) *v.*20, this notice of the 'beginning' of wine-making corresponds to the similar Jehovistic notices of the beginning of cattle-keeping, iv.20, music, iv.21, working in iron, iv.22, and probably also of sheep-tending and agriculture, iv.2;

(iv) *v.*25, 'cursed *be* Canaan': *comp.* the J. curses, iii.14,17, iv.11, v.29, viii.21;

(v) *v.*25, 'a *servant of servants* shall he (Canaan) be,' *v.*26,27, 'and Canaan shall be his *servant*;' here the name כְּנַעַן, *Kĕnahan*, 'Canaan,' is, apparently, played on, being derived from כָּנַע 'be low, be humble': *comp.* D.ix.3, 'he shall *humble* them before thy face,' Ju.iii.30, 'so Moab was *humbled* that day,' &c.: but *Canaan* really means the low, coast, country = the 'lowlands,' or its inhabitants, in opposition to *Aram*, the high country or 'highlands';

(vi) *v.*27, the name, יֶפֶת, *yepheth*, 'Japheth,' is played upon, in connection with the verb יַפְתְּ, *yapht*, 'he shall enlarge': *comp.* the J. derivations of names, ii.7,23. iii.20, iv.1,16,25, v.29.

N.B. 'Jehovah' is named the 'Elohim of Shem,' *v.*26, who [? Elohim or Japheth] 'shall dwell in the tents of Shem,' *v.*27: but this name is not used in the blessing of Japheth, for which only the general name of the Deity is employed.

72. ix.28,29, *Elohistic.*

These verses evidently refer to the E. datum in vii.6, and they correspond exactly in language with that of the E. genealogy in v.7,8,10,11, &c., except that no mention is made of Noah's 'begetting sons and daughters' after the Flood. It would seem that he was supposed to have had only three sons, 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth,' all born before the Flood; and, indeed, we are told expressly by the Jehovist in *v.*19, 'these were the three sons of Noah, and out of them was all the earth overspread.'

73. x.1–32, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*1, 'and there were born (יִוָּלְדוּ, *yivvalĕdu*) to them sons': *comp.* iv.18, 'and there was born (יִוָּלֶד, *yivvaled*) to Enoch, Irad';

(ii) *v.*5, 'out of these were separated the isles'; *v.*32, 'out of these were separated the nations': *comp.* ix.19, 'out of these was spread-abroad all the earth';

(iii) *v.*5,32, נִפְרַד, *niphrad*, 'was separated,' *as in* ii.10;

(iv) *v.*5,20,31,32: *comp.* these summarising clauses, at the *end* of the corresponding passages, with ix.19;

(v) *v.*8,13,15,24,24,26, יָלַד, *yalad*, 'beget,' *as in* iv.18,18,18,vi.4: *contr.* the E. expression הוֹלִיד, *holid*, v.3,4, &c. vi.10;

(vi) *v.*8, 'began,' *as in* vi.1, ix.20: *comp.* iv.26;

(vii) *v.*8,9,9, 'mighty-one,' *as in* vi.4;

(viii) *v.*8,9,12,21, הוּא, *hu*, 'he, she, it,' as in ii.11,13,14,19, iii.6,12,15,16,20, iv.4,20,21,22,26, vi.3, vii.2, ix.18;

(ix) *v.*9, הוּא הָיָה, *hu hayah*, 'he was,' *as in* iv.20,21;

(x) *v.*9, עַל־כֵּן, *hal-ken*, 'therefore,' *as in* ii.24;

(xi) *v.*18, 'were spread-abroad': *comp.* 'was spread-abroad,' ix.19;

(xii) *v.*21, גַּם, *gam*, 'also,' *as in* iii.6,22, iv.4,22,26, vi.3,4, vii.3;

(xiii) *v.*21, גַּם הוּא, *gam hu*, 'he, she, it, also,' *as in* iv.4,22,26, vi.3;

(xiv) *v.*21, 'and to Shem—to him also there was born': *comp.* iv.26, 'and to Seth—to him also there was born;'

(xv) *v.*21, 'Shem, the *elder* brother of Japheth:' *comp.* ix.24, 'his *younger* son';

(xvi) *v.*21,25, יֻלַּד, *yullad*, 'was born,' *as in* iv.26, vi.1;

(xvii) *v.*25, the name פֶּלֶג, 'Peleg,' derived from פָּלַג, *palag*, 'divide': *comp.* the J. derivations, ii.7,23, iii.20, iv.1,16,25, v.29,ix.27;

(xviii) *v.*25, 'the earth,' used of the population of the earth, *as in* ix.19;

(xix) The Jehovist in this chapter shows a remarkable amount of geographical and historical knowledge; *comp.* ii.10–14, iv.16,17, viii.4.

74. It may be questioned, however, whether x.1 is not *Elohistic*, for the following reasons:—

(i) 'these are the generations of the sons of Noah': *comp.* v.1, vi.9, xi.10,27;

(ii) '*and* these are, &c.' *as in* xi.27, xxv.12,19;

(iii) 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth': *comp.* xi.27, 'Abram, Nahor, and Haran';

(iv) 'after the Deluge,' *as in* ix.28.

It is not necessary that in every case a long genealogy should follow such a superscription, as may be seen from ii.4, xi.27, xxv.19, xxxvii.2. The Elohist may not have purposed to give any details of the descendants of Ham and Japheth, as in chap.v. he has confined himself to the principal line, taking no account of the collateral branches. He may, therefore, have contented

himself with saying that 'sons were born to them, יִוָּלְדוּ לָהֶם, *yivvalĕdu lahem*,' (*comp.* the E. passages, xxi.3, הַנּוֹלַד לוֹ, *hannolad lo*, 'that was born to him,' xxi.5, בְּהִוָּלֶד לוֹ, *behivvaled lo*, 'in there being born to him,') and then gone on at once to say, xi.10, 'These are the generations of Shem,' giving at length his progeny in the line of the eldest son, down to Terah and his three sons, xi.26,—as he had given in chap.v that of Adam down to Noah, regarding evidently Seth as the eldest son of Adam, and knowing nothing of the Jehovistic Cain and Abel.

In short, we have here a phenomenon very similar to that observed in ii.4. For, since the genealogical lists in *v.*2–32 have no other superscription than *v.*1, the Jehovistic matter must have either been attached to that Elohistic verse, either by the Jehovist himself or by a later compiler, or, if *v.*1 be the Jehovist's, he must have imitated here in some of his expressions the style of the Elohist.

75. xi.1–9, *Jehovistic.*

(i) *v.*1, 'all the earth'=the whole human race, *as in* ix.19;

(ii) *v.*4, 'let us make to ourselves a *name*': *comp.* the J. expression, 'men of a *name*,' vi.4;

(iii) *v.*4,8,9, 'spread-abroad, *as in* ix.19, x.18;

(iv) *v.*4,8,9, 'upon the face of all the earth,' *as in* vii.3, viii.9: the Elohist, however, uses this phrase in i.29;

(v) *v.*5, 'Jehovah came down to see the city,' and *v.*7, 'let us go down, and confound their language': *comp.* the J. anthropomorphisms, ii.7,8,15,19,21,22, iii.8,21, 24, iv.15, vii.16ᵇ, viii.21;

(vi) *v.*5, 'the sons of man': *comp.* 'the daughters of man,' vi.2;

(vii) *v.*6, 'and Jehôvah said': *comp.* the secret speeches ascribed to Jehovah in ii.18, iii.22, vi.3,7, viii.21;

(viii) *v.*6, 'began,' *as in* vi.1, ix.20, x.8: *comp.* iv.26;

(ix) *v.*9, the name בָּבֶל, 'Babel,' derived from בָּלַל, *balal*, 'confound': *comp.* the J. derivations, ii.7,23, iii.20, iv.1,16,25, v.29, ix.27, x.25;

(x) *v.*9, עַל־כֵּן, *hal-ken*, 'therefore,' *as in* ii.24, x.9.

N.B. Apparently, this account of the 'confusion of tongues' and dispersion of mankind is in connection also with the J. statement, x.25, that, in Peleg's days, 'the earth was divided.'

The derivation of 'Babel,' in *v.*9, like that of Noah, in v.29

(43.N.B.), is incorrect. There is no doubt now, among scholars, that the word has some connection with the name 'Bel,' and means 'house of Bel,' 'gate of Bel,' or something of this kind.

,, 76. xi.10-26, *Elohistic.*

This table evidently corresponds to the E. genealogy in chap.v, of which it is the continuation. The Jehovistic account has anticipated it, as to the births of Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, Peleg, in x.22-25, as in iv.25 it has anticipated the E. mention of the name of Adam, v.2, and in iv.25,26, the E. mention of Seth and Enos, v.3,6.

(i) *v.*10, 'These are the generations of Shem': *comp.* vi.9, 'These are the generations of Noah'; *comp.* also v.1, 'This is the book of the generations of Adam';

(ii) *v.*10, 'son of a hundred years': *comp.* v.32, vii.6;

(iii) *v.*10,25, מֵאַת, *mèath*, 'hundred,' *as in* v.3,6,18,25,28,vii.24,viii.3ᵇ: *contr.* the J. expression מֵאָה, *meah*, vi.3;

(iv) *v.*10,11,12, &c. (*twenty-seven* times) הוֹלִיד, *holid*, 'beget': *comp.* v.3,4, &c. *twenty-eight* times, vi.10; and *contr.* the J. expression יָלַד, *yalad*, iv.18,18,18,vi.4, x.8,13,15,24,24,26;

(v) *v.*11,13,15, &c. 'and Shem lived after begetting . . . . and begat sons, and daughters': *comp.* the same form of expression v.7,10,13, &c.;

(vi) *v.*11,13,15,16, &c. וַיִּחְיְ, *vayyĕkhi*, 'and he lived,' *as in* v.3,6,7,9, &c. ix. 28;

(vii) *v.*12,14, חָיָ, *khay*, 'lived,' *as in* v.5.

N.B. In the case of each of the genealogies in iv.16–22 and x, the information given relates principally to races, which are described as *collaterally* connected with the direct Jewish line,—a circumstance quite in accordance with the *supplementary* character, which is by some ascribed to the Jehovistic narrative.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELOHIST AND JEHOVIST.

77. We have thus examined the first eleven chapters of Genesis, down to the point where commences the history of Abraham. And we have seen that these chapters may be separated with reasonable certainty,—so that the general inference, that two hands are traceable, will not be invalidated because a difference of opinion may still fairly exist among scholars as to some minor details,—into two distinct sets of passages, which may now be summed up as follows :—

Elohistic. (E.56, J.0)	Jehovistic. (E.8, J.30, J.E.20)
i.1–ii.3	ii.4–iv.26
v.1–28,30–32	v.29
vi.9–14,17–22	vi.1–8,15,16
vii.6–9,11,13–16^{a},18^{a},20^{b},21,23^{b},24	vii.1–5,10,12,16^{b},17,18^{b},19,20^{a},22,23^{a}
viii.1,2^{a},3,4^{a},5,13^{a},14–19	viii.2^{b},4^{b},6–12,13^{b},20–22
ix.1–17,28,29	ix.18–27,x.1–32
xi.10–26	xi.1–9

N.B. Of the 293 verses in G.i.1–xi.26, rather less than half (*viz.* 136) are Elohistic and the rest (*viz.* 157), Jehovistic.

78. We have seen also that these two sets of passages betray incontestable signs of different authorship. In one of them, the name 'Jehovah' never once occurs throughout, whereas Elohim is used 56 times. In the other, 'Jehovah' is the predominant name, being used 50 times, while 'Elohim' occurs 28 times, *viz.* 20 times in the compound name, 'Jehovah-Elohim,' ii.4–iii.24, (which occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch, except in E.ix.30,) —*four* times in the mouth of the serpent, iii.1,3,5,5,—*twice* in

the popular expression for angels, 'sons of Elohim,' vi.2,4, for which the writer could not have used 'sons of Jehovah,'—*once* in stating that Jehovah is the 'Elohim of Shem,' ix.26,—*once* in speaking of Elohim blessing Japheth, ix.27, apparently because Japheth was not supposed to stand in any special relation to Jehovah, the Elohim of Shem and of the Hebrew people, Shem's descendants,—and *once* in the words of Eve, iv.25, explaining the meaning of Seth's name, *before* (according to this writer) *the name Jehovah was in use*, or, at least, was used in worship, since only in the days of Seth's son, Enos, men first 'began to call upon the name of Jehovah,' *v.*26. In other words, while the one writer uses constantly the name 'Elohim' and no other, the other writer does not once use it *freely*, as the Proper Name of the Divine Being. He employs it only under special circumstances, which explain in each case his reason for using it. When writing freely, he uses the name 'Jehovah.'

79. It appears, then, that the names 'Elohist' and 'Jehovist' have been applied very justly to distinguish these two writers. But the reader is especially desired to notice that we have not arrived at the conclusions, which have been summed up above (77), by first *assuming*, as a fact, the existence of this characteristic difference of style, and then assigning to one writer those passages in which the name 'Elohim' occurs predominantly, and those marked by the name 'Jehovah' to the other. On the contrary, we have deduced this characteristic peculiarity itself from inspection of the two sets of passages already separated; and these have been discriminated, and assigned to their respective authors, by a rigorous process of deduction, from a *great variety* of conspiring peculiarities, which have been detected upon a minute examination and careful comparison of each passage,—a process, which, to our own mind, has the force of an absolute *demonstration*, as we believe it will to most readers, who will be willing to follow it carefully, step by step.

80. In the following chapters we shall give separately, at full

length, the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of these first eleven chapters of Genesis, by the consideration of which some of the peculiarities of style and thought, which mark the two writers, besides that which is connected with the use of the Divine Name, will be obvious at a glance. We may here, however, mention a few of these, which have either been already detected in the course of our criticisms, or must be apparent, even to a reader unacquainted with Hebrew, upon a mere perusal and comparison of the two sets of passages. Thus we have seen (73.v) that the Elohist constantly, 56 times, expresses the word 'beget' by הוֹלִיד, *holid*, whereas the Jehovist expresses it always, 10 times, by יָלַד, *yalad*; and we may reasonably expect that we shall find this difference of expression maintained throughout, in the remaining portions of the two documents.

81. Again, the Elohist is very *diffuse* and *simple* in his style, and abounds in *repetitions*, as in the use of the clause 'after his kind,' 17 times, i.11,12,21,24,25,vi.20,vii.14, or of the formula 'Noah, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him,' vi.18,vii.7,13,viii.16,18, and in his repeated enumeration of the creatures taken into the Ark, vi.20,vii.8,14,21, viii.17,19: whereas the Jehovist is more *pointed* and *terse* in his expressions, *e.g.* 'thou and all thy house,' vii.1, more *spirited*, *ornate*, and *rhetorical*, iv.6,7,9–15,vi.1–7,viii.21,22; he quotes poetry, iv.23,24,ix.25–27, and a proverb, x.9; he is fond of deriving names, ii.7,23,iii.20,iv.1,16,25,v.29,ix.27,x.25,xi.9; and his words serve at times to *intensify* the language of the Elohist, as when he expresses the wickedness of man before the Flood, *comp.* vi.5–7 with vi.11–13, or the destruction of life occasioned by that catastrophe, *comp.* vii.22,23[a], with vii.21.

82. The Jehovist also uses frequently *strong anthropomorphisms* (75.v) ascribing human actions, passions, and affections to Jehovah. The Elohist has very much less of this, and altogether appears to have had more grand views of the Divine Being, and of His paternal relations to mankind: contrast the whole tone of

the Elohistic account of the Creation in i.1–ii.3 with that of the Jehovist in ii.4–25. Though the Elohist manifestly had a deep sense of sin and its evil consequences, vi.11–13, yet it is only the Jehovist who introduces 'curses,' iii.14,17,iv.11,v.29,viii.21, ix.25, and writes the story of the 'Fall.' It is obvious that the Elohist lays stress upon the observance of the sabbath-rest, ii.2,3, and the abstinence from the eating of blood, ix.4, and the shedding of man's blood, ix.5,6;—these two last, indeed, having a close connection; since, if blood was too sacred to be eaten, as representing the 'life,' the law of abstinence from it as an article of food would impress upon the people continually the sin of shedding it. On the other hand, the Jehovist is the only writer who, as yet, has mentioned *sacrifices*, iv.3,4,viii.20,21. Also he makes use repeatedly of the number *seven*, vii.2,3,4,10,viii.10,12, and lays particular stress on the number *forty*, vii.4,12,17,viii.6, which so often occurs in the subsequent Scripture history.

83. It is not necessary to draw out further at present the differences between the two writers. Some of the expressions noticed in the analysis are not, indeed, confined exclusively to one writer only, so as never to be found used by the other, but appear rather as *favourite* expressions, occurring much more frequently in one set of passages than in the other; thus both writers employ both *ha-arets*, 'the earth,' and *ha-ădamah*, 'the ground,' (40,N.B.); but the Elohist uses *ha-arets* more freely than *ha-ădamah*, and the case is just the reverse with the Jehovist. So the word גַּם, *gam*, 'also,' occurs *nine* times (73.xii) in these eleven chapters, and only in Jehovistic passages: yet it cannot be supposed that so common a word will be found used throughout *only* by the Jehovist, though he is evidently fond of introducing it. But the difference of style, generally, between the two writers cannot be mistaken. When the whole book of Genesis has been thus analysed, and we are able to complete the separation of the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions throughout, we shall be still better able to judge of the distinction between

them. Then, also, it will be the proper time to mark in the separate portions any *signs of time*, which may enable us to form some definite conjecture as to the ages in which they were respectively written.

84. In the latter part of Genesis, however, we find distinct traces of, at least, two other writers, so that the work of discrimination is not so easy as we have found it to be in these eleven chapters; and the ground will require to be yet further cleared, before we can proceed in a satisfactory manner with this part of the work. For the present, we content ourselves with the above exhibition of the existence of two different authors in the book of Genesis,—and these not only *distinct* in style and habits of thought, but involving remarkable discrepancies, as in the two accounts of the Creation (34), in the single pair and seven pairs of clean animals at the Flood (49), and in the statement of the Jehovist that the 'Flood lasted forty days,' vii.4,12,17, whereas the Elohist says that it lasted 150 days, since only *after* the 150 days, vii.24, 'the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heaven were stopped,' viii.2.

85. But we may here take a glance at the two sets of passages, with a view to consider whether we can arrive at any definite conclusion, as yet, upon one important point. It is agreed generally by critics of note that the *Elohistic* document was originally a complete narrative; and it will be seen presently that, as it now lies before us, separated from the Jehovistic matter, the story of the Elohist is a perfectly consistent whole,—a strong confirmation this of the correctness of our process of division. The question now arises, 'Did the Jehovist merely interpolate his own additions into the primitive story, or was the Jehovistic document also originally a whole by itself?'

86. HUPFELD and some other eminent critics are of opinion that it was. They suppose that the two documents, each complete in itself, lay before a later *editor*, who put them together

into one narrative, in the form in which we now possess them, taking passages out of each as they suited his purpose, or seemed to be worth preserving, in order to give more point and fulness to the story. It is only in this way, it is thought, that we can account for the admission of such remarkable discrepancies, as we find in the two accounts of the Creation and of the Deluge. A mere *interpolator* would surely have avoided such discrepancies; whereas a later editor might consider the data of *both* such venerable documents too precious to be dispensed with altogether, notwithstanding these discrepancies, or may not even have perceived them, as so many devout readers, of ancient and modern times, have studied the story, as it stands, without perceiving them, until their attention has been expressly directed to them.

87. On this point HUPFELD writes as follows, with reference to the second account of the Creation, *Q. der G.*, *p.*125:—

Thus, then, I hope to have shown the continuous inner connection and the design of this narrative of the beginning of things, not only in the relation itself, but also in the exordium of it, and at the same time to have proved my assertion, that it is, from its own point of view, a *complete*, self-contained, and consequently *independent*, account of the Creation, not a mere supplement of the foregoing. I have dwelt, perhaps, somewhat longer on this passage, and have allowed myself to go deeper into the details of its interpretation, than would have been absolutely required for my object. It is, however, of importance to place in its proper light, what, through its position, as well as its contents, and its remarkable relation to the corresponding passage of the prime-document, is, perhaps, the most characteristic and therefore the most decisive of all, and thus to demonstrate its completeness, as well as its essential difference throughout from the view of the prime-document, and consequently, its independence of it, which gives us a firm basis for further investigation, and an inclination of judgment beforehand (*präjudiz*), of great consequence for the decision of the whole question. For, when here, at the starting point of the history, stands a tradition of the beginning and first stage of the course of moral development of man, so fundamentally different from that of the prime-document, two conclusions follow of necessity from this: first, that this view of things, and this difference, must have an influence also upon the further course, at least, of the general history, and must continually express itself there; secondly, that the author could not possibly have so written, *if he had had before him* the narrative of the prime-document,—still less could he have entertained the idea of supplementing this by his own, and weaving them together into a large historical work. If this, however, is shown *here*, it is shown for the whole book; for, what is true of the first

passage, must also be true of the rest. We have only, therefore, further to see what in this book is to be reckoned to the *Jehovistic* prime-document, and how far its original connection has maintained itself also in the following stages of the history.

88. I have quoted at length the remarks of this able writer, to whose researches the science of Biblical criticism is so much indebted in this part of the subject, which he has treated fully in his important work, *die Quelle der Genesis*. But, certainly, the Jehovistic sections of G.i–xi, as they now lie before us, seem hardly sufficient to justify the conclusion, that they once formed parts of an independent, connected whole. HUPFELD, it is true, has succeeded in recovering to the Jehovist, by means of the internal evidence, many passages which former critics, who were guided in their selection chiefly by noting the use of the Sacred Name, had assigned to the Elohist. Yet, when all these are put together, his contributions, *as they now stand*, will be seen to form but a series of separate fragments; they appear, in short, rather as interpolations, and not as parts of a compact whole.

89. If, for instance, ii.4–iv.26 forms a long complete narrative, yet even this leaves off abruptly, with the mention of the birth of Seth and Enos,—derived, it may be, from the Elohistic genealogy in chap.v, and introduced, it might be thought, only to give the derivation of the name, 'Seth,' and to fix the time of his son Enos, as the age when, in the writer's view, men 'began to call upon the name of Jehovah.' The next Jehovistic passage is a single verse, *v.*29, giving the derivation of the name 'Noah.' HUPFELD, however, supposes this verse to be part of a Jehovistic genealogy, the continuation of iv.25,26, and the counterpart of the Elohistic record in chap.v, the remainder of which —now suppressed — may have originally carried on the Jehovistic story, in complete connection with vi.1–8, where the Flood is announced. Or, perhaps, it may have stood originally after iv.24, in direct connection with the story of Lamech.

90. But, if even this be granted, yet the Jehovistic passages about the Flood itself, including vi.15,16, vii.18^{b},19,20^{a}, which

we assign to the Jehovist, are still fragmentary and defective,—since we find no account in them of the original order given to *make* the Ark, no collection of *food*,—no statement of their *entering into* the Ark or of their *coming out* of it. In vi.15, if that belongs to the Jehovist, or else in vii.1 '*the* Ark' is abruptly mentioned,—the Ark being probably known, HUPFELD says, *p.*15, 'from tradition': and vii.22 follows very abruptly after vii.20[a]. On the supposition of a 'later editor,' he must have left out all the passages, which filled up the blanks in the above instances in the Jehovistic document, because he found the facts sufficiently stated in the Elohistic document, from which he preferred to take them. It would follow, therefore, that he did not scruple to abridge the Jehovistic narrative, and to leave out parts of it,—though, perhaps, none of much importance,—simply out of respect for its venerable character, and that, consequently, this alone cannot be assigned as the reason why he has retained the discrepancies in the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge.

91. Nor do the Jehovistic passages by any means in all cases record additional facts, filling up blanks which may be supposed to have existed in the Elohistic story,—of which kind, for instance, might be reckoned the *command* to *enter* the Ark, vii.1, the statement of the lapse of 'seven days' before the Flood began, vii.10, of its duration, 'forty days and forty nights,' vii.12, of Jehovah's 'shutting after them,' vii.16[b]. But they are often, as we have observed already, mere repetitions in stronger language of the Elohistic statement, *e.g. comp.* vi.5–7 with vi.11–13, vii.4 with vi.17, vii.22,23[a] with vii.21. Is it probable, it is asked, that a *considerate editor*, who was deliberately selecting passages from the Jehovistic document,—and who (as we have seen) must have had no scruple in leaving out several Jehovistic passages,—would extract first, vii.12, 'and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights,' and then extract also, shortly afterwards, the mere tautological statement

*v.*17[a], 'and the Flood was forty days upon the earth'? At all events, it seems quite as easy to understand how such a second superfluous notice may have been inserted in this place by an *original*, supplementary, writer.

92. In short, as we have said, almost all the Jehovistic passages, so far as we have yet had them under review, seem at first sight to have rather this character of interpolations,—enlargements and embellishments of the primitive simple story,—by the hand of one, who wrote—not in slavish subjection to the contents of the primary document, but—with considerable freedom and independence. And this seems true even of the second account of the Creation, on which HUPFELD lays so great a stress in support of his own position. It is quite as easy to conceive that the Jehovist himself may not have perceived the discrepancies, which in this passage, as well as in those about the Flood, he has imported into the story, as it is to imagine this in the case of a later editor,—more especially when we take into account the difficulty in any case of mastering completely all the minute details of a story, written by another hand. It is almost impossible, indeed, for one writer to place himself so accurately in relation to the age and circumstances of another, as to be able to regard the same subject from exactly the same point of view; and it might be expected that any author, who would undertake to illustrate and amplify a narrative like that of the Elohist, would fall inevitably, now and then, into contradictions, which a close examination might detect. This might be looked for under the most favourable circumstances, if the interpolator had had the prime narrative before him, in clear roman type, in a printed volume. How much more, it may be said, when we take into account the difficulty of studying that narrative out of a long roll, consisting of many sheets, stitched together, of papyrus or parchment manuscript!

93. Indeed, the discrepancies in the account of the Flood might be easily accounted for in this way. And, with respect to the more

striking differences in the two accounts of the Creation, we may observe, (i) that the writer of the second account seems plainly to have had the first before him, from the manner in which he introduces his narrative, whether we suppose ii.4[a] to belong to him or not;—(if it does, then he has evidently (32) adopted words from the foregoing E. passage; if it does not, then he has, apparently (33), attached his own narrative, beginning with a broken sentence, to the existing E. story, unless, indeed, we adopt EWALD'S translation (33); or suppose HUPFELD'S 'later editor' to have omitted the first words of the Jehovist:)—and (ii) that his object is not here so much to enlarge and fill up the Elohistic account of the Creation in chap. i, but, rather, to give the story of the Fall in chap. iii, for which ii.4–25 is preparatory. He seems, in fact, to have become acquainted with a traditional Eden; and his object was to account for the expulsion of mankind from it, and for the lot of labour and sorrow, which is the portion even of the worshippers of Jehovah. And this he has done, apparently, without concerning himself whether or not his narrative harmonised exactly with the statements of the Elohistic writer.

94. SCHRADER, indeed, one of the latest writers (1863) on this subject, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der Biblischen Urgeschichte*, maintains, *p.*163, that the Jehovistic portions of these chapters—

in respect of their contents, as well as their form, stand in the closest relation with each other,—in fact, when restored to their original connection, they form a *coherent, uninterrupted, whole*, which, running parallel throughout to the narrative of the prime document, reports the Biblical primeval history as far as the end of the Deluge.

But then he obtains this continuity by *striking out* of the Jehovistic narrative the following passages, iv.25,26,vi.1–4,ix. 18[b],19,20–27, x.8–12,18[b],21, xi.1–9, because of the following phenomena, which he observes in them:

(i) הֵחֵל, *hckkel*, 'begin,' iv.26,vi.1,ix.20,x.8,xi.6;

(ii) פּוּץ, *puts*, 'spread-abroad,' ix.19,x.18[b],xi.4,8,9;

(iii) גִּבּוֹר, *gibbor*, 'mighty-one,' vi.4,x.9;

(iv) שֵׁם, *shem*, 'name'=renown, vi.4,xi.4;

(v) אֶרֶץ, *erets*, 'earth,' occurs in the above passages quite as often as אֲדָמָה, *ădamah*, 'ground,' and in x.8–12,xi.1–9, *only* the former is found;

(vi) the phrase גַּם הוּא, *gam hu*, 'he, she, it, too,' iv.26,vi.3,x.21;

(vii) the designation of Noah's sons as the elder and younger, ix.24,x.21.

95. The above phenomena, which occur *only* in these passages, serve, as he thinks, to *clamp* them together, as the work of one hand, *different* from that of either the Elohist or the Jehovist. And he says that the inspection of these passages shows that the writer 'lived in a different spiritual *sphere* from the others.'

He speaks of 'angels,' their 'mixing with the daughters of men,' vi.1–4, of 'giants' and 'heroes,' vi.4,x.8,9,—of Noah, as the founder of agriculture, ix.20,—and betrays a close acquaintance with eastern places, Mesopotamia and Assyria, x.8–12,xi.1–9, and knows the name 'Shinar' for Babylonia, x.10,xi.2,—of which the other writers know nothing.

This *different* writer SCHRADER conceives to be the *editor* of the present book of Genesis, who put the two (Elohistic and Jehovistic) documents together, not omitting any important passage of either of them, even where their statements clashed with each other, but inserting also, here and there, his own connecting links.

96. It is certainly remarkable that so many coincidences occur just in these passages, which may all be removed, without disturbing the connection of the Jehovistic matter, or, rather, the removal of which will give to that matter much more of the appearance of a continuous, complete, whole, than it now possesses. Still, on looking at the above passages, we may note as follows:—

(i) Why is x.18^{b} to be made over to the *editor*, except that it contains the word כְּנַעַן, which would bring with it ix.19,xi.4,8,9,—and xi.4,8,9, would bring the whole passage xi.1–9, which contains וַיָּחֶל, *v.*6,—and this would bring iv.26,vi.1,ix.20,x.8? In short, if x.18^{b} belongs to the Jehovist, as it appears to do, all the above passages also would have to be regarded as, most probably, belonging to him.

(ii) So, if ix.18^{b}, 'and Ham is the father of Canaan,' belongs to the Jehovist,—as it appears to do, from its connection with ix.18^{a}, which SCHRADER himself assigns to him,—it involves ix.22, and the whole section ix.20–27, and וַיָּחֶל, in *v.*20, and so the rest.

(iii) So, again, ix.19 has every appearance of being connected with x.18ᵃ, and, if so, it also belongs to the Jehovist; but it contains פְּנוֹת, and consequently, as in (ii) above, involves all the rest.

(iv) Besides which, the above passages contain strong resemblances to the other acknowledged Jehovistic matter:—

(α) Derivation of names, *viz.* 'Seth,' iv.25, 'Japheth,' ix.27, 'Babel,' xi.9, *as in* ii.7,23,iii.20,iv.1,16,v.29;

(β) 'face of the ground,' vi.1, *as in* ii.6,iv.14,vi.7,vii.4,23,viii.8;

(γ) 'upon the face of all the earth,' xi.4,8,9, *as in* vii.3,viii.9;

(δ) 'Cursed be Canaan,' ix.25; *comp.* iii.14,17,iv.11;

(ε) יָלַד, *yalad*, 'beget,' vi.4,x.8, *as in* iv.18,18,18,x.13,15,24,24,26;

(ζ) יֻלַּד, *yullad*, 'was born,' iv.26,vi.1,x.21, *as in* x.25;

(η) the anthropomorphisms, xi.5,7, *as in* ii.7,8,15,19,21,22,iii.8,21,24,iv.15, vii.16ᵇ,viii.21;

(θ) the secret speeches, vi.3,xi.6, *as in* ii.18,iii.22,vi.7,viii.21;

(v) As to the strongest of SCHRADER'S arguments, *viz.* that 'earth' is used as often as 'ground' in these passages, and exclusively in x.8–12,xi.1–9, the fact is that in x.8–12, the word 'ground' could not have been used; it could not have been said, 'he began to be a mighty-one in the *ground*,' x.8, (though it might have been said 'on the face of the ground.' *comp.* vi.4 with vi.1,) nor in *v.*10,11, could it have been written 'the *ground* of Shinar,' 'out of that *ground*.'

(vi) the phrase גַּם הוּא, *gam hu*, 'he, she, it, too,' also occurs in iv.4,22.

(vii) shows only that ix.24,x.21, are by the same hand.

SCHRADER'S arguments from the *contents* of these passages cannot be taken into account *à priori*; but the *Jehovist* seems to have given some attention to geographical matters, especially in 'Mesopotamia and Assyria,' ii.10–14.

97. But, besides *excluding* certain passages from the Jehovistic matter, SCHRADER is obliged also, in order to obtain the continuity in question, to *include* other passages as Jehovistic, which have either been shown above to be Elohistic, or which do not exist at all in the present book of Genesis, but require to be introduced, to make his assumed Jehovistic narrative complete and intelligible.

(i) It is supposed that the Jehovist knew of *only* two sons of Adam, Cain and Abel,—the mention of Seth in iv.26 being assigned, as above, to the later 'editor,' —and that he regarded *Noah* as descended from the Lamech of iv.18,24, the descendant of *Cain*, knowing nothing of the Elohistic genealogy in v, and, therefore, *not* having before him the Elohistic narrative,—(which raises the difficulty (33) as to the connection of ii.4ᵇ with the preceding narrative, since we could not then assign ii.4ᵃ to the Jehovist). Then, in order to form the connection between iv.24 and v.29, it is necessary to include v.28ᵇ, but instead of writing 'and he begat a son,'

the Jehovist, it is said, must have written originally, 'And *Lamech* begat *again* a son, &c.,' having already begotten Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-cain, iv.20,21,22.

(ii) Then, with the exclusion of vi.1–4, as an editorial interpolation, the story goes on continuously to vii.5, after which *v.*7, which is decidedly *Elohistic* (50.iii,iv),—'And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the Ark, because of the waters of the Deluge,'—must be retained as *Jehovistic.*

(iii) Then *v.*8,9, which are equally *Elohistic* (50.v–ix), are assigned to the *editor*, 'who sought in this way to bring into agreement the two accounts, just as in iv.25,26, he has tried to connect suitably with one another the two genealogies varying in many points from each other,' SCHRADER, *p.*138. The reason given for this last appropriation is, that these verses, besides containing the distinction of 'clean' and 'unclean' animals, on which see (50,N.B.),—contains also the word אֲדָמָה, *ădamah*, 'ground,' 'which is not a favourite with the Elohist.' But, as we have seen, the expression employed in *v.*8, 'all that *creepeth upon the ground*,' is the identical formula, in which alone the Elohist *does* use the word אֲדָמָה in i.25,vi.20: see (37.x), (40.iv).

(iv) Then *v.*16ᵇ, 'and Jehovah shut up after him,' has to be removed from its present place, and put after *v.*7.

(v) Lastly, *v.*22, which, compared with ii.7, bears so strong a mark of the Jehovist's hand (see 59.i), 'must have been *modified* by the editor; for the whole form of the sentence, with the fact, that the principal verb מֵתוּ, *methu*, 'they died,' occurs not at the beginning, but at the end, makes the impression as if the writer was not here relating (as the Jehovist must have done) what is here recorded as *something new*, [*i.e.* told here *for the first time*]—since in that case we should rather expect, (as the Heb. idiom would *require*,) וַיָּמָת, *vayyamoth*, 'and there died,' *before* כֹּל אֲשֶׁר, *kol ăsher*, 'all which,'—but as if this clause were only *still further intensifying* something already said (whereas *v.*21 is E.), so that וַיִּגְוַע, *vayyigvah*, 'and there expired,' *Imperf.*, at the *beginning* of *v.*21, and מֵתוּ, *methu*, 'they died,' *Perf.* at the *end* of *v.*22, would stand to each other in exactly the same relation as וַיָּבֹאוּ, *vayyavou*, 'and they came,' *Imperf.*, at the *beginning* of *v.*15 and בָּאוּ, *bau*, 'they came,' *Perf.*, at the end of the principal clause in *v.*16, both by the *same* (Elohistic) writer.'

N.B. The fact here noticed by SCHRADER, *viz.* that the forms of the Heb. verbs at the beginning of *v.*21 and the end of *v.*22 correspond exactly to those which would have been used if *one and the same* writer had written *both* verses (as in the case of *v.*15,16,), and which, according to him, must be accounted for by supposing that *v.*22 has been 'modified' by the later editor, is a *very important* one, as any Hebrew scholar will see, in reference to the question now before us. For there can be no doubt that *v.*22 has *not* been modified,—that it is a genuine Jehovistic verse. It would seem, therefore, that the Jehovist *had before him v.*21, and was writing to *supplement* it,—unless *his own* verse, which originally preceded *v.*22, has been *left out* by the editor.

98. By help of the above exclusions and inclusions, the Jeho-

vistic narrative in G.i–xi may be made continuous and complete to the end of the Flood. As, however, it is impossible, for reasons which we have given, to assent to many of the details involved in the above assumptions, we shall prefer supposing that the Jehovistic document,—should it appear finally most probable that originally it was not *supplementary* and *fragmentary*, as we now see it, but an independent complete history,—must have been abridged by the later 'editor,' so that it is now impossible to restore with certainty its original form.

99. It is possible, however, without doing so much violence to the present text as SCHRADER's proposal involves, to construct a continuous Jehovistic narrative up to the end of the Flood, by supposing that *v.*29 originally formed part of the story of Lamech in chap.iv, following iv.24, and that it was removed, by the later editor or compiler of the present book of Genesis, to the place where we now find it, in order to avoid the necessity of giving two inconsistent genealogies of Noah,—and by inserting also in the narrative of the Flood, in their proper places, statements to this effect, that 'Jehovah commanded him to make an Ark,' that 'Noah and all his house went into the Ark,' that 'all flesh died,' in deference to SCHRADER's remark (97.v) that 'Jehovah remembered Noah,' that 'the Ark rested' after the forty days, and that 'Noah and all his house came out of the Ark,'—statements, which might, undoubtedly, be omitted by a compiler without impropriety, since they contain nothing but what the Elohistic narrative states almost in the same words.

100. But, although the Jehovistic narrative *may* thus be brought into continuity, by a few simple modifications and a few additions, we do not wish to be considered as adopting this view, by making the above exhibition of it, and the fact remains that *in its present condition it is fragmentary.* These additions and modifications can only be *conjectural.* The hypothesis must, therefore, still remain admissible, that it was originally written as a series of separate supplementary interpolations, in-

serted into the Elohistic narrative, in which last a complete continuity has been *shown* to exist.

In either case, the important *main* point,—the proof that these chapters of Genesis contain two distinct accounts, proceeding from different writers,—remains unaffected.

101. Upon the whole, however, it must be admitted that the contents of these first eleven chapters of Genesis are not sufficient to determine this question for us. We must, therefore, reserve our judgment on this point, until the analysis has been carried further, and more of the Jehovistic matter lies before us. But we are justified, at all events, in concluding from the evidence at present before us, that the Jehovistic writer—whether we regard him as the writer of a complete independent narrative, or merely as the interpolator of the primary Elohistic document,—was one who wrote with considerable independence and boldness of thought, and who felt himself in no way bound to adhere scrupulously to the details of the original story, or to maintain with it a perfect unity of style, any more than of sentiment. We have thus, to some extent, a confirmation of the view which has been already expressed in (II.505–8), as to the composition of the Pentateuch.

102. But we have more than this. The analysis, *as far as we have gone,* confirms the statement in (II.337) that the Elohist never mentions the name 'Jehovah,' until he records the revelation of it in E.iii or E.vi. From this it would seem that the words in E.vi.3,—

'by my Name Jehovah was I not known to them'—

are really meant to imply that, in his view, the *Name* itself—and not merely the *full* meaning of it—was unknown before the time of Moses. This result, if confirmed as we proceed, would conflict, of course, with the views of the Jehovist, who puts it in the mouth of Eve, iv.1, and says, iv.26, that from the time of Enos 'it was begun to call upon the name of Jehovah.'

CHAPTER VII.

THE ELOHISTIC NARRATIVE.

103. We shall now exhibit in full the portions of G.i.1–xi.26, which appear to us to belong to the Elohist and Jehovist, respectively. In order to set more distinctly before the eyes of the English reader the agreements and variations in style, which have been noted in our preceding critical enquiry, it has been necessary to translate these chapters again from the original, taking care to render, as far as possible, the same Hebrew word or phrase always by the same English equivalent, — a rule which is very often not observed in the authorised version. Thus (40.N.B.) in *nine* places, i.25, iv.11,14, vi.1,7,20, vii.4,8, ix.2, the original has הָאֲדָמָה, *ha-ădamah*, 'the ground,' where the E.V. has 'the earth,' by which it always expresses elsewhere הָאָרֶץ, *ha-arets*, whereas the former word is properly rendered 'the ground' in *seventeen* other places, ii.5,6,7,9, &c. So the verb רָמַשׂ, *ramas*, is expressed by 'move' in i.21,28, vii.21, and by 'creep' in i.26,30, vii.8,14, viii.17,19, and the noun, רֶמֶשׂ, *remes*, by 'creeping thing' in *nine* places, i.24,25,26, &c., and by 'moving thing' in ix.3.

104. It is obvious that, without uniformity of translation, no accurate comparison can be instituted between the two documents in English. There is no single word in English which expresses completely the force of רָמַשׂ, which is used of the movement of all animals not bipeds, quadrupeds as well as reptiles, between which no strong distinction was drawn by the Hebrew natural historians; thus in L.xi.29,30, we have joined together

in one category, as 'creeping things,' the *mouse, tortoise, lizard, snail,* and *mole.* We shall employ the same word 'creep' throughout.

105. So also the noun, חַיָּה, *khayyah,* is rendered 'beast,' i.24,30, ii.19,20, iii.1,14, vii.14,21, ix.2,5,10,10, but 'living thing,' i.28, vi.19, viii.1,17; נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh,* is represented by 'creature' in i.21,24, ii.19, ix.10,12,15,16, by 'soul' in ii.7, by 'life' in ix.4,5,5, and in i.20,30, it disappears altogether, נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *nephesh khayyah,* being expressed by 'life'; שָׁרַץ, *sharats,* is given by 'bring forth abundantly,' i.20,21, and 'breed abundantly,' viii.17, but 'creep,' vii.21, — שֶׁרֶץ, *sherets,* by 'moving creature,' i.20, but 'creeping thing,' vii.21. We shall render in all cases חַיָּה by 'animal,' נֶפֶשׁ by 'soul,' שָׁרַץ by 'swarm,' שֶׁרֶץ by 'swarming-things.'

But on this account, as well as because, for a similar reason, it has been necessary to translate as *literally* as possible, the following version does not pretend to be an elegant, but only a strictly faithful, representation of the original.

THE ELOHISTIC NARRATIVE.

N.B.—The sign ✠ denotes that a Jehovistic passage has been removed.

1 (1) In the beginning ELOHIM created the Heaven and the Earth. (2) And the Earth was desolation and emptiness, and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of ELOHIM hovering upon the face of the waters.

(3) And ELOHIM said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. (4) And ELOHIM saw the light that *it was* good; and ELOHIM divided between the light and (between) the darkness. (5) And ELOHIM called (to) the light 'Day,' and (to) the darkness He called 'Night.' And it was evening, and it was morning,—one day.

(6) And ELOHIM said, 'Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it be dividing between waters (to) and waters.' (7) And ELOHIM made the expanse, and divided between the waters which *were* beneath the expanse, (between) and the waters which *were* above the expanse; and it was so. (8) And ELOHIM called (to) the expanse 'Heaven.' And it was evening, and it was morning,—a second day.

(9) And ELOHIM said, 'Let the waters beneath the Heaven be gathered into one place, and let the dry-land appear'; and it was so. (10) And ELOHIM called (to) the dry-land 'Earth,' and (to) the gathering of waters called He 'Seas'; and ELOHIM saw that *it was* good.

(11) And ELOHIM said, 'Let the Earth vegetate vegetation, the herb seeding seed, the fruit-tree making fruit, after its kind, whose seed *is* in it, upon the Earth'; and it was so. (12) And the Earth brought forth vegetation, the herb seeding seed after its kind, and the tree making fruit, whose seed *is* in it, after its kind; and ELOHIM saw that *it was* good. (13) And it was evening, and it was morning,—a third day.

(14) And ELOHIM said, 'Let there be luminaries in the expanse of the Heaven, to divide between the day and (between) the night, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years; (15) and let them be for luminaries in the expanse of the Heaven, to give light upon the Earth': and it was so. (16) And ELOHIM made the two great luminaries, — the greater luminary for the rule of the day, and the lesser luminary for the rule of the night,—and the stars. (17) And ELOHIM (gave) placed them in the expanse of the Heaven, to give light upon the Earth, (18) and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide between the light and (between) the darkness: and ELOHIM saw that *it was* good. (19) And it was evening and it was morning,—a fourth day.

(20) And ELOHIM said, 'Let the waters swarm with swarming-things of living soul, and let fowl fly over the Earth upon the face of the expanse of the Heaven.' (21) And ELOHIM created the great monsters, and every living soul that creepeth, which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every fowl of wing after its kind: and ELOHIM saw that *it was* good. (22) And ELOHIM blessed them, saying, 'Fructify and multiply, and fill the waters in the Seas, and let the fowl abound in the Earth.' (23) And it was evening, and it was morning,—a fifth day.

(24) And ELOHIM said 'Let the Earth bring forth living soul after its kind, cattle, and creeping-thing, and animal of the Earth after its kind': and it was so. (25) And ELOHIM made the animal of the Earth after its kind, and the cattle after its kind, and every creeping-thing of the ground after its kind: and ELOHIM saw that *it was* good.

(26) And ELOHIM said, 'Let us make man, in our image, after our likeness; and let them (tread) have-dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowl of the Heaven, and over the cattle, and over every animal * of the

* This is the rendering of the Syriac Version, instead of 'all the Earth.' DELITZCH observes, *p.*122, 'If nothing followed *after* 'all the earth', we should

Earth, and over every creeping-thing that creepeth upon the Earth.' (27) And ELOHIM created man in His image; in the image of ELOHIM created He him; male and female created He them. (28) And ELOHIM blessed them, and ELOHIM said to them, 'Fructify, and multiply, and fill the Earth, and subdue it; and (tread) have-dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowl of the Heaven, and over every animal that creepeth upon the Earth.' (29) And ELOHIM said, 'Behold! I give to you every herb seeding seed, which *is* on the face of all the Earth, and every tree in which *is* the fruit of a tree seeding seed; to you it shall be for food: (30) and to every animal of the Earth, and to every fowl of the Heaven, and to everything creeping upon the Earth, in which is a living soul, *I give* every green herb for food'; and it was so. (31) And ELOHIM saw all that He had made, and behold! *it was* very good. And it was evening, and it was morning,—the sixth day.

2. (1) And the Heaven and the Earth were finished, and all their host. And ELOHIM finished on the seventh day His work which He had made, and rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made. (3) And ELOHIM blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; for on it He rested from all His work, which ELOHIM created (to make) and made. ✠

5. (1) This is the book of the generations of Adam, in the day of ELOHIM's creating Adam; in the likeness of ELOHIM made He him. (2) Male and female He created them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam in the day of their creation.

(3) And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and begat in his likeness, according to his image; and he called his name Seth. (4) And the days of Adam, after his begetting Seth, were eight hundred years, and he begat sons and daughters. (5) And all the days of Adam which he lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died.

(6) And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enos. (7) And Seth lived, after his begetting Enos, eight hundred and seven years, and he begat sons and daughters. (8) And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died.

(9) And Enos lived ninety years, and begat Kenan. (10) And Enos lived, after his begetting Kenan, eight hundred and fifteen years, and he begat sons and daughters. (11) And all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years, and he died.

(12) And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalaleel. (13) And Kenan

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have here a significant ascending climax: but the reckoning of the creatures goes on,—'and over every creeping-thing, &c.'—so that we can scarcely escape the conclusion that here the Hebrew text is faulty.'

lived, after his begetting Mahalaleel, eight hundred and forty years, and he begat sons and daughters. (14) And all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years, and he died.

(15) And Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared. (16) And Mahalaleel lived, after his begetting Jared, eight hundred and thirty years, and he begat sons and daughters. (17) And all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred and ninety-five years, and he died.

(18) And Jared lived an hundred and sixty-two years, and begat Enoch. (19) And Jared lived, after his begetting Enoch, eight hundred years, and he begat sons and daughters. (20) And all the days of Jared were nine hundred and sixty-two years, and he died.

(21) And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah. (22) And Enoch walked with ELOHIM*, after his begetting Methuselah, three hundred years, and he begat sons and daughters. (23) And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years. (24) And Enoch walked with ELOHIM, and he was not, for ELOHIM took him.

(25) And Methuselah lived an hundred and eighty-seven years, and begat Lamech. (26) And Methuselah lived, after his begetting Lamech, seven hundred and eighty-two years, and he begat sons and daughters. (27) And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred and sixty-nine years, and he died.

(28) And Lamech lived an hundred and eighty-two years, and begat [Noah]. ✠ (30) And Lamech lived, after his begetting Noah, five hundred and ninety-five years, and he begat sons and daughters. (31) And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred and seventy-seven years, and he died.

(32) And Noah was a son of five hundred years, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth. ✠

6. (9) These are the generations of Noah.

Noah was a man just *and* perfect in his generations: Noah walked with ELOHIM. (10) And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. (11) And the earth was corrupted before the face of ELOHIM, and the earth was filled with violence. (12) And ELOHIM saw the earth, and behold! it was corrupted; for all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth.

(13) And ELOHIM said to Noah, 'The end of all flesh has come before my face; for the earth is full of violence from before them; and behold! I will (corrupt) destroy them with the earth. (14) Make to thee an Ark of cypress-wood; *in* cells shalt thou make the Ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. ✠ (17) And I, behold! I (*am* bringing) will bring the Deluge

* We shall print the name thus, in large capitals, whenever it occurs in the original with the *article*.

of waters upon the earth, to (corrupt) destroy all flesh in which is a spirit of life from under the heaven; all which *is* in the earth shall die. (18) But I establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt go into the Ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives, with thee. (19) And out of every living thing out of all flesh, two out of all shalt thou bring into the Ark, to keep-alive with thee; male and female shall they be. (20) Out of the fowl after its kind, and out of the cattle after its kind, out of every creeping-thing of the ground after its kind, two out of all shall come unto thee, to keep-alive. (21) And thou, take to thee out of all food which is eaten, and thou shalt gather *it* unto thee, and it shall be to thee and to them for food.'

(22) And Noah did according to all which ELOHIM commanded him—so did he.✠

7. (6) And Noah *was* a son of six hundred years, when the Deluge was *of* waters upon the earth. (7) And he went, Noah, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives, with him, into the Ark, from the face of the waters of the Deluge. (8) Out of the clean cattle and out of the cattle which are not clean, and out of the fowl and all that creepeth upon the ground, (9) two *and* two, they came unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as ELOHIM commanded Noah.✠

(11) In the six-hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month, on this day were broken up all the fountains of the great deep, and the windows of the heaven were opened.✠ (13) On this very same day, (*lit.* in the bone of this day,) went Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, Noah's sons, and Noah's wife, and his sons' three wives, with them, into the Ark; (14) they, and every animal after its kind, and all the cattle after its kind, and every creeping-thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and all the fowl after its kind, every bird *of* every wing. (15) And they came unto Noah into the Ark, two *and* two, out of all flesh, in which *is* a spirit of life. (16a) And those coming, male and female out of all flesh they came, as ELOHIM commanded him.✠

(18a) And the waters were mighty, and multiplied (very) greatly upon the earth,✠ and the mountains were covered. (21) And all flesh died, that creepeth upon the earth, among fowl, and among cattle, and among (animal) animals, and among all the swarming-things that swarm upon the earth, and all man;✠ (23b) and only Noah was left, and what *was* with him in the Ark.

(24) And the waters were mighty upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.

8. (1) And ELOHIM remembered Noah, and every animal, and all the

cattle, that was with him in the Ark; and ELOHIM caused-to-pass a wind upon the earth, and the waters subsided. (2a) And the fountains of the deep were stopped and the windows of the heaven; ✠ (3) and the waters returned from off the earth, returning continually, and the waters decreased at the end of a hundred and fifty days. (4a) And the Ark rested in the seventh month, in the seventeenth day of the month. ✠ (5) And the waters were decreasing continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month*, in the first of the month, the tops of the mountains were seen. ✠

(13a) And it came-to-pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first *month*, in the first of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: ✠ (14) and in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month, the earth was dry.

(15) And ELOHIM spake unto Noah, saying, (16) 'Go out from the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives, with thee. (17) Every animal that *is* with thee out of all flesh, among fowl, and among cattle, and among every creeping-thing that creepeth upon the earth, bring forth with thee; and let them swarm in the earth, and fructify, and multiply, upon the earth.' (18) And he went out, Noah, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives, with him. (19) Every animal, every creeping-thing, and every fowl, everything creeping upon the earth,—after their families, they went out from the Ark. ✠

9. (1) And ELOHIM blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, 'Fructify, and multiply, and fill the earth. (2) And the fear of you and the terror of you shall be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every fowl of the heaven, among all that creepeth the ground, and among all the fishes of the sea: into your hand they are given. (3) Every creeping-thing that liveth, to you it shall be for food: as the green herb, I give to you all. (4) Only flesh (in) with its soul, its blood, ye shall not eat. (5) And surely your blood of your souls will I require: from the hand of every animal will I require it; and from the hand of man, from the hand of a man's brother, will I require the soul of man. (6) Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of ELOHIM made He man. (7) And you, fructify and multiply, swarm in the earth, and multiply in it.'

(8) And ELOHIM said unto Noah, and unto his sons with him, saying: (9) 'And I, behold! I (*am* establishing) will establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you, (10) and with every living soul which is with you, among fowl, and among cattle, and among (every animal) all animals of the earth with you, from all going out of the ark to every animal of the earth. (11) And I establish my covenant with you, and all flesh shall not be again cut off through the waters of the Deluge, and there shall not be again a Deluge to (corrupt) destroy the earth.'

(12) And ELOHIM said, 'This is the sign of the covenant, which I (*am* giving) will make between me and (between) you, and (between) every living soul that *is* with you for perpetual generations. (13) My bow do I (give) set in the cloud, and it shall be for a sign of a covenant between me and (between) the earth. (14) And it shall be, at my (clouding) bringing a cloud upon the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud. (15) And I will remember my covenant which is between me and (between) you and (between) every living soul among all flesh; and there shall not be again the waters for a Deluge to (corrupt) destroy all flesh. (16) And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will see it, for a remembrance of the perpetual covenant between ELOHIM and (between) every living soul among all flesh that is upon the earth.'

(17) And ELOHIM said unto Noah, 'This is the sign of the covenant, which I establish between me and (between) all flesh that is upon the earth.' ✠

(28) And Noah lived after the Deluge three hundred and fifty years. (29) And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years, and he died. ✠

11. (10) These are the generations of Shem.

Shem *was* a son of a hundred years, and begat Arphaxad two years after the Deluge. (11) And Shem lived, after his begetting Arphaxad, five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

(12) And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begat Salah. (13) And Arphaxad lived, after his begetting Salah, four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

(14) And Salah lived thirty years, and begat (*H*eber) Eber. (15) And Salah lived, after his begetting Eber, four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

(16) And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg. (17) And Eber lived, after his begetting Peleg, four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

(18) And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu. (19) And Peleg lived, after his begetting Reu, two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

(20) And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug. (21) And Reu lived, after his begetting Serug, two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

(22) And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor. (23) And Serug lived, after his begetting Nahor, two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

(24) And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah. (25) And Nahor lived, after his begetting Terah, a hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

(26) And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JEHOVISTIC PASSAGES IN GEN. I. 1—XI. 26.

N.B. We have attempted to restore the probable connection of these passages, on the assumption (99) that they formed originally a complete, independent, narrative,—without, however, committing ourselves definitely to that view, not having as yet sufficient evidence before us to determine the judgment for or against it,—but in order that the reader may have the facts of the case set before him as clearly as possible. The insertions made for this purpose are printed in *italics* within brackets [ ], and the mark ◇ signifies that an Elohistic passage has been removed. We have italicized the first clause, since, if this be an original, *independent*, narrative, that clause must be due either to the Elohist or to the later compiler, for the reasons stated in (33).

2. (4) [*These are the generations of the Heaven and the Earth in their creation,*] in the day of JEHOVAH-ELOHIM'S making Earth and Heaven. (5) And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no shrub of the field yet sprouted; for JEHOVAH-ELOHIM had not made-it-rain on the earth, and man *was* not, to till the ground. (6) And a mist rose from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

(7) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM formed the man of dust out of the ground, and breathed in his nostrils breath of life, and the man became a living soul. (8) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM planted a garden in Eden eastward, and placed there the man whom He had formed. (9) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM made-to-sprout out of the ground every tree pleasant for sight and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

(10) And a river goeth out from Eden to water the garden, and from thence it is separated, and becomes four heads. (11) The name of the first *is* Pison; that *is it* which boundeth the whole land of Havilah, where *is* the gold; (12) and the gold of that land *is* good; there is the bdellium and the onyx-stone. (13) And the name of the second river is Gihon: that *is it* which

boundeth the whole land of Cush. (14) And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; that *is it* which goeth eastward of Assyria. And the fourth river—that *is* Euphrates.

(15) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM took the man, and left him in the garden of Eden, to till it and to keep it. (16) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM enjoined upon the man, saying, 'Of every tree of the garden eating thou shalt eat: (17) but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—thou shalt not eat of it; for, in the day of thy eating of it, dying thou shalt die.'

(18) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM said, '*It is* not good, the man's being alone-by-himself: I will make for him a help over-against-him.' (19) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM formed out of the ground every animal of the field and every fowl of the heaven, and brought *it* to the man, to see what he would call it; and whatsoever the man would call it, the living soul—that *should be* its name. (20) And the man called names to all the cattle, and to the fowl of the heaven, and to every animal of the field; but for (Adam) the man he found not (*i.e.* one found not=there was not found) a help over-against-him.

(21) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM made-to-fall a deep slumber upon the man, and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh-in-its-place. (22) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM built the rib, which He took out of the man, into a woman, and brought her to the man. (23) And the man said, 'This-time this *is* bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: to this it shall be called Woman (*Ishah*), for out of Man (*Ish*) was this taken. (24) Therefore shall a man forsake his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall become one flesh.'

(25) And they were both of them naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

3. (1) And the serpent was subtle, out of (every animal) all animals of the field, which JEHOVAH-ELOHIM had made: and he said unto the woman, '*Is it* so that ELOHIM has said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' (2) And the woman said unto the serpent, 'Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we shall eat: (3) but of the fruit of the tree, which *is* in the midst of the garden, ELOHIM has said, 'Ye shall not eat of it, and ye shall not touch it, lest ye die.' (4) And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not (dying) surely die: (5) for ELOHIM knows that, in the day of your eating of it, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as ELOHIM, knowing good and evil.' (6) And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a longing to the eyes, and the tree was pleasant to behold; and she took of its fruit, and ate, and gave also to her husband with her, and he ate. (7) And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed together fig-leaves, and made to themselves girdles.

(8) And they heard the (voice) sound of JEHOVAH-ELOHIM, walking in the garden in the breeze of the day; and he hid himself, the man, and his wife, from the face of JEHOVAH-ELOHIM in the midst of the trees of the garden. (9) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM called unto the man, and said to him, 'Where art thou?' (10) And he said, 'Thy (voice) sound I heard in the garden, and I feared, for I *am* naked, and I hid myself.' (11) And He said, 'Who told to thee that thou *art* naked? Of the tree, which I commanded thee not to eat of, hast thou eaten?' (12) And the man said, 'The woman, whom Thou didst (give) place with me, she gave to me of the tree, and I ate.' (13) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM said to the woman, 'What *is* this *which* thou hast done?' And the woman said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I ate.'

(14) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM said unto the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this, cursed *art* thou out of all the cattle and out of (every animal) all animals of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life: (15) and enmity will I put between thee and (between) the woman, and between thy seed and (between) her seed; it shall bruise thee *on* the head, and thou shalt bruise it * *on* the heel.'

(16) Unto the woman He said, 'Multiplying I will multiply thy pain and thy conception; in pain shalt thou bear children, and unto thy husband *shall be* thy desire, and he shall rule over thee.'

(17) And to Adam He said, 'Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, *as to* which I commanded thee, saying, 'Thou shalt not eat of it,' cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in pain shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; (18) and thorns and thistles shall it make-to-sprout to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; (19) in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread until thy returning unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust *art* thou, and unto dust shalt thou return.'

(20) And the man called the name of his wife Eve (*Khavvah*), for she was the mother of all living (*khay*).

(21) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM made to Adam and to his wife coats of skin, and clothed them.

(22) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM said, 'Behold! the man has become as one of us, for the knowledge of good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his

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* The E. V. has '*his* heel'; but '*his*' is here only the antiquated form of '*its*,' as is plain from the E. V. having just before '*It* shall bruise &c.'

The Heb. זֶרַע, *zerah*, 'seed,' is a *collective* noun, and is never found in the *plural*, in the general sense of 'offspring.' Hence it *may* be used here for 'offspring,' generally, and must not be pressed as meaning an *individual*, unless the context requires it, as in iv.25.

hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever. . .' (23) And JEHOVAH-ELOHIM put him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. (24) And he-drove-away the man, and stationed eastward (? in front) of the garden of Eden the cherubs and the flame of the turning sword, to keep the way of the tree of life.

4. (1) And the man knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare (Kain) Cain, and she said, 'I have acquired (*Kanithi*), a man with JEHOVAH.' (2) And she added to bear his brother Abel; and Abel was a tender of sheep, and Cain was a tiller of ground.

(3) And it came to pass at the end of days that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to JEHOVAH. (4) And Abel brought, he also, of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat. And JEHOVAH had respect unto Abel and unto his offering; (5) and unto Cain and unto his offering He had not respect: and it (*anger*) was (very) greatly kindled to Cain, and his face fell. (6) And JEHOVAH said unto Cain, 'Why has it been kindled to thee, and why has thy face fallen? (7) Is there not, if thou do well, (lifting up) acceptance? and if thou doest not well, sin is crouching at the entrance, and unto thee is its * desire; but thou shalt rule over it.*'

(8) And Cain said unto Abel his brother, ['Let us go to the field;'] † and it came to pass, in their being in the field, that Cain rose (unto) against Abel his brother, and slew him.

(9) And JEHOVAH said unto Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' And he said, 'I know not; am I keeping my brother?' (10) And He said, 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood *is* crying unto me out of the ground. (11) And now, cursed art thou out of the ground, which opened her mouth to take thy brother's blood from thy hand. (12) When thou tillest the ground, it shall not add to give her strength to thee: a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.' (13) And Cain said unto JEHOVAH, 'My iniquity is too great to forgive, (or 'My punishment is too great to bear.') (14) Behold! Thou hast driven me away this day from *being* upon the face of the ground, and from Thy face shall I hide myself, and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth, and it will be that anyone finding me will slay me.' (15) And JEHOVAH said to him, 'Therefore *as to* anyone slaying Cain, he (Cain) shall be avenged sevenfold:' and JEHOVAH set on (or 'to') Cain a mark, that anyone finding him might not smite him.

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* So DELITZCH, p. 201, and many other commentators. The E. V. has 'his,' 'him,' the Hebrew pronouns being *masculine*, whereas the Hebrew word here used for sin is *feminine*, חַטָּאת, *khattath*. But, as DELITZCH observes, sin seems here to be personified, as a wild beast or snake.

† The Sam., Sept., and Vulg., insert this clause, which completes the sense.

(16) And Cain went out from the presence of JEHOVAH, and dwelt in the land of Nod, eastward of Eden. (17) And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and bare Enoch; and he was building a city, and he called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch. (18) And there was born to Enoch Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methusael, and Methusael begat Lamech.

(19) And Lamech took to him two wives, the name of the one Adah, and the name of the second Zillah. (20) And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of dwellers in tents and among cattle. (21) And the name of his brother was Jubal: he was the father of all handling lyre and flute. (22) And Zillah—she also bare Tubal-Cain, a forger of all instruments of brass and iron; and the sister of Tubal-Cain *was* Naamah.

(23) And Lamech said to his wives:

'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice!
Ye wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech!
For I have slain a man for my wound,
And a youth for my hurt.
(24) For Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
And Lamech seventy-and-seven.'

(25) And Adam knew again his wife, and she bare a son, and she called his name (Sheth) Seth; 'for ELOHIM,' *said she*, 'hath appointed (*shath*) to me other seed in place of Abel, for Cain slew him.'

(26) And to Seth,—*to* him also, there was born a son, and he called his name Enos. Then was it begun to call upon the name of JEHOVAH.

5. [*And Lamech begat again a son,*] (29) and he called his name (*Noakh*) Noah, saying, 'This shall comfort (*nikham*) us (from) over our work and (from) over the pain of our hands, (from) over the ground which JEHOVAH cursed.'

6. (1) And it came-to-pass that man began to multiply upon the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them. (2) And the sons of ELOHIM saw the daughters of man that they *were* goodly: and they took to them wives of all whom they chose. (3) And JEHOVAH said, 'My spirit shall not preside in man for ever, forasmuch as he also is flesh, and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.'

(4) The giants were in the earth in those days; and also afterwards, as the sons of ELOHIM went unto the daughters of man, and begat to themselves, these *were* the mighty-ones which *were* of old, the men of a name.

(5) And JEHOVAH saw that the wickedness of man was multiplied in the earth, and every (formation) imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil all the days. (6) And JEHOVAH repented that He had made man in the earth, and He was pained (unto) in His heart. (7) And JEHOVAH said,

'I will wipe-out man, whom I have created, from off the face of the ground, from man unto cattle, unto creeping-thing, and unto fowl of the heaven; for I repent that I have made them.' (6) But Noah found favour in the eyes of JEHOVAH.◈

[*And Jehovah said to Noah, Make thee an Ark.*] (15) And this is how thou shalt make it,—three hundred cubits the length of the ark, fifty cubits its breadth, and thirty cubits its height. (16) A light shalt thou make to the Ark, and unto a cubit shalt thou finish it upward, and a door of the Ark shalt thou place in its side; lower, second, and third *stories* shalt thou make it.◈

7. (1) And JEHOVAH said to Noah, 'Go thou and all thy house into the Ark; for thee do I see righteous before my face in this generation. (2) Out of all the clean cattle thou shalt take to thee seven *and* seven, the male and his mate, (*lit.* man and his woman); and out of the cattle, which *are* not clean, it *shall be* two, the male and his mate. (3) Also out of the fowl of the heaven seven *and* seven, male and female, to keep-alive seed upon the face of all the earth. (4) For after yet seven days, I will cause-it-to-rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and I will wipe-out all the substance which I have made from off the face of the ground.'

(5) And Noah did according to all which JEHOVAH commanded him.◈

(10) And it came-to-pass after the seven days that the waters of the Deluge were upon the earth.◈ (12) And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

[*And Noah and all his house went into the Ark.*] (16b) And JEHOVAH shut after him, (17) And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters multiplied, and they raised the Ark, and it was lifted from off the earth.◈ (18b) And the Ark went upon the face of the waters. (19) And the waters were very, very, mighty upon the earth; and all the high mountains, that were beneath all the heaven, were covered. (20) Fifteen cubits upward the waters were mighty.◈ [*And all flesh died:*] (22) All, in whose nostrils *was* the breath of a spirit of life, out of all which *was* in the dry land, died. (23a) And He wiped out all the substance which *was* upon the face of the ground, from man unto cattle, unto creeping-thing, and unto fowl of the heaven; and they were wiped-out from the earth.

8. [*And Jehovah remembered Noah,*] (2b) and the rain was restrained out of the heaven;◈ [*and the Ark rested*] (4b) on the Mountains of Ararat.◈

(6) And it came-to-pass, at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the Ark, which he had made. (7) And he put forth the raven, and it went-out, going-out and returning, until the drying-up of the

waters from off the earth. (8) And he put-forth the dove from him, to see whether the waters were lightened from off the face of the ground. (9) And the dove found not rest for the sole of its foot, and it returned unto him unto the Ark; for waters *were* upon the face of all the earth; and he put-forth his hand, and took it, and brought it unto him into the Ark. (10) And he stayed yet seven other days, and he added to put-forth the dove out of the Ark. (11) And the dove came unto him at the time of evening, and behold! an olive-leaf torn-off in its mouth; and Noah knew that the waters were lightened from off the earth. (12) And he stayed yet seven other days, and he put-forth the dove; and it added not to return unto him again.◈ (13b) And Noah removed the covering of the Ark, and saw, and behold! the face of the ground was dry.◈

[*And Noah and all his house came out of the Ark*;] (20) and Noah built an altar to JEHOVAH, and took out of all the clean cattle and out of all the clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings (by-means-of) on the altar. (21) And JEHOVAH smelt the sweet savour, and JEHOVAH said unto His heart, 'I will not add to curse again the ground for the sake of man; for the (formation) imagination of the heart of man is evil from his youth; and I will not add again to smite (all living=) every living-thing, as I have done. (22) Still all the days of the earth, seed and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease.◈

9. (18) And the sons of Noah, those going out of the Ark, were Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and Ham—he *is* the father of Canaan. (19) These *were* the three sons of Noah, and out of these was spread-abroad all the earth.

(20) And Noah began *to be* a man of the ground, and he planted a vineyard. (21) And he drank of the wine, and was drunken, and he exposed-himself in the midst of his tent. (22) And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw his father's nakedness, and he told *it* to his two brethren without. (23) And Shem and Japheth took the garment, and laid *it* upon the shoulder of both of them, and they went backwards, and covered their father's nakedness; and their faces were backwards, and their father's nakedness they saw not.

(24) And Noah awoke from his wine, and he knew what his younger son had done to him. (25) And he said:

'Cursed *be* Canaan!
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.'

(26) And he said:

'Blessed *be* JEHOVAH, the ELOHIM of Shem!
And Canaan shall be a servant to him.

(27) ELOHIM shall enlarge (*yapht*) Japheth (*Yepheth*);
And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem;
And Canaan shall be a servant to him.'

10. (1) And these *are* the generations of the sons of Noah,—Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and there were born to them sons after the Deluge.

(2) The sons of Japheth, Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.

(3) And the sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz and Riphath, and Togarmah.

(4) And the sons of Javan, Elisha and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim.

(5) Out of these were separated the isles of the nations in their lands, (man) each after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.

(6) And the sons of Ham, Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan.

(7) And the sons of Cush, Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah; and the sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan. (8) And Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty-one in the earth. (9) He was a mighty-one in hunting before the face of JEHOVAH: therefore it is said, 'As Nimrod, the mighty-one in hunting before the face of JEHOVAH.' (10) And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. (11) Out of that land he went out to (Asshur) Assyria, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth-*Hir*, and Calah, (12) and Resen between Nineveh and (between) Calah: that *is* the great city.

(13) And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehavim, and Naphtuchim, (14) and Pathrusim, and Casluchim,—out of whom went out Philistim,—and Caphtorim.

(15) And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn and Heth, (16) and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite, (17) and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, (18) and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterwards the families of the Canaanite were spread-abroad. (19) And the border of the Canaanite was from Zidon, *in* thy going to Gerar, unto Gaza,—*in* thy going to Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, unto Lasha.

(20) These are the sons of Ham after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations.

(21) And to Shem, to him also there was born,—the father of all the sons of *H*eber, the elder brother of Japheth.

(22) The sons of Shem, Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram.

(23) And the sons of Aram, Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.

(24) And Arphaxad begat Salah, and Salah begat (*H*eber) Eber. (25) And to Eber were born two sons,—the name of the one Peleg, for in his days the

earth was divided (*palag*), and the name of his brother, Joktan. (26) And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, (27) and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, (28) and Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba, (29) and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these *were* the sons of Joktan. (30) And their dwelling was from Mesha, *in* thy going to Sephar, the mountain of the East.

(31) These *are* the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

(32) These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and out of these were separated the nations in the earth after the Deluge.

11. (1) And all the earth was of one (lip) language, and of one speech. (2) And it came to pass, in their journeying eastward, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there. (3) And they said, (man) each to his comrade, 'Come, let us make bricks, and let us burn them (for a burning) thoroughly.' And the bricks were to them for stone, and the slime was to them for the mortar. (4) And they said, 'Come, let us build to us a city, and a tower (and) with its head in the heaven; and let us make to us a name, lest we be spread-abroad upon the face of all the earth.'

(5) And JEHOVAH came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of man had built. (6) And JEHOVAH said, 'Behold! the people is one, and *there is* one (lip) language to all of them; and this is their beginning to do; and now there will not be restrained from them all which they have purposed to do. (7) Come, let us go down, and let us confound there their (lip) language, that they may not know (man) each the (lip) language of his comrade.' (8) And JEHOVAH spread-abroad them from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left-off to build the city. (9) Therefore (he called, *i.e.* one called=) men called its name Babel; for there JEHOVAH confounded (*balal*) the (lip) language of all the earth; and from thence JEHOVAH spread-abroad them upon the face of all the earth.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE RELATION OF SCRIPTURE AND SCIENCE.

106. HITHERTO, in the former Parts of this work, we have not considered any objection which has been raised to the historical truth of the story in the Pentateuch, on the ground of any miraculous or supernatural events recorded in it. We have simply treated the history as containing, or professing to contain, an authentic narrative of matters of fact. We have 'taken it and placed it,' as we have been so earnestly urged to do (*Quart. Review, Oct.* 1861, *p.*369)—

in the crucible, and under the microscope of strict Inductive Logic:—

and we have found it full of unsuspected flaws, of 'difficulties, contradictions, improbabilities, impossibilities.'

107. But we have seen also that these phenomena have arisen in a great measure from the fact, that the Pentateuch is not, as the traditionary view assumes, the work of one single writer, Moses,—describing transactions which fell in part within his own certain cognisance, and in many of which he himself was personally concerned,—but a composite work, the product of several different authors, who lived in different ages. We saw in Part III that one large portion of this work, the book of Deuteronomy, was mainly composed not earlier than the age of Josiah. We have now seen that the first eleven chapters of Genesis are manifestly due to two separate authors, not only distinct in tone and style, and writing from two very different points of view, and, on a mere literal principle of interpretation, in many particulars irreconcilable.

108. I believe that no one, who has followed the train of our previous reasoning, or even that of the seven preceding chapters, or who will give serious attention to the fact, which is laid bare before the eyes of English readers in the last two chapters, where the two documents are actually separated, will any longer doubt as to whether we are at liberty to criticise freely this portion of the Bible,—always, of course, reserving the respect which is due to the venerable character of these most ancient writings, and to the wonderful part which they have filled, in God's Providence, in the religious education of mankind, and with due consideration also of the feelings of many earnest and devout worshippers, by whom the Pentateuch, in all its parts, is still regarded as the actual work of Moses, and, in its every word and letter, is reverenced as the 'very foundation of our faith, the very basis of our hopes for eternity,' the awful, infallible, Word of the Living God.

109. Rather, it will be felt to be a positive duty, to face these great questions of our time, soberly and steadily, without fear, and without misgiving, as to what may be the ultimate consequences of pursuing such enquiries, under the guidance of His Spirit, who is the Spirit of Truth. As servants of God, we desire to see what is really true, that we may know Him better, and serve Him better, than before. CHRIST Himself came to reveal the Father to us: the whole object of His Life and Death was to glorify God, and to teach us to know Him and to glorify Him. We cannot glorify Him, we cannot make progress in the knowledge of God, by refusing to look at the facts, which He Himself is pleased to place before us in this our day, or by refusing to acknowledge them as facts, however they may contradict our previous notions. For facts, when God makes them plain to us, are solemn things, which we dare not disregard, to which we dare not shut our eyes, whether from indolence and the mere love of ease and quietness, or through fear of unreasoning clamour or of the censure and disappro-

bation of those, to whose judgments, in matters less sacred, we should naturally and properly defer.

'He, that is higher than the highest, regardeth it, and there be higher than they.' Ecc.v.8.

110. We are now, then, free to consider the accounts of these miracles and supernatural appearances, which are recorded in the Pentateuch, and especially the stories of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, in the light of modern Science, — not starting with the assumption, that such events as are here related are *à priori* in themselves impossible, but examining carefully the statements made, and comparing them — not only with each other, but — with what we *certainly know* to be true from other sources. For the Light of Modern Science, like any other 'good and perfect gift,' is a gift of God,—'is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights.' It is His special gift to the present age. And 'in Him there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.' His Revelation of Himself has been one and the same in all ages of the world, — differing, it is true, in degree, but the same essentially. As the writer just quoted (*Quart. Rev.*) has said, the Light of Revelation 'cannot be at variance' with the Light of Science. And, 'whenever a difference arises,' we must see if it is not caused by 'some hypothesis, or assumption, or inference, of man,' not by anything existing 'in the real Word, or the real Work, of the Creator.' Then 'we may preserve both peace and freedom.'

111. Surely, it must now be plain to most thoughtful readers, from the facts which we have had before us, that the cause of the differences in question *does* lie in a very false 'hypothesis, assumption, or inference, of man,' as to what constitutes the 'real *Word*' of the Creator. It arises from the fact that men have been taught all along to regard the Bible in all its parts, and the Pentateuch especially, as a divinely infallible record of absolute historical truth. It arises from men insisting on the

fallacy; that, if the Pentateuch be shown to be even partially unhistorical, then the whole history of the Jewish people will be left (*Quart. Rev.*)—

a dead and hollow shell of moral monstrosities, more incredible than the most capricious interferences with the world of matter,—

and coupling with it the still more shocking statement, that such monstrosities in the Jewish history—

would go far to disprove the very being of a God!

This is indeed, as we have said elsewhere, to bring the Sacred Ark itself into the Camp,—promoting superstition by fostering prejudice, instead of fighting the battle with the weapons of sincerity and truth.

112. While such language as the above is still employed, and the attempt is still made, by many from whom better things might have been expected, to urge upon the people the reception of all the Pentateuchal narratives as actual statements of real historical fact, there is no alternative left to us, but to show that such a view is utterly untenable, in the light of common sense, and consistently with what we know of the Divine Attributes. We must do this, in defence of the truth itself, and for the protection of those, especially in the rising generation, who may thus be misled to believe that Religion itself demands at their hands the sacrifice of their reasoning powers,—that God can only be devoutly and faithfully served, by renouncing at once all right of free enquiry into these questions of Biblical criticism, and all thought of reconciling the teachings of Religion with the results of modern Science, and the great discoveries of the age.

113. As Dr. Thomas Burnet says, *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*, *p.*348:—

Those, who adhere tenaciously in all things to the letter, and to the words of Moses, require to be admonished, that they allow nothing unworthy of God or of our religion, or do violence to the Majesty of the Divine Being by their irreverence. We, Christians, worship the Deity Supreme,—God, Best and Greatest, or, in common phrase, *a Being infinitely perfect*. In our theology, therefore, nothing should be attributed to God, which does not become *a Being infinitely perfect*. . . . When we ascribe to God, not merely in words, but in act, things which are

repugnant to the Divine Nature, we sin against the dignity of the Divine Being. But, if this were done with evil intention, and in a serious matter, it would have the character not merely of insult, but, in a certain sense, of blasphemy. . . . CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS has said very truly, *Strom.*vii, θεοφιλὴς ὁ θεοπρεπὴς μόνος, 'he only loves God, who observes what in its nature is worthy of God.'

114. Who would otherwise wish to be employed in dissecting these grand old stories, and pointing out their inconsistencies or their defects in scientific accuracy? As TUCH observes, *Gen.p.*2 : —

Who would deny the worth of these documents, because the authors knew nothing of the system of Copernicus, or of Kepler's Law-book of the Heavens? Or who will now any longer make the attempt to bring these old theories into unison with the results of scientific investigations of Nature?

And Von BOHLEN (HEYWOOD'S Eng. Ed.), ii.*p.*4 :—

Verily, he who restricts himself to the letter of this cosmogony [in G.i), and applies to it HERSCHEL'S discoveries, . . . to such a man not only is all sense for poetry and antiquity closed, but also, to speak plainly, all feeling for the pious and elevating object of the writer. But still more is there an absence of poetical and classical taste in him, who derives each step of the narrative through inspiration from the Deity, in order that this cosmogony may far exceed everything that we know from the wise men of the ancient [or the modern] world.

115. Yet the attempt is still made, which TUCH, writing twenty-five years ago, deemed impossible even in that stage of advancing Science. There are still to be found those, high in ecclesiastical position and influence, who think it necessary to maintain that 'Scripture and Science' are not in any single point 'at variance,' — that the veracity of the Divine Being Himself is pledged for the infallible truth of each one of these ancient narratives, — that every story in the Pentateuch is, at all events, *substantially* true, as a piece of authentic, historical, matter-of-fact, and that 'all our nearest and dearest consolations,' will be taken from us,' if we cease to believe this.

116. As KALISCH writes, *Gen.p.*12 : —

It was, and—incredible to say—is still (1853) asserted, that the fossils have never been animated structures, but were formed in the rocks through the planetary influences,—that the mammoth, which at the conclusion of the last century was found in the ice of the polar regions, in such remarkable preservation that dogs and bears fed upon its flesh, had never been a living creature, but was

created under the ice, and then preserved, instead of being transmuted into stone,—that all organisms found in the depth of the earth are models, created in the first day, to typify the living plants and animals to be produced in the subsequent part of the creative week; but, inasmuch as many forms, which lie buried *in* the earth, do not exist *on* the earth, these latter were rejected, as inappropriate or imperfect,—they represent the 'gates of death,' but foreshadow also the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, and the ultimate reunion of the dust of the human bodies at the sound of the last trump! See '*A Brief and Complete Refutation of the Anti-Scriptural Theory of Geologists*,' by '*A Clergyman of the Church of England*.'

Most justly does KALISCH observe, with reference to such assertions as the above, *p.*18:—

The Bible has no more dangerous enemies than those, who, either from indolence or apathy, are deaf to the teaching and warning of the other sciences; and those men, however well-meaning and warm-hearted, must be made mainly answerable, if the authority of the Scriptures should be disregarded by the most enlightened and most comprehensive minds.

117. But while such assertions are made, either of the scientific accuracy, or of the infallible historical truth, of the Hebrew Scriptures,—assertions, which the Church of England, at all events, has never made in any of her formularies,—it is necessary in defence of Religion itself to show, as plainly as possible, their utter groundlessness, that so the progress of scientific enquiry may not again be checked, as it was in days not very long gone by, by the blind irreverence of mere superstition. Let it be once freely admitted that these stories of the first chapters of Genesis, whatever they may teach of Divine, Eternal Truth, and whatever precious lessons may be drawn from them by a devout mind, are in their present form and structure mythical descriptions, where the narrative is an imaginative clothing for ideas, and so are not to be regarded as teaching unquestionable matters of historical fact, which occurred in the primitive times; and then such a comparison, as we must now make, between the statements of the Bible and well-known facts of Science, would be superfluous and uncalled for.

118. In the following chapters we shall consider at length the accounts of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c., as given in

G.i.1–xi.26, in the light of modern Science. We may here, however, introduce a few general preliminary remarks on this subject, with reference to this part of our work, for which purpose we first avail ourselves again of the language of Dr. KALISCH, *p.*1,2 :—

The modern researches in the natural sciences are as gigantic in their extent, as they are incontrovertible in their main results. The investigation of the laws of the material world, and their application to practical purposes, form the characteristic pursuits of our age. But the Bible also alludes, in many important passages, to physical laws and to natural phenomena. It became, therefore, an indispensable task for the Biblical Student, and especially the theologian, to compare those recent results with the respective Scriptural statements. The conclusions at which these men arrived, though vastly differing in detail, may be reduced to two chief classes.

(i) One part of these scholars—whose zeal, unfortunately, overruled their reason—flatly denied the correctness, and even possibility, of such facts. Everyone knows that GALILEO was compelled to abjure and to curse the Copernican system of the Earth's motion, as fallacious and heretical; VOETIUS described it as a neologian fabrication; and the learned FRANCIS TURRETIN, not much more than 150 years ago, endeavoured to overthrow it by Scriptural and physical arguments. But the opposition to that great *Astronomical* truth has vanished away before the colossal labours of KEPLER, NEWTON, and their illustrious followers; nor will anybody at present, as once the learned doctors of Salamanca did, decry the (*Geographical*) views of COLUMBUS, as an impious heresy; and, if objections are still raised by some tenacious straggler, they are received as a curiosity, causing hilarity, rather than provoking controversy. But more vehement were the denunciations hurled, up to a very recent date, against the results of *Geology*, itself a comparatively recent Science; it was declared to be an unholy and atheistic pursuit, a dark art, a 'horrid blasphemy,' a study which has the Evil One for its author; and its votaries were designated as arch-enemies of religion and virtue, infidels standing in the service of the infernal powers.

(ii) The other class of scholars, more sober and less sceptical, acknowledges, either wholly or partially, the exactness of the natural sciences, but denies emphatically that there exists the remotest discrepancy between these results and the Biblical records. This is, at present, by far the most prevalent opinion among theologians; they positively assert that, if there is an apparent contradiction, the fault is not in the Scriptural text, but in its erroneous exposition. They have, therefore, proposed a vast number of explanations intended to prove that harmony; and they have endeavoured to show that the present notions of Astronomy and Geology, though not clearly expressed in the Bible, are certainly implied in the words, or may easily be deduced from their tenor.

(iii) There is, indeed, a third, and a very large, class of scholars, who attempt to evade these questions altogether, by simply asserting that the Bible does not at all

intend to give information on physical subjects,—that it is exclusively a *religious* book, and regards the physical world only in so far as it stands in relation to the moral conduct of men. But this is a bold fallacy. With the same justice it might be affirmed that the Bible, in describing the rivers of Paradise, does not speak of Geography at all; or, in inserting the grand list and genealogy of nations, G.x, is far from touching the science of Ethnography. Taken in this manner, nothing would be easier, but nothing more arbitrary, than Biblical interpretation. It is simply untrue that the Bible entirely avoids these questions; it has, in fact, treated the history of Creation in a most comprehensive and magnificent manner; it has, in these portions, as well as in the moral precepts and the theological doctrines, evidently not withheld any information which it was in its power to impart.

The book of nature is no longer a sealed secret; it is no longer the exclusive privilege of the initiated; it has become the common property of nations. Every man, who has passed beyond the first elements of education, hastens to study the Creator in His works, there to adore His Wisdom, to prostrate Himself before His grandeur; in fact, the time is approaching, [rather, is now come,] when the Study of Nature will belong to the very elements of education. Are the expositors of Scripture, [or the authorities in the Church,] prepared to *stem* this torrent? Will they oppose this universal movement towards the knowledge of the physical sciences? Will they once more proclaim open war against academies and observatories? Will they brand with the odious names of heretic, infidel, atheist, those whom God has graciously gifted with the subtle intellect, to penetrate into the abstrusest laws of nature, to search the depths of the ocean and the earth, and to watch the marvellous orbits of unnumbered stars? '*Shall Man curse where God has blessed?*' *p.*39.

119. Among the theologians of the *second* class above described, we find Dr. M'CAUL writing as follows, *Aids to Faith, p.*198:—

The new theology also asserts that the Mosaic cosmogony is contradicted by the discoveries and progress of Science, and that, therefore, Moses could not have been inspired. This is a straightforward objection, deserves a fair and full consideration, and ought not to be met by what objectors can only regard as evasions. Such are the assertions that the first chapter of Genesis is poetry, or a series of seven prophetic visions, (KURTZ, HUGH MILLER,) or the mere clothing of a theological truth. If the first chapter of Genesis be poetry, or vision, or parable, it is not historic truth, which is just what objectors assert. . . The book of Genesis is history. It is the historical introduction to the following four books of the Pentateuch, or, rather, to all following Revelation; and the first chapter, as the inseparable beginning of the whole, *must be historical also.* . . Some, indeed, hold that, in reading the Bible, a distinction is to be made between statements relating to *religion*, and those relating to *physics*,—that the former are to be received, and the latter disregarded, as the purpose of Revelation is to teach man what he cannot find out by his unassisted reason, but not physical truths, for the discovery of which he has faculties. But what are we to do, when a truth is both

religious and physical, such as 'God created the heavens and the earth'? And how are we to distinguish between what can be, and what cannot be, discovered by man's natural faculties? . . . Besides, if the first chapter of Genesis be not given to teach us the facts and order of Creation, why is it there at all in its circumstantiality? Are we to believe that Divine Revelation begins with an unscientific misstatement of physical truth? If the first chapter be the offspring of human error, where does Divine Truth begin? This principle raises many new difficulties, and removes none. We, therefore, adhere to the plain grammatical statement, as a Divine Revelation of the origin of the universe, not yet superseded by the theories of the speculative Philosophy, nor antiquated by the discoveries of modern Science.

120. Such is the law laid down, for the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, by Dr. M'CAUL in '*Aids to Faith*,' edited by the present Archbishop of YORK. It contrasts strangely with that delivered by a very candid writer, the Rev. Dr. RORISON, in the sister volume, *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, *p.*329–338, for the orthodoxy of which, we presume, the Bishop of OXFORD, the avowed editor, must be held responsible: —

By what epithet shall we designate the Mosaic heptameron? Sceptics call it a *myth*, or else, more mildly, the *speculation of an ancient sage*. Most Christians speak of it as a *history* or *narrative*. The author of an able and learned 'Reply' to 'Essays and Reviews,' written in a most reverential spirit, has come to the conclusion that it is a *parable*. Others suggest that it is a *vision*. One gentleman considers it as an account of *plan*, as distinguished from *fulfilment*. We venture to think *none* of these descriptions satisfactory. The book of Genesis opens with the inspired *Psalm of Creation*.

On the hypothesis, that we have to do with an ordinary prose narrative, chronicle, or diary, there immediately emerges the great difficulty of the 'days.' With this it is not too much to say that no ingenuity has as yet grappled successfully. The choice lies between the Chalmerian interpolation of the geological ages *before* the first day begins, and the Cuvierian expansion of the six days into geological ages. For these solutions, respectively, Dr. BUCKLAND and HUGH MILLER have done their best. But the arguments, which compelled HUGH MILLER to abandon the older method, have not been answered. Nor is his own scheme free from the gravest difficulties. Who can bring himself to believe, for example, that, when the sacred writer speaks of trees laden for human use with seed-enclosing fruit, he could have had in his mind, or could have so described, the gymnogenous flora of the coal-measures?

Certain writers evade embarrassment by declining to elect among the competing 'reconciliations.' It is enough, they suggest, that some one of them *may* be sound, although it is inconvenient to become responsible for any one of them; or they allege that the record was not intended to do what it expressly undertakes and

professes to do; or otherwise, that the time is not come for a comparison between Scripture and Geology, since there are points on which geologists are not agreed among themselves. This multiform fallacy of evasion is exemplified by BUCKLAND, *p.*12,33, Archd. PRATT, *p.*33, &c. Dr. CHALMERS himself, in his private correspondence, betrays a similar hesitancy, by speaking of 'yet another way of *saving the credit of the record.*' It, no doubt, escaped this great and good man that his own 'way' brought him into direct collision with the 'Shorter Catechism,' which asserts that God's work of Creation consists in 'His making all things out of nothing' *in the space of six days,*—not millions of years before the *first* day dawned.

All this is but a manifestation of anxiety to snatch a cherished dogma from a dreaded foe. Were the panic well-founded, the belief indebted to such expedients would be only screened, not saved. . . . The worst *dis*service to the cause of Truth is that contributed by contorted Science and sophistic exegesis,—*e.g.* 'Before sin entered, there could be no violent death, if any death at all. But, by the particular structure of the teeth of animals, God prepared them for that kind of aliment, which they were to subsist on after the Fall!' ADAM CLARKE on G.i.

Enough whether of quibbles or of makeshifts! When we consider the pervading parallelism,—the rhythmic refrain, 'the evening and the morning,'—the periodic fiat, 'Let there be light, a water-parting Firmament, Land, Plants,—Lights in the Firmament, Life in the Waters, Life on the Land, Man,'—the punctual fulfilment, 'It was so,'—the retrospect, 'God saw that it was good,'—the chief wonder is how it ever was possible to exact from the oldest and sublimest *poem* in the world the attributes of *narrative prose.* . .

121. Then, after stating the 'structure of the Mosaic heptameron,' which may, perhaps, be given more distinctly thus: —

First Day, Light	corresponds to	*Fourth Day*, Luminaries.
Second Day, Water and Heaven	. .	*Fifth Day*, Fish and Fowl.
Third Day, Land and Vegetation	. .	*Sixth Day*, Animals and Man, who are
Seventh Day — Rest —		to inhabit the land, and feed on the vegetation,

Dr. RORISON adds with reference to his own fanciful solution :—

He, who perceives this, has the true key to the concord, which he will search for elsewhere and otherwise in vain. Respect the parallelism, cease to ignore the structure, allow for the mystic significance of the number seven, and all perplexities vanish . . . Thus the 'days' themselves are transfigured from registers of time into definitions of strophes or stanzas,—lamps and landmarks of a creative sequence,—a mystic drapery, a parabolic setting,—shadowing, by the sacred cycle of seven, the truths of an *ordered progress*, a *foreknown finality*, an *achieved perfection*, and a *divine repose.*

122. Bishop WILBERFORCE has also lent the sanction of his name to the publication of the following passage in the same work, *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, *p.*514, from the pen of

the Rev. R. MAIN, M.A., Radcliffe Observer in the University of OXFORD, which directly denies the 'literal historical truth' of this portion of the Pentateuch: —

Some school-books still teach to the ignorant that the earth is 6,000 years old, and that all things were created in six days. No well-educated person of the present day shares in the delusion. We know that we cannot expand our ideas of God's universe too much, both as to space and time. With Him a thousand years are but as one day; and, if we take a thousand years as the unit of our counting, we shall require still an incalculable number of such units, to enumerate the sum of Creation-periods. Whatever be the meaning of the six days, ending with the seventh day's mystical and symbolical rest, *indisputably we cannot accept them in their literal meaning.* They serve, apparently, as the divisions of the record of Creation, lest the mind may be too much burdened and perplexed by all these wonderful acts; but *they as plainly do not denote the order of succession* of all the individual creations. *Something* is symbolised, and the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews uses the symbol; and this, the only mystical fact in the whole narrative (?), we may surely, in all reverence, leave unexplained, without detracting at all from the credit or the veracity of this wonderful record.

123. Upon the whole story contained in these chapters Dr. THOMAS BURNET writes as follows, *Archæol. Philosoph. p.*284:—

Great is the power of custom and preconceived opinion upon human minds. These short notes or histories, concerning the origin of men and things, we receive and embrace from the mouth of Moses without examination, without hesitation. Yet, if we had read the same teaching in any other writer,—for instance, in a Greek Philosopher, or a Rabbinical or Mahomedan Doctor,—the mind would have hesitated at every sentence, full of doubts and difficulties. This difference arises, not from the nature of the thing or of the subject-matter, but from our opinion about the faithfulness and authority of the writer, as divinely inspired. This we readily allow, nor is it questioned in this place about the authority of the writer, but with what mind, with what purpose, he has written this, what kind of style he has used, the vulgar or the philosophical,—the *vulgar*, I say, and not *fabulous*, though we should use *this* word if we were treating about a foreign author. Of fables, however, some are fictions,—we may say pure fictions: others rest on a foundation, but are adorned with additions and extraneous decorations. Besides, there are some narratives, which the truth underlies, yet does not underlie every point of them, but only so far as concerns the main question, and the purpose of the author,—as in the parable of CHRIST about Lazarus and Dives, and in many things, which are said about the Day of Judgment, as far as regards the shell and mere external form. Narratives of this kind, I consider, should be called, not fables, but sometimes parables, sometimes vulgar theories (ὑποθέσεις δημώδεις). And if you place in this class the narrative now before us, retaining respect for the author's name and reputation, I shall make no objection.

CHAPTER X.

GEN. I.1–II.3.

124. THE discrepancies, which exist between the statements of the first chapter of Genesis, understood in their plain, natural meaning, and the admitted facts of modern Science, are so obvious, that they scarcely should need to be exhibited at length. Mr. MAIN, indeed, as we have just seen, has said, that 'no well-educated person in the present day shares in the delusion,' that, with a due regard to scientific truth, we can 'accept' the Scripture statements, either as to the 'six days,' or as to the 'order' of Creation, 'in their literal meaning.' No doubt, this statement *ought* to be true. But it is painful to contrast with it the actual state of things, even in England, in the present day, as manifested by recent events, and by the quotations which we shall be obliged to make. It is necessary, therefore, to note very plainly these contradictions. We shall, however, not confine ourselves to this work, but rather make remarks, by way of notes, on some of the more salient points of the Scripture narrative.

125. G.i.1.

'In the beginning ELOHIM created the Heaven and the Earth.'

The plain meaning of this verse,—as it would be understood by any simple-minded reader, who had not yet perceived the difficulties of the case, and been taught to 'reconcile' them,—is undoubtedly this, that, 'in the beginning,' at the commencement of the present state of things, as the first act of that continuous six days' work, of which man was to be the last,

'God created the Heaven and the Earth,' *i.e.* the *universe*, the Hebrews having no single word by which to express this idea. The same Hebrew word, בָּרָא, *bara*, is used for 'create' in *v.*1 as is used in *v.*21, 'God *created* great whales,' and in *v.*27, 'So God *created* man in His own image.' And, in E.xx.11, it is expressly said that '*in six days* Jehovah *made the Heaven and the Earth*, the sea and all that in them is.'

126. Here, however, in E.xx.11, the word used is עָשָׂה, *hasah*, 'made'; and Archd. PRATT, *Scripture and Science not at variance*, *p.*38, attempts to argue that G.i.1, where 'create' (*bara*) is used, relates to an original calling out of nothing the material, out of which the things now existing were afterwards 'made' (*hasah*): so that immense ages and numerous revolutions of the universe may have taken place, in strict agreement with the statements of this chapter, before the formation of the world as it now is, and the constitution of the present order of things,—*i.e.* between *v.*1 and *v.*3. Accordingly, he says that the word *hasah*, employed in E.xx.11, is not used in the sense of 'create,' but —

in the sense of *did, appointed, constituted, set for a particular purpose or use;* and never once, in the hundred and fifty places, where it occurs in the book of Genesis, is it used in the sense of 'created.'

So again he writes, *p.*32: —

In Genesis we read, 'In the beginning God *created* the Heaven and the Earth.' In the following verses the work of the six days is described, in which God *prepared* the Earth, and the sea, and the clouds, and the atmosphere (or heaven), for man's appearance upon earth.

It is this six days' work which is alluded to in the Fourth Commandment, and not the original Creation of matter. . . . The word עָשָׂה, *hasah*, made, which occurs 154 times in Genesis, is not once *rendered* (!) 'created.' . . . This word occurs about 2,700 times in the O.T., and, I believe, is not once *translated* (!) 'created.'

127. But what matters it whether, or not, our 'translators' have 'rendered' this word by 'created,' when it plainly *means* 'created' in numberless passages, as *e.g.* i.25, 'and Elohim *made* (עָשָׂה) the animal of the earth after its kind,' or i.26, 'Let

us *make* man in our image,' or iii.1, 'The serpent was more subtle than any animal of the field, which Jehovah-Elohim had *made*,' or vi.6, 'It repented Jehovah that He had *made* man upon the earth,' &c.? So, in i.27, we have, 'In the image of Elohim *created* (בָּרָא) He him,' and in ix.6, 'In the image of Elohim *made* (עָשָׂה) He him,'—where the two words are manifestly used as synonymous.

128. Dr. PYE SMITH takes refuge from the difficulties, in which he finds himself involved, if the words are taken in their plain natural sense, by supposing, not only, with Archd. PRATT, that the creation-work in *v.*1 is separated by immense ages from that described in the rest of the chapter, but, further, that the word 'earth' in *v.*1 means the Earth in its full extent, while in all the rest of the chapter it means only that *small portion of the Earth*, which immediately surrounded the abode of the first human beings: *Geology and Scripture*, *p.*249:

> Considering all the evidences of the case, I can find no reason against our regarding the word, subsequently to the first verse, and throughout the whole description of the six days, as designed to express *the part of our world, which God was adapting for the dwelling of man and the animals connected with him.* . . . This portion of the Earth I conceive to have been a part of Asia, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Tartary, on the North, the Persian and Indian Seas on the South, and the high mountain ridges which run at considerable distances, on the eastern and western flanks . . . This region was first, by atmospheric and geological causes of previous operation under the will of the Almighty, brought into a condition of superficial ruin, or some kind of general disorder. With reverence I propose the supposition, that this state was produced by the *subsidence* of the region. . . . Extreme 'darkness' has been often known to accompany such phenomena. This is the unforced meaning of the two words rendered 'without form and void.'

What then are the 'Seas' in *v.*10, or the 'Heaven' in *v.*8? And what means the statement in *v.*17 that the 'great Luminaries' were set in the firmament, 'to give light upon the *Earth*?'

129. From E.xx.11, then, it appears that there is absolutely no room for the supposition, to which CHALMERS gave popularity, that G.i.1 refers to a great primeval act, which may have been

separated by vast geological ages from the creative acts described in the rest of the chapter, and *v.*2, as Archd. PRATT writes, *p.*31, to—

a state of emptiness and waste, into which the earth long after fell, ere God prepared it as the residence of the most perfect of his creatures,—

a view this which, however adapted to the state of geological science at the time when it was proposed, has, with the advance of that science, turned into a 'broken reed,' piercing, like so many previous attempts to reconcile Scripture Poetry with Natural Science, the 'hands that leant upon it.'

130. For *v.*2 is evidently in continuation with *v.*1, and describes the state of the 'Earth' named in *v.*1, when first created. And reference is made to this creation of the Earth and the Heaven, at the same time when all other things were created, in ii.4—

These *are* the generations of the Heaven and of the Earth in their creation, in the day of Jehovah-Elohim's making Earth and Heaven.

Thus we are plainly taught in the book of Genesis, according to the simple, straightforward, meaning of the words, that Elohim created the Heaven and the Earth 'in the beginning' of these six *days*,—that is, taking into account the chronological data of the Bible, about *six thousand years ago.*

But Geology teaches that the earth has been in existence for hundreds of thousands — perhaps, millions — of years. (See the geological evidence on this point admirably summed up by Dr. KALISCH, *Gen. p.*2–6.)

131. Again, we are told in this chapter of Genesis that the different races of living creatures, plants, &c., were created in *six days.* And these cannot be explained to denote *six geological ages*, as some have suggested; they are, in the meaning of the writer, six common days of twenty-four hours.

This appears plainly both from the statements in the chapter itself, noticed below, and from E.xx.11, where we are told that God worked for six days, and rested 'on the seventh day,'

which, therefore, He sanctified as the Sabbath. Consequently, in the mind of the writer of this passage, as the seventh day was a common day, so also must the other six have been common days. And so says Archd. PRATT, *Scripture and Science*, *p.*45:—

There is one class of interpreters with whom I cannot agree,—I mean those who take the six days to be six periods of indefinite length. . . Is it not a harsh and forced interpretation, to suppose that, in Exx, the 'six days' in *v.*9 do not mean the same as the 'six days' in *v.*11, but that in this last place they mean 'six periods'? In reading through *v.*11, it is extremely difficult to believe that the 'seventh day' is a *long period*, and the 'Sabbath Day' an *ordinary day*, that is, that the same word 'day' should be used in two totally different senses in the same short sentence, and without any explanation.

132. Dr. M'CAUL, however, who professes to 'adhere to the plain grammatical statement' of the Scripture, finds no such difficulty, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*215:—

To know the length of the first day, it would be necessary to know how long the light continued, after its first appearance, until the evening came, and then how long it was from evening until the first dawn. But this is not told us. The ordinance concerning the reckoning of time, 'Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years,' was not given until the fourth day, and could have no application until after the creation of Adam. Not by the sun, then, were the days measured, but by the light and darkness, which God called Day and Night, of the length of which we are not informed. And, consequently, there is nothing in the text to compel us to restrict the days to the time of the Earth's diurnal motion. If the length of the days is to be measured by that of the seventh, the day of God's Rest, those days must be indefinite periods, for that Day of Rest still continues. . . According, then, to the declaration, that God's Rest or Sabbath still continues, the seventh day of Creation is an indefinite period, and the other days may be also.

133. We may ask, can the *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* days have been supposed by the writer to be 'indefinite periods,' when the two great lights had been set in the firmament, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to *divide the light from the darkness*? As SCHRADER says very justly, *Studien*, *p.*10:—

If we choose to take for the first three days the word 'day' in the sense of a greater interval, a *world*-day, a creation-period, yet then, manifestly, the author would have used the same word in two passages directly following each other, [even in two consecutive *verses*, *v.*13,14,] in two totally different senses, without having given the least intimation that from the fourth day onwards it is to be understood

in a different sense from before, that is, in the sense of an ordinary *earth*-day,—which is hardly to be imagined.

Well may Mr. BURGON say, *Inspiration and Interpretation*, *p.*38 :—

Such an interpretation seems to stultify the whole narrative. A *week* is described. *Days* are spoken of, each made up of an *evening* and a *morning*. God's cessation from the work of creation on the seventh day is emphatically adduced as the reason of the Fourth Commandment,—the mysterious precedent for *our* observance of one day of rest at the end of every six days of toil,—'for in six days (it is declared) the Lord made Heaven and Earth.' You may not play tricks with language plain as this, and elongate a week until it shall more than embrace the span of all recorded time.

134. We conclude, then, that the first chapter of Genesis, understood in its plain grammatical sense, does mean to say that, in six ordinary days, Almighty God 'made the Heaven and the Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is.'

But Geology shows that the Earth was not brought into its present form in six days, but by continual changes through a long succession of ages, during which enormous periods innumerable varieties of animal and vegetable life have abounded upon it, from a time beyond all power of calculation.

135. Further, the account in Genesis represents the order of Creation to have been—first, *Plants*, *v.*12, next, *Fish* and *Fowl*, *v.*21, then *Cattle* and *Reptiles*, *v.*25, and, lastly, *Man*, *v.*27.

But Geological observation shows that, in different ages, plants and animals of all kinds appeared together at the same time upon the earth, so that they were not *successively* created, as the Bible says, first, all the Plants, then all the Fish; &c.

136. G.i.2.

'And the Earth was desolation and emptiness, and darkness upon the face of the deep.'

Here the Scripture represents the earth as 'without form and void,' desolation and emptiness, in a state of utter chaos and confusion,—*rudis indigestaque moles*,—and wrapt in dark-

ness,—immediately before the races of plants and animals, now existing on its surface, were created.

But Geology proves irresistibly that no such a state of things immediately preceded the epoch fixed in the Bible for the Creation of Man,—that, in point of fact, the face of the Earth has existed generally just as now, with the same kinds of animal and vegetable life as now, long before the six thousand years implied in the Bible story, and that no sudden convulsion took place at that time, by which they might have been all destroyed, so as to give occasion for a new Creation. As HUGH MILLER observes, *Test. of the Rocks*, *p.*121 :—

For many ages ere man was ushered into being, not a few of his humble contemporaries of the fields and woods enjoyed life in their present haunts, and for thousands of years, anterior even to *their* appearance, many of the existing mollusks lived in our seas.'

137. DELITZCH, however, notes upon the 'chaos' as follows, *p.*105 :—

We come back to the same point. That which we have here specially before us is the assertion, that the 'desolation and emptiness' here referred to is the glowing mass of matter, to which the might of God's Anger melted the original world, corrupted through the fall of the spirits. . . . We are certainly very far from deceiving ourselves with the idea that all this can be read in *v.*2. It is, however, that explanation of the fact recorded in *v.*2, which *grows upon us out of its connection with the history of Salvation*,—[rather, 'out of its connection with' certain notions of our own, which we choose arbitrarily to import into the Scripture narrative, to the destruction of its simple grandeur.]

138. G.i.5.

'And it was evening and it was morning—one day.'

The appearance of the 'light' was, perhaps, considered as the first *morning*, and the antecedent 'darkness,' as the first *evening*. This, at least, is the explanation commonly given. But the natural order of the account of the first day would be to mention the *morning*, *i.e.* the appearance of the light out of darkness, *before the evening*. The phenomena here observed, however, taken in connection with other ancient religious

traditions, may, perhaps, throw light on the origin of the account itself.

The Hebrews, Greeks, Persians, Gauls, Germans, &c. began the day in civil matters with the *evening*; hence the expression for *a full day* 'evening–morning,' Dan.viii.14, *νυχθήμερον*='night–day,' *Pers. Sheban-roz: comp.* se'nnight (seven-night), fortnight (fourteen-night). The Hindoos and later Babylonians reckoned from *sunrise* (*ἡμερονύκτιον*), the Umbrians from *noon*, the Roman priests from *midnight*.

139. G.i.7.

'And ELOHIM made the expanse, and divided the waters which were beneath the expanse from the waters which were above the expanse.'

The Hebrews regarded the sky as a spread-out surface, (רָקִיעַ, *rakiăh*, expanse, from רָקַע, *rakah*, 'extend, spread-out,') from which the *upper* waters were supposed to be dropped in rain upon the earth, and by which they were altogether separated from the *lower* streams and seas upon the earth's surface.

According to the mythical representation, this heavenly vault is provided with a door, G.xxviii.17; it rests upon pillars and foundations, Job xxvi.11, 2S.xxii.8; and its glistening blue makes it appear as a crystal, sapphire-like, mass, E.xxiv.10, Dan.xii.3, or like a 'molten looking-glass,' Job xxxvii.18. Above this vault rolls the heavenly ocean, the 'waters above the heavens,' Ps.cxlviii.4, wherein Jehovah has set His throne, Ps.xxix.3,10. Through the 'doors,' Ps.lxxviii.23, and 'windows,' G.vii.11, 2K.vii.2,19, in the Firmament, this ocean pours down upon the earth as rain.

Yet *we ought not to confound these mythical representations, which later poets gladly retained, with the science proper of the Hebrews*; for already we read in Job xxvi.7, 'He stretcheth out the Heaven over emptiness, He hangeth the Earth upon nothing'; and in G.ii.6, Job xxxvi.27, we find a more correct view of the origin of rain. . . The idea of a heavenly ocean above the Firmament is found also in the Indian Mythology, *Samaveda*, BOPP. *p.*301, 'Water is above the Heaven, which the Heaven sustains.' TUCH, *Gen.p.*21.

140. DELITZCH, who goes so far in defence of the traditionary view as to say, *Gen.p.*90,—

The fact, that God's Life, existing in Trinity, has employed itself in creative act in a work of twice *three* days, and in the utterance of the *ten* (3 + 7) words of creation, 'and he said,' i.3,6,9,11,14,20,24,26,28,29, [and of the *seven* statements

'it was,' or 'it was so,' i.3,7,9,11,15,24,30, or of the *seven* words of approval, 'and Elohim saw that it was good,' i.4,10,12,18,21,25,31,] and on the *seventh* day has gone back into the rest of completion,—this is for all creatures a fact of infinite consequences, full of mystery,—

admits, however, a 'defect' in the statement made in the text before us, in a remarkable note, *p.*108:—

According to this view of the narrative, the masses of water, floating in the air, and coming down as rain, belong not to the earthly, but to the heavenly, waters. It must be allowed that the O. T. view is herein chargeable with a defect, since no physical connection exists between the waters which descend in rain, and the heavenly waters, to which the N. T. also refers: *comp.* 'sea as of glass,' Rev.iv.6, xv.2, 'river of water of life,' xxii.1. This view, however, is not without deep truth. The rain is, as it were, a dole of the heavenly waters let down, and a heavenward-pointing type of it. . . Besides which, it is worthy of consideration, that the exactest astronomical enquiry teaches us that there are white spots upon the poles of Mars, (!) which exhibit just the same appearances as our snow-and-ice-covered polar regions,—that the matter, of which Jupiter is composed, is not more dense, and on the surface is even less dense, than our water,—that the matter of Saturn is not half as dense as water, a little less dense, therefore, than fir-wood, &c. Such teachings of the latest astronomy are of use to familiarise us with the thought, that the upper waters denote a really supra-firmamental fluid or something like water, whatever it may be,—perhaps, the substance out of which, on the fourth day, the Stars were actually formed, as the dry-land out of the 'lower waters.'

141. Such are the resources to which men of great ability are driven, in defence of the traditionary view. They sacrifice the majestic poetry of the ancient narrative, its sublime embodiment of the impressions made on our senses by the objects of created nature, in order to extort from it a pretended Revelation of what we hav already learnt by scientific research. Can we doubt that the Scripture writer had neither the 'sea' and 'river' of the Revelations, nor the stellar matter, in his view, but simply expresses the very natural conception of his time, that there were stores of rain in the upper regions of the sky, from which water was let down, whenever the 'windows of heaven' were opened?

142. Dr. Thomas Burnet writes as follows, *Arch.Phil.p.*309:—

The matter stands thus. The vulgar do not understand the natural production of rain through condensed vapours, but believe that rain is sent through Divine influence from heaven, or immediately by God. That Moses might fall in with

this opinion, he placed a common receptacle of the waters above the skies, that God, at His pleasure, by opening or closing the barriers, might send or hold back the rain. This appears to me to have been the mind and meaning of the sacred writer, as regards the supercelestial waters. And in this way we consult best for the dignity of Moses, if, as often as there is a departure from scientific truth, we suppose this to be done, by accommodating his account of the Creation of the world to the powers and habits of thought of the people.

So, when mention is made of the primary Light, on the first day of the Creation, that phenomenon is equally inexplicable on physical grounds. But, in order that God might not seem to be working in the dark for three days, it seemed expedient to Moses, to produce the light at the very beginning of the work. But what kind of light? Light without origin, without source. Light, however, if we philosophise, proceeds from a centre of some kind. . . . Besides, according to the letter of Scripture, God seems to have intermitted his work in the night-time, as men are wont to do. Yet I see not how the other hemisphere, celestial or terrestrial, could have been made, if there was any intermission of labour, if God did not act except where there was light. But the vulgar cares not for these niceties, nor dreams of antipodes or another hemisphere, but conceives of the universe as a tent, of which heaven is the upper part, and the plane surface of the earth, the base.

143. G.i.9.

'And ELOHIM said, Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered to one place, and let the dry-land appear.'

The formation of the continents, as described in our text, agrees but very remotely with that made probable by geological researches. For, whilst the latter teach us that the same part of the globe was many times alternately water and dry-land, and that volcanic eruptions were one of the chief agencies of these changes, our text declares that, at the beginning of time, the Will of God made, once for all, the permanent division between seas and continents; there was no upheaving of the land, but only a concentration of the floods to certain parts. This does not explain the formation of the strata, nor of the fossil remains of vegetables and animals—which, according to the Bible, did not yet exist—in the interior of the earth, nor any of the wonders, which make Geology one of the most interesting and absorbing sciences. But we have willingly renounced the attempt to discover that harmony. KALISCH, *Gen.p.*69.

144. G.i.16.

'And ELOHIM made two great lights, the greater light for the rule of the day, and the lesser light for the rule of the night.'

It is a mere evasion of the plain meaning of these words, to say that Elohim made the Sun and Moon to *appear* first only on the fourth day, though they had been long before created,—

appear, that is, to the Earth, when, however, according to the story, there were as yet no living creatures on its face to see them. The writer manifestly intends to teach that Elohim actually made the Sun and Moon at this time. And, in fact, he uses here the very same Hebrew word עָשָׂה, *hasah*, 'make,' as he had used before in *v.*7, 'Elohim *made* the firmament,' and as he uses again in *v.*25, 'Elohim *made* the animal of the earth after its kind.'

145. Thus WILLET writes in 1605, before attempts were made to force the Scripture into agreement with the results of modern Science, *Hexapla in Gen.p.*10:—

These Lights were neither made the first day, and but placed now in the firmament, as the Hebrewes think.—neither was the Sunne made the first day, the Moone the next, the Starres the third, as Eugubinus,—but they were all made upon the fourth day. . . . That these two great lights are the Sunne and Moone, there is no question; and that the Sunne is the greatest of all the celestial bodies, it is also questionlesse. ANAXAGORAS did hold the Sunne much greater than Peloponnesus, a country in Grecia,—ANAXIMANDER, to be as big as the earth; but, since, the Mathematicians have found that the Sunne exceedeth the earth in bignes 166 times,* and none of the other starres, which they call of the first magnitude, whereof there are 15, to exceede the earth above 18 times. The Moone,—though some among the heathen have judged it bigger than the earth, as the Stoikes, and equall to the Sunne, as PARMENIDES, and some among the Christians have thought it in bignes next to the Sunne, because it is here named to be a great light, and BASIL upon this place, and AUGUSTINE,—yet, since, by more diligent search, it is found to be lesse than the earth 39 times, and to be the least of all the Starres, except Mercury. Moses, therefore, here speaketh according to the opinion and capacitie of the vulgar sort, to whose sight the Moone seemeth greatest, next to the Sunne, because it is nearest of all the starres to the Earth, and for that it is greatest in operation, and hath the government of the night. The reason of the greatnes of these lights, is their farre distance from the earth. EMPEDOCLES saith, the Moone is twice so far from the Sun as it is from the Earth: but the Mathematicians say it is 18 times so far from the Sunne.

* Taking the Sun's diameter (D) as 880,000 miles, and the Earth's (*d*) as 8,000, it will follow that bulk of Sun : bulk of Earth :: $D^3 : d^3$ :: 110^3 : 1 :: 1,331,000 : 1. We can form some conception of this enormous bulk, by supposing the Sun placed so that its centre shall be coincident with the Earth's centre: then (since its radius is 440,000 miles) its huge body would stretch out in all directions nearly twice as far as the Moon (distant from the Earth 240,000 miles). We can thus gain some idea of the enormous magnitude of the 'greater Light,' the lord of the Solar System.

146. But Geology teaches that, for countless ages before Man lived upon the Earth, the Sun, beyond all doubt, was the centre and source of light and heat to the Earth, and to its living creatures of all kinds, whose eyes were formed, just exactly as they are now, to receive its rays,—as well as to the successive generations of plants, which grew in those primeval forests, to which are due the carboniferous formations.

147. Dr. M'CAUL, however, writes, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*218:—

Moses represents the Earth as existing for a long period before the Sun became its source of light and heat. During that period there could have been no climatic difference, as this depends upon the position of the Earth with regard to the Sun. Now, this exactly agrees with the conclusions of Geology, which asserts that, before the human period, there was no difference of climate, that *the Earth was not dependent on the Sun for its temperature* (!); that there was apparently one uniform high temperature over the whole Earth, and, consequently, that the Flora and Fauna of warm climates are found, in the prehuman period, in latitudes where they would not now exist. Here, then, is an instance of the extraordinary scientific accuracy of the Mosaic account.

148. On the contrary, scientific geologists maintain that, though there was, probably, a time when the temperature of the earth was more uniform than it is now, yet that this was not the case for long ages before the human period began; and, further, that, at *all* times, the earth, with its vegetable products and living creatures of all kinds, has been *to all appearance* dependent upon the Sun for light and heat, just exactly as now. And Sir CHARLES LYELL has shown how, without any violent convulsion or sudden catastrophe, by the steady, silent, operation of natural forces now in action, modifying gradually the extent of land and water, and slowly elevating, or depressing, the former during a long lapse of years, a tolerably uniform temperature might be diffused over the whole or large portions of the globe, whether the warmth of the thermal or the cold of the glacial period.

149. G.i.16.

'And the stars.'

It is plain that the writer of this chapter had very little notion of the real magnitude of the Sun, so huge (145*) that if its centre were placed at the centre of the Earth, its body would extend out on every side nearly as far again as the Moon. He looked upon it as being,—what it appears to our senses to be, and what, before the time of Copernicus, it was almost universally supposed to be,—a mere appendage to the Earth, which he regarded as the scene of all God's wonderful operations, the centre of the universe, for whose service only and convenience the 'host of heaven' was created,—'the Sun for the rule of the day, and the Moon for the rule of the night.' And he here names 'the Stars also,' regarding, no doubt, those twinkling points of light as a small addition to the greater luminaries, without having the least idea that each one of their glorious host,—which Astronomy now shows to be infinitely more numerous than he could have supposed,—was itself a mighty Sun, though placed at an immense distance from us,* in comparison with whose bulk that of our earth would shrink into nothing. Indeed, how little the Jews had really observed the Stars, appears from the circumstance that there is no allusion in the Old Testament to the distinction between *fixed* and *wan-*

* It is difficult to realise to one's-self the enormous size and distance from us of the Fixed Stars, and the awful solitude in which each separate Star, and its little troop of Planets, exists by itself, in the midst of the mighty universe. Perhaps the following calculation may assist the reader's mind to grasp more distinctly the reality of these facts, and appreciate more fully the grandeur of the heavenly host.

One travelling at railway-speed, day and night, 33⅓ miles an hour, or 100 miles in 3 hours, would reach the *Moon* in 300 *days*; and at the same rate, he would reach the *Sun* in 330 *years*. But, if he could reach the Sun in *one single day*, it would take 550 *years* of *such* travelling, to reach the nearest Fixed Star. And then, it must be remembered, for all that enormous interval, on every side of our Sun and its little family, there is, as far as we know, an *awful void*, as far as regards any possibility of the existence of animal life! And the same tremendous vacancy, as far as the possibility of animal existence is concerned, most probably extends between one Star and another, and on all sides around each separate Star,—nay, around each separate mote of nebulary star-dust.

dering stars, which MILTON supposes Adam to have remarked before he had been upon the Earth forty-eight hours,—

> And ye five other wandering Stars, that move
> In mystic dance, not without song. *Paradise Lost*, v.77–8.

150. Dr. M'CAUL considers that 'the Stars' in *v.*16 are the 'planets' of the Solar System, and, ignoring the fact above noticed (127), that עָשָׂה, *hasah*, 'make,' is used of making 'the animal of the Earth,' *v.*25, and 'man,' *v.*26, as well as of making the 'two great lights,' *v.*16, he writes as follows; *Aids to Faith*, *p.*212 :—

> The Hebrew word עָשָׂה may signify 'make ready, prepare, dress,' GESEN. *Lex.* The creation of the Sun or parent-globe may be included in *v.*1; and the work of the fourth day consisted in furnishing it with its *luminous atmosphere*. When this took place, and the Sun began to shed its light, then the Moon, and the Earth's fellow-planets, the 'Stars,' of *v.*16, became luminaries also. The Stars of *v.*16 are *certainly* (!) different from those 'Morning Stars,' (!) of which Job speaks, which were in existence long before, and, as connected with the Sun and Moon, seem naturally to mean those belonging to the Solar System, and which received their lights on the fourth day, when the Sun became luminous.

151. G.i.21.

'And every fowl of wing after its kind.'

It is plain that under the terms 'fowl,' in this verse, and 'creeping-thing,' *v.*25, the writer must be supposed to include, not only birds and reptiles, but all flying and creeping things whatsoever, worms, insects, &c., and even animalcula. Otherwise, no provision is made for the existence of these things. And so in L.xi.20 we read, 'All *fowls that creep, going upon all four*, shall be an abomination to you'; and then the 'locust,' in four different stages of its growth, is excepted. So among unclean 'creeping things' are numbered, as already noticed (104), the 'mouse, tortoise, lizard, snail, mole, &c.' L.xi.29,30.

It is probable that the author supposed only *one* pair of each kind of animal created originally, as he supposes only one pair of human beings, and makes Noah also take only one pair of

each kind of creature into the Ark, for the continuation of the species after the Deluge.

152. DELITZCH, however, has the following note, *p.*116:—

That these animals, created on the sixth day, sprang from one common centre of creation, the record says not, and just as little, that every kind has begun from a single pair, and spread itself out from thence, as it increased, over its present region. The older natural philosophers, as LINNÆUS, and also later ones, bring forward, not uninfluenced to some extent by the Scripture record, this view, which is not in any sense favoured by it. What the Biblical record says of Man, must not be transferred to the animal world. That all kinds of animals, of all zones and climates, have made their way across over all hindrances to their present habitats, and that, for instance, only two ants and bees, buffaloes and antelopes, were created,—these are fancies which any one may produce if he likes, but must not consider as articles of faith, under which the Holy Scripture takes him captive. There is all the difference in the world between the unity of the human race, which Scripture does not call a 'kind,' and the unity of a so-called 'kind' or 'species' of animal. The unity of these latter exists, if it begins at once with many specimens. If, then, Natural Science must assume that animals, now spread over a wide extent of country and separated by vast regions, must have proceeded at once from several centres of Creation, this agrees with the Scriptural view. And, if also it is established, that the animals are not uniformly spread over the whole surface of the region which they occupy,—that they are most numerous in the mid-region, but at the borders are fewer in number, and at last disappear altogether, and make room for others,—so also does the single glance which we have taken, into the work-place and operations of that divine fiat, which passed upon the fifth and sixth days, assure us of the same.

Ans. The difficulty, which DELITZCH here avoids, comes upon us again in the account of the Deluge, where the Elohist says that one pair only of each kind of animal was saved, and, though the Jehovist excepts seven pairs of clean animals, yet *both* agree that only one pair of each kind of *unclean* creatures was preserved in the Ark; and all these are supposed to have spread out after the Flood from one centre to their present localities. Of course, refuge may be taken in the notion of a *partial* Deluge, which question will be discussed in the proper place. But, we may ask at once, what reason could there have been for taking a pair of ants or bees into the Ark,—because these creatures lived in the partial centre around Ararat, supposed to be flooded,—if they existed freely in other countries, beyond the boundaries of the inundation?

153. G.i.22.

'And Elohim blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.'

DELITZCH is here harassed by another difficulty, and endeavours to struggle out of it as follows, *p.*117 : —

Had the animals, which are found buried in the mountains, any share in this blessing? CHÂTEAUBRIAND and other modern writers say, 'No: they cannot have been intended to propagate.' But *it is not possible to reconcile with the Scripture record the notion of a creation of animals preceding the fifth day.* . . . Also, neither in the Scripture text, nor in the old-world discoveries, lies there any necessity to suppose a whole series of older creations of animals antecedently to the fifth day, with which the creation of animals begins. . . . If the Creation-days, as we are persuaded, not merely for scientific reasons,—[=we have managed to *force* the Scripture into some appearance of agreement with the certain results of Science,]—are Creation-periods of Divine proportions, then is there more room allowed, for the process of formation of the Earth's surface, from before the third day until the Creation of Man; and nothing prevents our assuming that this process of formation was attended with *catastrophes, which burst through the creation of animals in the fifth and sixth days, and swallowed up whole generations of them,*— [except the simple fact, that, as it advances, geological science obstinately refuses to admit the possibility of any such catastrophes having occurred.]

We shall find DELITZCH stating his views on this point more fully hereafter.

154. G.i.26.

'And Elohim said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.'

As DELITZCH observes, *p.*120 : —

The Creation of Man, which the writer has now next to relate, has such an attraction for him, that he hastens over the blessing of the land-animals, without particularly mentioning it, [as he has mentioned the blessing on the fishes and birds, *v.*22].

With respect to the plural forms here used, it is well-known that in former days great stress was laid on these, as proofs of the doctrine of the Trinity, contained in the very first chapter of Genesis. Thus PASCHASIUS, *de Spir. Sanct.*, i.5, says :—

Perspice quomodo trinâ vice nomen Dei in creatione hominis nuncupatur. Sic enim habemus in Genesi, '*Et dixit* DEUS, *Faciamus hominem,*' *et iterum,* '*Creavit* DEUS *hominem,*' *et tertio,* '*Benedixit ei* DEUS.' *Dixit* DEUS, *fecit* DEUS, *benedixit* DEUS: *propter tres Personas ter iteratur una Divinitas. Quo loco evidenter mysterium Trinitatis intellige.* . . . *Itaque in eo quia dicit,* '*Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram,*' *Personarum numerus explicatur.*

Perceive how thrice the name of God is pronounced in the creation of man.

For thus we have in Genesis, 'And GOD said, 'Let us make man,' and again, 'GOD created man,' and a third time, 'GOD blessed them.' GOD said, GOD made, GOD blessed: on account of the three Persons is the one Divinity thrice repeated. In which passage understand evidently the mystery of the Trinity. . . . Therefore, in the fact that he says, 'Let *us* make man after *our* image,' the number of Persons is unfolded.

And HILARY writes in his *Genesis* 110–2 :—

Tunc 'Hominem faciamus,' ais. Dic, Optime, quonam
Nunc loqueris? Clarum est: jam tum tibi Filius alto
Assidet in solio, terras et spectat amicas.
'Let us make man,' Thou sayst. Tell me, Thou Best,
With whom Thou now art speaking. It is plain:
E'en then, on the high Throne, the Son sits by Thee,
And views the pleasant lands.

155. DELITZCH, however, rejects justly this interpretation, and explains the words as implying that the Divine Being communicated His purpose to the angel-hosts which surrounded him, *p.*121 :—

PHILO, who explains the passage thus, 'The Father of all discourses to his own Powers,' i.556, understands by 'Powers' the angels, and takes the words, therefore, as 'communicating,' for which view we decide. . . . When also in the Babylonian myth the 'other gods' take part in the production of men,—when in the Persian the Amschaspands (celestial beings) appear as demiurgic Powers, and Ormuzd is associated with the divine spirits,—when OVID. *Met.* i.83, says that Man is formed *in effigiem moderantûm cuncta deorum*, 'after the image of the gods who govern all things,'—these are all echoes of this 'Let us make,' which throw a certain light on its true meaning.

The above explanation, confirmed, as it seems to be, by the occurrence of similar expressions in the other oriental creation-stories, *may* be the true one. But the view of KALISCH, *Gen.* *p.*80, seems preferable, *viz.* that we have here only—

the plural usually, though not necessarily, employed in deliberations and self-exhortations: *comp.* xi.7, 'Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language,' with ii.18, '*I* will make him an help meet for him': [see, however, iii.22, 'the man has become as one of *us*, to know good and evil'; but here also the expression may be merely one in popular use; at any rate, there cannot *here* be any reference to the Trinity.]

We have seen (II.328) that the plural form, 'Elohim,' has no connection whatever with the doctrine of the Trinity, being used

of Dagon, 1 S.v.7, Astarte, 1 K.xi.5, Baalzebub, 2 K.i.2,3,6, as well as of the True God.

156. G.i.27.

'In the image of Elohim created He him.'

KNOBEL observes, *Gen.p.*19:—

This idea occurs also in other ancient writers generally. According to LUCIAN, *Pro Imag.* 28, Man was named by the best philosophers εἰκὼν θεοῦ, 'the image of God'; he was formed, according to HERMES, in LACTANT. *Inst. Div.* ii.10, *ad imaginem Dei*, 'after the image of God,' and according to OVID. *Met.*i.83, *in effigiem moderantûm cuncta deorum*, 'after the image of the gods who govern all things.' CICERO, *De Nat. Deor.*i.32, speaks of men as *similes deorum*, 'like the gods,' and refers, *De Leg.*i.9, as also does JUVENAL, xv.141–7, to their erect form, but also to their spiritual nature. ARATUS, *Phænom.*5, names men Διὸς γένος, 'the offspring of Zeus,' which St. Paul, Acts xvii.28, enlarges to Θεοῦ γένος, 'the offspring of God'; and the Pythagoreans taught συγγενείαν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς Θεούς, 'a relationship of men with the gods,' DIOG. LAERT.viii.27, and imagined therewith (as did others, *e.g.* the Platonists) that the soul was an effluence of the Deity, while others maintained also τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἐοικέναι, 'that in form it resembled the Deity,' PHILOSTR. *vit. Apoll.* viii.7. Also PHOCYL. *Carm.* 101, names the spirit εἰκὼν θεοῦ, 'image of God.'

157. G.i.30.

'To every animal of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat.'

The question would arise upon this, (if we were obliged to regard this chapter as historically true,) how were the beasts and birds of *prey* to be supported? — since their teeth and stomachs, and their whole bodily conformation, were not adapted for eating herbs. But, in fact, Geology teaches that ravenous creatures preyed upon their fellow-creatures, and lived upon *flesh*, in all ages of the world's past history, just exactly as they do now. Besides which almost all fishes are carnivorous; and the leaves and stalks of vegetables, grasses, &c., swarm with living things, which are destroyed by the herbivorous animals.

158. Dr. PYE SMITH writes, *Geology and Scripture,p.*87:—

Some persons have dreamed of sustaining animal life by exclusively vegetable food,—ignorant that in every leaf or root or fruit which they feed upon, and in

every drop of water which they drink, they put to death myriads of living creatures, whose bodies are as 'curiously and wonderfully made' as our own, which were full of animation and agility, and enjoyed their mode and period of existence as really and effectively, under the bountiful care of Him, who 'is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all His works,' as the stately elephant, the majestic horse, or man, the earthly lord of all. By far the larger portion of the animal creation is formed, in every part of its anatomy, internal and external, for living upon animal food, and cannot live upon any other.

KNOBEL observes, *Gen.p.*20:—

According to the Hebrew view, then, men in the first age lived only on vegetables, and first in a later time were allowed to eat flesh, ix.3. This is the general opinion of antiquity. According to PLATO, *De Leg.* vi(22).*p.*782, men abstained originally from eating flesh, because they regarded the slaying of animals as improper and sinful. So OVID. *Met.* xv.96–8, *Fast.* iv.395–7, allows men in the golden age only to feed on *fœtus arboreos* and *herbas*, but no flesh, and DIOD. SIC. i.43, ii.38, adduces the same with reference to the ancient Egyptians and Indians in particular. So too was it among the Syrians according to PORPHYR. *Abstin.* iv.15.

159. On this point DELITZCH writes, *p.*124:—

The Creation is designed for propagation and completion, not for destruction of life; the killing of one creature by another is contrary to the original will of God, which is here explained. With this Scripture notice we come, indeed, into difficulties, when we look at men of the present day, whose teeth, according to their construction, are distinguished certainly from those of the properly carnivorous, but not less from those of the properly herbivorous, animals, and (as also the intestines by reason of their length) are adapted for a mixed kind of nutrition, partly of animal, partly of vegetable, food. Further, when we consider that it is the Law and Order of Nature, in the present world of plants and animals, that the life of the one is prolonged through the death of the other,—when we consider that strife, pain, oppression, murder, and robbery, lord it at present in all spots, all elements, all seasons, all classes of organic existence,—that not only visibly, but also invisibly, in the bodies of living creatures, innumerable large and microscopically-small parasites and murderers are found, (thus in the intestines of a small tortoise many thousand ascarides were found, eagles and vultures swarm with tormenting skin-parasites, and slugs, worms, and other tormentors plague the soft jaws of crocodiles and alligators,)—that every thing living is now in a continual war,—that it lies in the nature of certain animals to torture their prey in the most refined manner, and it seems as if it will and must be so, that, as limits are set to the excessive increase of the vegetable world through the herbivorous animals, in like manner that of these is limited through the predaceous animals, and that of these latter through the death-dealing work of man,—when we consider all this, we are carried on to ask further, can it ever have been otherwise? Among the old-world animals, the creatures of the water and the slime, the partly fabulous Saurians were predaceous, and lived mainly on fish: their excrements, the so-called

coprolites, show their great voracity, and contain still recognisable remains of animal food. Oersted, the renowned discoverer of Electro-magnetism, urges confidently against Münster, the defender of the Church-dogma, this point, *viz.* that, even in the old-world, animals have devoured other living animals, and that actually plain marks of disease have been found upon the bones of old-world animals. . .

There are here two problems; one concerns killing and death in the primary world, the other concerns killing and death in the mid-world. The right solution of the former we have already often indicated—[by the assumption that the geological remains are those of animals buried in the convulsions of the long-extended fifth-and-sixth days' periods. But *some* of these, at all events, must have received the *blessing* in *v.*22, though they were not allowed, it seems, to propagate their species, *viz.* those of those *fishes* and *birds* which are found buried, mixed with the remains of *beasts*, since these latter could only have been made on the *sixth* day, and therefore the overwhelmed fishes and birds must have survived, and therefore must have received, the blessing on the *fifth*.] The second resolves itself, as we say with Wagner, through the assumption,—[unknown to the Scriptures, which do not describe Adam as naturally immortal, but, on the contrary, ascribe his banishment from Paradise to the apprehension of Jehovah, that, if he remained there, he might take also of the 'tree of life,' and live for ever,]—that, as the body of man after the Fall underwent an essential change in its material basis, so also an analogous perversion and alteration took place in the animal world. [And yet the present forms of animals correspond in all essential particulars to those of the buried creatures of the old-world, which were formed, as Delitzch supposes,—and were not only formed, but lived out their time and died,—before the creation of man, in the course of the fifth and sixth days (153).!]

CHAPTER XI.

LEGENDS OF THE CREATION AMONG OTHER NATIONS.

160. We have thus seen that the statements in G.i, if regarded as statements of historical matter-of-fact, are directly at variance with some of the plainest facts of natural Science, as they are now brought home, by the extension of education, to every village—almost, we might say, to every cottage—in the land. It is idle for any Minister of Religion to attempt to disguise this palpable discordance. To do so, is only to put a stumbling-block in the way of the young,—at all events, of those of the next generation, —who, well-instructed themselves in these things, and having their eyes open to the real facts of the case, may be expected either to despise such a teacher as ignorant, or to suspect him as dishonest, and, in either case, would be very little likely to attach much weight to his instructions in things of highest moment.

161. Yet we can clearly see that there are certain great principles,—the very core and centre of all true religious teaching, —which the pious writer of this chapter lays down distinctly, amidst all his speculations upon the construction of the universe:

(i) God is the Creator and Preserver of all things;*

* The later Hebrew philosophers appear to have lost sight, to some extent, of this grand Truth, and to have imbibed from the Alexandrian School the notion of the eternal preexistence of *matter*, out of which the Heaven and the Earth were formed: thus we read, Wisd. xi.17, 'Thy Almighty Hand, that made the world *out of formless matter*, ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.'

(ii) Man is made in the image of God;

(iii) All that God has made is very good.

We may add that he also appears to lay down distinctly this additional principle, that there is One Only True and Living God, whose Unity underlies the multifarious manifestations of His agency.

162. These truths this writer must have received himself by the enlightening operation of the Spirit of Truth. And these truths, here uttered by a fellow-man of other days, we receive and embrace, — and I have known the untutored Zulu at once embrace them, when set before him, as heartily as the most learned European, — not because we find them written in a Book, every word of which we believe to be infallibly true, but because the eye of our Reason, once enlightened, and having statements such as these set before it, approves them at once, as divine, eternal, facts,—because we see and feel them to be true. As surely as, with our bodily eyes, we see the Sun in the sky, and are certain of the real existence of external sensible objects, so surely, with the Mind's eye, can we see and rejoice in the glorious reality of such spiritual verities as these.

163. Most true, therefore, and excellent are the words of Prof. HAROLD BROWNE, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*320:—

> The Bible has told us that the Being, who created all things, is such that the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain Him, — that He is the High and Lofty One inhabiting Eternity, but that, though He has His dwelling so high, yet He humbles Himself to behold the things that are in heaven and earth, — that a sparrow does not fall without Him, — that the very hairs of man's head are 'numbered before Him.' Infinite greatness, infinite minuteness, infinity of duration, infinity of action, eternity of past existence and of past operation, as well as an eternity of the future, are all distinctly predicated in the Scriptures of the Mind of Him who made us all.

But then Prof. BROWNE goes on to say: —

> Why, then, must we be puzzled because some recently discovered geological phenomena seem hard to reconcile with a few verses in one chapter of Genesis? Are we to forget the marvellous harmony between God's Word and His Works, which a general view of both convinces us of, because there are some small fragments of both, which we have not yet learned to fit into each other? Nay,

even here, we may fairly say that the harmony already found is greater than the as yet unexplained discord. For, putting aside all doubtful interpretations and difficult questions, concerning the six days of Creation and the like, these two facts are certain,—all sound criticism (?) and all geological enquiry prove them alike,—*viz.* that the original creation of the universe was at a period indefinitely, if not infinitely, distant from the present time, and, secondly, that, of all animated beings, the last that came into existence was man. Geology has taught us both these facts: but the first verse of Genesis clearly teaches the first (?), and the twenty-sixth verse teaches the second.

Prof. BROWNE appears to have overlooked the fact that the *first* account of the Creation is not only at variance with scientific fact, but is at variance with the *second* in more than one material point, as is shown in (34).

164. With respect to the mythical creation-stories of antiquity, Von BOHLEN writes as follows, ii.*p.*3 :—

The most intimate relationship may be observed between the myth of Genesis and the Zend representation of Creation, which was composed near the same locality, and has a similar outline and succession of development. The universe is created in *six* periods of time by ORMUZD (Ahura-Mazda) in the following order: (i) the Heaven, and the terrestrial Light between Heaven and Earth, (ii) the Water, which fills the deep as the sea, and ascends up on high as clouds, (iii) the Earth, whose seed was first brought forth by Albordj, (iv) trees and plants, (v) animals, and, (vi) lastly, Man,—whereupon the Creator rested, and connected the divine origin of the festivals with these periods of Creation. We must remember, however, that Zoroaster had taken the old Magian system as the foundation of his reform, and had modified it to suit his purposes,—that, consequently, his cosmogony, is the *old Chaldæan*, which very probably spread from the times of the Assyrians into western Asia.

But the Bible narrative, apart from this common basis, far surpasses the description of the Zendavesta in simple dignity, and possesses a high intrinsic value in itself . . . On the other hand, the thought, 'Let there be Light, and there was Light,' which LONGINUS considered sublime, must not, remembering the limited conceptions of the writer, be rated too highly; and we may admit, without lowering the value of this cosmogony, that the Creation of the Hindoos, through a mere act of thinking and willing, was also very sublime, when it is said in the Vedas, 'He thought, I will create worlds, and they were there!'

And so, too, says Dr. M'CAUL, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*189 :—

The *Etruscans* relate that God created the world in six thousand years. In the first thousand, He created the heaven and the earth,—in the second, the firmament,—in the third, the sea and the other waters of the earth,—in the fourth, the

sun, moon, and stars,—in the fifth, the animals belonging to air, water, and land,—in the sixth, man alone. [During the 6,000 years, which remain out of the 12,000, assumed as the length of the whole duration of the earth, the human race will exist. See SUIDAS, Τυρρηνία. KNOBEL, *Gen.p.*4.]

The *Persian* tradition also recognises the six periods of creation, assigning to the first the heavens, to the second the waters, to the third the earth, to the fourth trees and plants, to the fifth animals, to the sixth man.

KNOBEL writes more fully, *Gen.p.*4 :—

The *Persian* tradition also betrays connection with this. Ormuzd (Ahura-Mazda) created through his Word (*Honover*) the visible world in six intervals or thousands of years; (i) the Light between Heaven and Earth, together with the Heaven and the Stars,—(ii) the Water, which covered the Earth, sank into its depths, formed, by means of wind, up-driven clouds, and then became enclosed by the Earth,—(iii) the Earth, and first, as the core and kernel of the Earth, the highest mountain, Albordj, then the other mountains,—(iv) the trees,—(v) the animals, which all proceeded from the primary animal,—(vi) men, of whom the first was Kajomorts. After the completion of the Creation, Ormuzd kept a festival with the celestials.

And KALISCH adds, *Gen.p.*83 :—

The *Persians* also believed that Ormuzd, after having finished [the different stages of] the Creation, celebrated with his angels the festival [corresponding to each], and that he appointed throughout the year six such holy seasons, the first of which is the 'Feast of Creation,' still solemnised among the Persians on the first day of every year. KLEUKER'S *Zend-Avesta*, i.24,ii.150 [BURNOUF, *Yaçna*, *p.*294–334].

165. It is obvious that these traditions, (with others to be quoted in the following chapters,) which have so many remarkable points identically in common, must have proceeded from one and the same original story. And, although the late date of the works, whence our accounts of the Persian* and Etruscan traditions are derived, lays them open to the objection, that possibly they may have been influenced by a knowledge of the Hebrew story, we have no proof that this was actually the

* The *Zendavesta*, whence the Persian tradition is taken, though containing many passages, which are, apparently, of the most venerable antiquity, yet, in its present form, is, like the *Pentateuch*, a composite work, the product of different ages, and cannot, therefore, be used with perfect confidence as an authority for the *primitive* belief of the Persian people, any more than the Pentateuch can be used with perfect confidence for that of the Hebrews. The account of the Etruscan tradition is given by SUIDAS, who lived in the tenth or eleventh century of our era.

case, while many circumstances make it at least highly probable that they must have existed in the Mythology of the East long before the time of the Exodus.

166. DELITZCH, who maintains to the utmost the historical truth of the Scripture story in G.i, yet says, *Gen.p.*80:—

Whence comes the surprising agreement of the Etruscan and Persian legends with this section? . . . How comes it that the Babylonian cosmogony in BEROSUS, and the Phœnician in SANCHONIATHON, in spite of their fantastical oddity, come in contact with it in remarkable details? 'There was a time,' so begins the Babylonian cosmogony, 'in which all was *darkness* and *water*.' According to the Phœnician, the first human pair was produced by the κολπία, *kolpia*, 'the Divine Breath,' [which some explain to be קוֹל פִּי־יָהּ, *kol-pi-yah*, 'the voice of the mouth of Jah;' but, as this would imply that the Phœnicians knew the name 'Jah' or 'Jehovah,' of which there is no other indication, probably ROTH and DELITZCH are more right in deriving it from קוֹל פִּיחַ, *kol piăkh*, where פִּיחַ, *piăkh*, is connected with פּוּחַ, *puăkh*, 'breathe,' = נָפַח, *naphakh*, from which comes יִפַּח, *yippakh*, 'He breathed,' in ii.7,] and his wife, Βαάυ, [בֹּהוּ, *Bohu*, 'emptiness,'] *i.e.* the matter of Night. These are only instances of that which they have in common. From such an accordance outside of Israel, we must, however, conclude, that the author of G.i has no Vision before him, but a tradition. It might be replied, that the three cosmogonies just mentioned are only echoes of the first and second sections of the Hebrew Law, which had become known to the Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Persians. The points of contact are strange enough to lead to such a conjecture; and, while an influence of Jehovah-worship upon the religion of Babylon is altogether improbable, and an influence of it upon that of the Phœnicians rather improbable, on the other hand, an influence of it upon the Zend religion is very probable. If, however, here and there, the assumption of such an influence is allowable, yet it remains still certain that the author of G.i has expressed in words an old tradition already existing . . . And the interval of a week, within which G.i completes the Creation,—how can that be anything visionary? since the seven days' week is a common ancient heritage of the Asiatic and African peoples, and, probably, first of all, of the Babylonians,—nay, it is found actually existing among the American tribes as yet unchristianised(?), and in Africa with the Ashantees and Gallas. Among the Egyptians, the *civil* use of the seven days' week has, certainly, not yet been demonstrated; as far back as the oldest times of the great Pyramids, we find the *ten-days'* week, which also is found among the Indians, *daçâha*, 'decade.' Still the seven days' week was so well known to the Egyptians, that DION CASSIUS, xxxvii.17,18,19, notes the naming of the days of the week after the seven Planets as originally an Egyptian custom, which spread from Egypt also into the Roman empire. [The Brahmins also distinguish the days of the week by the planetary names. LAPLACE, *Précis de l'histoire de l'Astronomie*, *p.*16.] This consecration of the seven days' week and of the number

'seven' generally, as may be conjectured, and as G.i establishes, points back to a deeper, positive, ground than that to which IDELER, LEPSIUS, EWALD, trace it, *viz.* the division of the Synodic month into four parts, of which each contains $7\frac{3}{8}$, or, without a fraction, 7 days. Its ground is the cosmogonic legend. This is a primary legend, that has travelled from place to place. For, as TUCH justly observes, the same fundamental tones are heard echoing under the most different harmonies, from the Ganges to the Nile.

167. In short, DELITZCH regards the story of the Creation, generally, and of the origin of the seven-days' week in particular, as a *legend*, *i.e.* an historical fact realised by the imagination, and not as a *myth*, *i.e.* an idea clothed in the form of an historical fact,—as when, for instance, a statement, expressing originally some fact in the natural world, has come in later days to be regarded as a piece of mere history, the original meaning having been forgotten. And, if the main details of these traditions, in which they are generally agreed, were found to accord with the certain facts of modern Science, we might conclude that the original tradition was actually based upon facts which had really occurred. As it is, we can only suppose that the story of the Creation, which was current in the same form, substantially, and with some of the same remarkable details, among so many of the ancient nations, must have been originated as a *myth*, in very ancient times, long before the Hebrew people had any existence, and before the great separation of the Aryan tribes.

168. But what is a universal myth of this kind, in its essential features, but a *truth* uttered by the combined voice of humanity? The mind of man, in all ages and in all countries, musing upon the origin of all things, has been led by a Divine instinct to the same grand conclusions, which are expressed with more or less distinctness in all these mythical narratives,—and in many, which show no special relation to the Hebrew Type,—though nowhere so clearly and completely as in the Hebrew form, *viz.* that God is the Maker and Preserver of all things,—that all that God has made is good,—that man is made in the image of God.

As we have said (162), the Divine Spirit alone can have quickened such thoughts as these in the mind of the Elohist, whoever he may have been. But the same Divine Spirit, we must surely believe, taught the Hindoo Philosopher to say, 'He thought, I will make worlds, and they were there,' and taught also the Zulu first to say, though, as it were, with childish lips, 'Unkulunkulu—the Great-Great-One—made all things, made all men.'

169. When, also, we find the seven-days' week spread over the world,—not in *all* nations, it is true,—were it so, there would be stronger proof of the reality of the historical fact to which the Bible traces it,—but over so many nations of the world, as DELITZCH says, it is scarcely possible to doubt that the seven-days' week and the ten-days' week both owe their origin to the same cause—to the effort, namely, to divide the 29½ days of the lunar month into equal periods of shorter duration, more convenient for the common business of life. The Sun and Moon, as all men everywhere see, are set in the heavens to be 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years.' Whatever else they may do, in the counsels of Divine Wisdom, they certainly do this, and are *meant* to do this, *for man*. The 'year' and the 'month' are thus marked by the most savage tribes, as natural divisions of time. The Zulu keeps his annual Feasts, and observes the New Moons, as the old Hebrews did: though he has not learned, in his natural state, to divide the month into weeks. But, if any sought to break up this longer interval into equal parts, it would be most natural to take the week of seven days,—the interval during which the Moon is seen to pass from one of its four chief phases to another: while others, as the more scientific Egyptians, might prefer to divide the month more accurately into three equal parts of ten days each.

The Peruvians divide the lunar month into halves and quarters by the moon's phases, but have no names for the days; and, besides, they have a period of *nine* days, the approximate *third* part of a lunation, thus showing the common origin of both. GARCILASSO, *Hist. of the Incas*, in TAYLOR'S *Nat. Hist. of Society*,

i.291–2. So also the Romans had their *nundinæ* or ninth day, which was a holiday even for slaves. The Greek lunar month, of alternately 29 and 30 days, was divided into decades of days. Prof. BADEN POWELL, *Christianity without Judaism*, *p.*90–2.

170. GALLATIN writes, quoted in *Types of Mankind*, *p.*294:—

Almost all the nations of the world appear, in their first efforts to compute time, to have resorted to lunar months, which they afterwards adjusted in various ways, in order to make them correspond with the solar year. In America, the Peruvians, the Chilians, and the Muyscas, proceeded in the same way; but not so the Mexicans. And it is a remarkable fact, that the short period of seven days (one week), so universal in Europe and in Asia, was unknown to all the Indians either of North or South America. [Had this learned and unbiassed philologist lived to read LEPSIUS, he would have excepted the Egpytians, who divided their months into *three decades*, and knew nothing of *weeks* or *seven days*. Neither did the Chinese, ancient or modern, ever observe a '*seventh* day of rest.' GLIDDON.] All the nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and, probably, of Central America, which were within the pale of civilisation, had two distinct modes of computing time. The first and vulgar mode was a period of *twenty* days,—which has certainly no connection with any celestial phenomenon, and which was clearly derived from their system of numeration or arithmetic, which was peculiar to them. The other computation of time was a period of thirteen days, which was designated as being the count of the Moon, and which is said to have been derived from the number of days when, in each of its revolutions, the Moon appears above the horizon during the greater part of the night. The Mexicans distinguished every one of their days of the period of twenty days by a specific name, *Cipactli*, *Ehecatl*, &c., and every day of the period of thirteen days by a numerical order, from one to thirteen.

171. CLEMENS ALEX., *Strom.*v.256, quotes the following passages from ancient Greek poets, which imply that in the earliest ages a sanctity was attached to the number *seven* in other nations beside the Hebrew.

Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει·

Πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδομον ἱερὸν ἦμαρ·

Καὶ πάλιν·

Ἑβδομάτη δ' αὖθις λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

Ὅμηρος δε·

Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἥπειτα κατήλυθεν ἱερὸν ἦμαρ·

Καὶ·

Ἑβδόμη ἦν ἱερή·

Ναὶ μὴν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ ποιητὴς γράφει·

Ἑβδόμη εἶν ἀγαθοῖσι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐσσὶ γενέθλη·

Καί·

Ἑβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐσσὶ τελείη.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖαι σφόδρα τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἐκθειάζουσι.

For instance, HESIOD says thus about it: —

'First, the first day, the fourth day, and the seventh,
Is sacred.'

And again: —

'On the seventh day the sun's resplendent light, &c.'

And HOMER: —

'When on the seventh arrived the sacred day.'

And —

'The seventh day sacred was.'

Nay, the poet CALLIMACHUS writes: —

'The seventh day is among good things,
The seventh day is a feast:'

And —

'The seventh day is among the first,
The seventh day perfect is:'

And the elegies of SOLON also greatly insist on the divine character of the seventh day.

It is true, CLEMENS refers all these to some knowledge of the Hebrew literature dispersed among the Greeks: but it is difficult to believe this of the times of HOMER and HESIOD; and it is far more probable that the number 'seven' was considered sacred from its connection with the 'seven planets' of those times, and the seven days of the approximate fourth part of a lunation.

The fact that HESIOD notes as sacred the *fourth* day also, *i.e.* the *middle* day of the *seven*, or the approximate seventh part of a lunation, agrees with this explanation.

172. KALISCH writes on this point as follows, *Exod.p.*449: —

'The simple and obvious explanation of the holiness of the number *seven* is, that the ancient Israelites, as most of the Eastern nations, counted originally their months after the course of the Moon, which renews itself in four quarters of 7 days each, and after this time assumes a new phase. These periodical and extraordinary changes of the Moon produced a powerful impression upon the susceptible minds of the ancient nations: they excited them to reflections on this wonderful phenomenon, and everything connected with it assumed in their eyes a peculiar significance. Hence the day of the *New Moon* was generally celebrated with some distinguishing solemnity, which, like all festivals, is regulated and fixed in the Mosaic Law; and the New Moon is in the O. T. frequently mentioned together with the Sabbath. Hereto we add that the number of the seven Planets known to them, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, which successively presided over the hours of the day, and each of which, therefore, commenced a different day, contributed in later times not a little to secure to it

that mysterious significance. But the division of the week into seven days was known and adopted by the most different nations, as the Assyrians, Arabs, Indians, (Chinese, Peruvians, but not the Persians), and many African and American tribes, which never came into intercourse with the Israelites, and later by the Greeks and Romans, who followed the Egyptians. We must, therefore, recognise therein, not an exclusively theocratical, but a general astronomical arrangement, which offered itself to the simplest planetary observation of every people.

173. Comparing the account in G.i with the other Oriental cosmogonies, TUCH observes as follows, *Gen.p.*11 :—

If we compare these Oriental speculations with the Hebrew cosmogony, it must be plain that we cannot seek the first free evolution of the legend among the Hebrew people, but must consider it as an inheritance, which the ancestors of the nation brought with them into their new place of settlement. Yet withal the glory remains to the Hebrews of having placed this inheritance in the most beautiful and exalted form, in connection with their purer ideas of the Nature of the Deity.

In Hebrew teaching, God alone has true, eternal, Being,—He alone has self-subsistence. Not so the world:—it is not self-existent, and appears essentially only as something ordered, as the creature of infinite Might. So there stands here at the head of the cosmogony the idea of the Divine Almightiness,—and in opposition to it, distinctly subordinated, the world. God wills that the world should be, and it comes into being at His Almighty Fiat. Discarded are all personifications besides God, which are here lost in the idea of the One Almighty. Nature is stripped of Deity; it ceases to be the *evolution*, the *external manifestation*, of God; but it is the *creature*, and Man finds himself therein as the last link of the long chain of things, as the lord of the living creation, as the image of God. . . Thence follows necessarily, as essential in the Hebrew cosmogony, the so often appealed-to creation out of nothing. This has been considered far too abstract a thought,—more especially as no ancient cosmogony has been able to elevate itself to the idea of a creation out of nothing. . . . But when it is said, 'In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth; the Earth was waste and void; darkness covered the waters, &c.,' what can this mean but that God made, in the beginning of the creation, as the first act of it, the matter of the Heaven and of the Earth, yet undivided and unarranged, which to sever, to order, and to work up, was the well-disposed work of the six creation-days? . . . So God remains the Creator of this matter; and if, certainly, the Hebrew Theory of creation, like other cosmogonies, puts a chaos at the beginning, yet it is distinguished essentially in this, that it does not rank the chaotic matter, as eternal, beside God, but strongly subordinates it to the One, Only, Eternal, Self-Existent, God.

174. We shall conclude this chapter with another extract from DELITZCH, by which the reader will be enabled to see in what difficulties a learned man may become involved, while labouring

to defend the traditionary view, with a conscientious regard to what he already knows to be true, *Gen.p.*84–8 : —

" Let, however, the creation-legend, as it lies before us in G.i, have reached the Israel of the Mosaic time by a direct or by a circuitous path,—the question still arises, whence comes it? what is its starting place? Whether it may have been inherited in a direct line, within the chosen family, through patriarchal tradition, or may have been retained, during the long Egyptian sojourn of Israel, in Babylon or somewhere else, from whence it passed into Israel, and was here again new-born,—still we ask, what is the birth-place of this strange pilgrim, which in the world of nations, in nearer and farther Asia, even in America, *e.g.* among the Mexicans before Columbus and Cortez, was known everywhere, but yet has its home nowhere?

We answer: if it is true that it is historical, or, at all events, has an historical basis, then its birthplace can be no other than the family of the first-made man.

This being assumed, a double mode of origin is possible.

(i) It is possible that the creation-story before us is the translation into history of the impression which the world made upon the first-created man, thinking about its origin,—the corresponding expression for the view which man took of his relations to God and the world, handed down by tradition from the beginning of the human race, and so the expression also for the original knowledge of this actual relationship. . . If already modern Geology, from the forms of the mountains and the discovered animals and plants of the ancient world, believes that it can define the succession of the periods within which, first, the inorganic world, then the organic, from the flowerless vegetation and the boneless animals up to man, came into being,—how much more (!) will the first man, with his yet untroubled and undisturbed glance, have been in the position to look at the mode of origin of the world, including himself, and to give corresponding expression to the truth of the impression thus received?

(ii) There is, however, yet another possible origin of the story of creation, within the consciousness of the first created man—a derivation, not through reflection, but through communication, or rather, as—without wishing to refer back the later modes of Revelation to the primary state of things, we venture to say—through *Revelation*. . . I prefer this derivation through Revelation to the other, since such an act as that of the consecration of the seventh day was scarcely knowable without Revelation; and, if we once begin, while deriving it through reflection, to reduce to *subjective* impressions such portions of the narrative as that which concerns the seventh day, there will remain very little of its historical core.

But is it now possible to insist so strongly, as we have hitherto done, on the objective reality of the narrative? It tells us that God called the Light, Darkness, Firmament, Dry-land, Gathering-of-waters, all by *Hebrew* names, which are specified. Did then God the Creator, did human beings in Paradise, did those of the world before the Flood, speak *Hebrew*? Certainly not. [What becomes then of the derivation of the names of Adam, Ishah, Eve, Cain, Nod, Noah, ii.7,23, iii.20, iv.1,16, v.29?] This 'not' involves important consequences. The creation-legend,

which travelled with the first couple out of Paradise, *had another form of speech* than the creation-story now lying before us. It had experienced, before it became written as we now have it, a verbal transformation at all events, and had probably laid aside already many of its phases, when the one tongue of single humanity separated into the multiplicity of tongues of many peoples. This verbal transformation, just because it was not voluntary, is not to be thought of in the external and mechanical form of *translation*: the original text of the tradition was by God himself unexpectedly shattered, and the substance of the remaining recollection entered into a new process of thought and expression.

This verbal transformation, however, is not the only one. We have a right to assume that the tradition contained originally much more than the creation-story now before us. The legendary cosmogonies of the nations give us the right to do this. In these, certainly, much is found which is wanting in Genesis, and yet in the light of the Divine word of summation, and of scientific investigation, marks itself out as an element of Truth, and so will have had, within the primary tradition, its right place and expression in the right connection. Whether such as this was no longer found existing by the writer of our creation-story, or was left out by him, is left undecided. . . .

But have we not now lost all which we believed ourselves to have gained? We have contended for the objective reality of that which is related, and now it has escaped from us actually under our hands. It is only so in appearance. We recognise still in G.i no subjective element of speculation, of reflection, of poetry; it is all tradition, of the objective actual progress of Creation, which has flowed out of the prime fountain of Divine Revelation. This tradition has, it is true, before it reached the author of G.i, lived through many metamorphoses. But, that in this long route it has remained substantially the same, is assured to us by the substantial concord of the creation-legends from one end of the earth to the other. And, if it is to be feared that on this long route it has lost something of the purity, the fulness, and the freshness, of the primary fountain, yet the Divinity of the Law assures us that out of the creation-legend so much of the Truth, as was useful, has been extracted and reproduced through the same Spirit, which taught the first Men the Mystery of Creation. It is all objective truth,—though only, perhaps, the refraction of its original paradisiacal form. It is trustworthy history, which can bear without fear the light of the most exact Natural Science. Has this not been obliged to confirm the fact, that the present world has come into being, in a series of creative periods, by means of progressive stages,—that the shining stars are only concentrations of the light already existing (?),—that whole generations of plants and animals arose and *passed away*, [*i.e.* according to DELITZCH, as we have seen (153), 'passed away' between the '*fourth* day' and the creation of man on the *sixth*,] before man existed? Already these three generally recognised results of Natural Science secure to the Biblical creation-story the value of an historical prime-record (!). This value has been recognised for it, since the time of BUCKLAND, by many other great geologists; and, to determine its true meaning, has been for them, not less than for divines, a subject ever increasingly attractive.

175. It will be observed that DELITZCH, while clinging to the utmost to the traditionary view, yet admits, as the necessary result of his enquiries, the following points: —

(i) The Creation-story was not revealed to the writer of G.i.1–ii.3, whoever he may have been, but, if revealed at all—if it was not, in its original form, the expression of the clear-sighted intuition of man before the Fall,—was revealed 'within the family of the first-made man,' and from them handed down by tradition, from Adam to Enos, &c., and from them to Noah and his family, by whom it was preserved—perhaps entire—till after the Flood.

(ii) At the 'confusion of tongues,' it was 'shattered by God himself,' and existed henceforward in broken fragments in different nations,—the most perfect, perhaps, in Babylonia.

(iii) From Babylon, perhaps,—or, perhaps, 'in direct line within the chosen family,'—the writer of G.i.1–ii.3 may have received the tradition, which, 'before it had reached him, had lived through many metamorphoses.'

(iv) The historical truth of this tradition, however, as now reported, is assured in all substantial points by the 'Divinity of the Law,'—which is assumed,—and 'the results of Natural Science,'—by which, as we have seen, it is in many important particulars expressly contradicted.

CHAPTER XII.

GEN.II.4–II.25.

176. G.ii.7.

'And Jehovah-Elohim formed the man (Adam) of dust out of the ground (Adamah).'

That a play on the words *Adam*, *Adamah*, (*comp.* the Latin, *homo*, *humus*,) is here intended by the writer, though not expressly stated in the text, has been observed by most commentators. SYMM. and THEOD. translate καὶ ἔπλασε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδαμά.

177. KALISCH notes, *p.*105:—

The origin of man from the earth is a notion extensively adopted. It was prevalent not only among the Greeks and Romans, but among the Peruvians, who believed that, whilst the soul is immortal, the body consists of clay, 'because it becomes again earth,'—among the Caribbees and the North-American Indians. It was familiar to the Egyptians, who considered man to have been formed from the slime of the Nile, DIOD.SIC.i.10, ARISTOPH.*Av.*686 [πλάσματα πηλοῦ, 'formations of clay,']—to Hindoos, Chinese, &c. In the classical writings we find many analogous passages regarding the nature of man. EURIPIDES says, *Supp.*532–4, 'The body returns to the earth from whence it was formed, and the spirit ascends to the ether'; and still more distinctly, LUCRETIUS says, ii.997–1000, 'The earth is justly called our mother: that, which first arose from the earth, returns back into the earth; and that, which was sent down from the regions of the sky, the regions of the sky again receive, when carried back to them.' See also PHOCYL.102, VIRG.*Æn.*iii.94,95, LUCAN. vii.818,&c. . . . The word *adamah* may be referred to the root *adam*, 'be red,' with reference to the *red soil* of Palestine. It is, further, not impossible that man was originally called 'Adam' on account of the red colour of his skin, *comp.* JOSEPH. *Ant.*i.1.2, just as the Chinese represent man as kneaded of *yellow* earth, and the *red* Indians, of *red* clay. But the Hebrew writer found this of too external a nature; it expresses nothing of the true character or life of man; it

conveys no lesson. He, therefore, added another explanation from *adamah*, 'earth,' which suggests a great truth and enjoins an important doctrine.

According to the classical myth, Prometheus made the first men of earthy matter and water, APOLLOD.i.7.1, Ov.*Met.*i.82, Juv.xiv.34–6; and so Vulcan made the first woman, Pandora, out of the earth, HESIOD, *Op. et Dies*, 61, 70. Otherwise, the ancients represent men as produced from the earth, PLAT.*Crit.p.*viii, *Polit.*xii, xv, LUCRET. v.819–23, VIRG.*Georg.*ii.341, as also the animals. KNOBEL, *p.*25.

178. G.ii.8.

'And Jehovah-Elohim planted a garden.'

VON BOHLEN notes here, ii.*p.*30:—

The word גַּן, *gan*, 'garden,' means an inclosed park planted with trees, such as surrounded the royal palaces and summer-residences, not only in Hindostan, but more especially in *Persia*, where the younger Cyrus himself laid out such pleasure-grounds . . . Such a park XENOPHON calls *παράδεισος*, which word the *Sept.* here uses for 'garden.' . . . Its explanation is to be found in the Sanscrit *paradêça*, and it passed over in this form into the later Hebrew books: *comp.* פַּרְדֵּס, *pardes*, Sol. Song, iv.13, Neh.ii.8, Eccl.ii.5.

DELITZCH, however, *p.*146, derives the word, not from the Sanscr. *paradêça*, 'other (*i.e.* strange, singular, wonderful) land,' but from the Zend, *pairi-daêza*, 'enclosure.'

179. G.ii.9.

'And out of the ground Jehovah-Elohim caused-to-sprout every tree that is pleasant for sight and good for food.'

DELITZCH here observes, *p.*140:—

The record does not say that the whole vegetable world first appeared after the creation of man, [which would directly contradict i.12,27, and which certainly seems to be *implied* in the story as related in ii.5–9]; only the preparation of Paradise is mentioned after the creation of Man. Still, the appearance of the Flora generally is brought close to the appearance of man, in a manner not to be reconciled with, G.i. There the vegetable world has already appeared, when first the Stars, then the animals of the water and the air, and then the land-animals, appeared: so that, after the appearance of vegetation, already two and a half creation-periods have elapsed, before man is created. Here, on the contrary, in order that vegetation might appear, there needed previous *rain* and the formation of *man*, *v.*5, which formation is prepared beforehand in immediate connection therewith. The appearance of vegetation is so inextricably bound up with the entrance of these two preexisting conditions, that it is doing violence to the text, if we think of imagining whole series of other creations between vegetation and man. This is a

contradiction between the two records, but, as we shall see farther on, not incapable of solution, and, what is more, very instructive.

We quote the above for the sake of this candid admission, on the part of so strong a defender of the traditionary view, that the discrepancy in question does, in fact, exist. We shall see hereafter, in what way DELITZCH proposes to 'solve' it.

180. G.ii.11–14.

Of the four rivers of Paradise, here named, the last. *Euphrates*, is certain; and there can be little doubt that Hiddekel and Gihon, as JOSEPHUS says, *Ant.* i.1.3, are the *Tigris* and *Nile*, respectively, and Pison, probably, the *Indus*.

With respect to Hiddekel, or, more properly, *Khiddekel* (חִדֶּקֶל), KALISCH writes, *Gen.p.*92 :—

This river has nearly the same name in the Aramæan language and in Arabic, with the omission only of the first letter, viz. דִּגְלַת *diglath*; and the Sam. Vers. [in the passage before us] has this abbreviated form with the article הַדֶּקֶל, *had-dekel*. The root דקל signifies in the Persian language, *arrow*, which name was given to the river on account of its swiftness, and in the present language of the Persians the Tigris is designated by the word *tîr*, signifying *arrow*, Sanscr. *tigra*, hence *tigris*, or with a frequent change of *t* into *d*, and *r* into *l*, *dekel*; so that the Hebrew חִדֶּקֶל, *khiddekel*, is evidently a compound word, contracted from חַד, *khad*, 'sharp,' and דֶּקֶל, *dekel*, a *sharp* or *swift arrow*.

And again with reference to Gihon or *Gikhon* (גִּיחוֹן, from גִּיחַ, *giăkh*, 'break forth,') KALISCH notes, *Gen.p.*94 :—

The Sept. renders *Shichor*, which is the Nile, in Jer.ii.18, by Γηών, that is *Gihon*. JOSEPHUS observes distinctly, *Ant.*i.1.3, that the Gihon flows through Egypt, and is that river which the Greeks call Nile . . . The Arabians also include the Nile among the rivers of Eden, and the Ethiopians call it *Gejôn* or *Gewôn*.

The Pison is not so easily identified, but the description of it, which is given in ii.11,12, seems to indicate the *Indus*, see DELITZCH, *p.*149, KALISCH, *p.*92–96,—of whom the latter quotes from ARRIAN, *Exp. Alex.* vi.1, (*comp.* STRABO, xv.*p.*696,) to the following effect :—

When Alexander the Great saw crocodiles and the Egyptian bean in the Indus, he thought that he had found the origin of the Nile, which he believed to rise in this part of India, and, after flowing through vast deserted regions, to lose the name

of Indus; for, when it reaches again inhabited land, the Ethiopians and Egyptians call it Nile, and thus it falls at last into the Mediterranean Sea.

The 'land of Khavilah, which Pison bounds,' was according to GESENIUS, *India* in the sense of the ancients, including Arabia.

Thus the four rivers appear to be Indus to the East, Nile to the South, Tigris to the North, Euphrates to the West. And KALISCH adds:—

In the Chinese tradition, four rivers flow from the mountain Kuen-lun to the four quarters of the world. And, in the sacred book of the Persians, the fountain Ardechsur, which rises in the holy mountain issuing from the throne of Ormuad, is said to diffuse its waters over the whole earth by many canals.

181. Hereupon DELITZCH asks, *p.*150:—

Is it, however, possible that the author has supposed the Indian Pison and the Nile, with the Tigris and Euphrates, to proceed out of one common source, and that source in fact, as is indicated by the mention of Tigris and Euphrates, in the highland of Armenia, which appears thus the starting-point, probably, of the first men, as well as of those after the Flood? Is it possible that he puts forward so strange an idea?

We, of course, can easily explain this phenomenon, by abandoning the notion of the *infallible accuracy* of the record, and supposing that the author wrote merely after the defective notions of geography, which prevailed amongst the most learned of the ancients in even far later days, as we have just seen in the passage from the life of Alexander. PAUSANIAS, ii.5, maintained in like manner the identity of the Euphrates and the Nile. And JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*i.1.3, considered the Euphrates, Tigris, and Nile to be branches of the same river; but, instead of the Indus, he reckons the Ganges. And, in short, there can be no reasonable doubt that, whatever may be the river meant by Pison, or even Hiddekel, the text of Genesis itself distinctly does unite the Nile and the Euphrates.

Von BOHLEN observes, ii.*p.*34:—

The representation of KOSMAS [about A.D.550] strikingly shows how fabulous was the view of the ancients. He imagines the earth to be an oblong, with a mountain inhabited by gods in the north: the sea flows round it on all four sides, and *beyond* the sea, towards the East, lies the Paradise in India. The intervening sea was caused by the Flood, and was crossed by Noah. Under this sea the Euphrates and Tigris continue their course [from Eden], and appear again in the

western world. Here is Gihon, the Ganges, which afterwards becomes the Nile in Egypt, in a manner somewhat similar to what Alexander imagined respecting the Indus. Pison, on the contrary, is the Indus, emptying itself into the Persian Gulf.

See other striking instances of similar confusion in geographical matters in KALISCH, *Gen.p.*95, down as late as the 14th and 15th centuries of the Christian era.

182. DELITZCH, however, is unwilling to allow the existence of such a mistake, and says, *p.*151:—

We must, therefore, close the inquiry either by acknowledging that the notice in question is *unintelligible*, or we must submit to the necessity of admitting that, with the disappearance of Paradise, the more certain knowledge also of the four streams was lost, and the author only faithfully repeats the tradition, which regarded the Indus, Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates,—the four great beneficent streams of the ancient circle of history,—as finger-marks pointing back to the lost Paradise. It must be allowed as possible that the writer, or the tradition, has regarded the Nile as coming round about Ethiopia out of the North of Asia, and springing not far from the Indus, or some one of the other Indian rivers. But we might with the same right assume that the four streams, without any further reference to their former unity, have been regarded only as *disjecta membra* of the no longer existing *single* stream of Paradise.

183. But Dr. BURNET writes very justly, *Arch. Philosoph. p.*288:—

It is hardly conceivable that rivers of any kind, these or others, existed from the very origin of the Earth,—[on the very *first day*, when 'Jehovah-Elohim had not yet caused-it-to-rain upon the earth,' but only 'a mist went up from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground,' ii.5,6,]—whether you consider these *streams* or their *beds*. For the beds of rivers are usually made by gradual and long attrition. But, if you say, when the bed of the Ocean was made on the third day, the beds also of the rivers were made, and when the greatest part of the waters of the 'deep' sank into the abyss of the Sea, so the rest descended into these river-channels, and formed the first rivers,—yet, besides that water of this kind would be *salt*, just like that of the Sea, there would be no perennial fountains for feeding these rivers, and therefore when the first stream had flowed down, or the first river —inasmuch as there were no waters to follow from behind,—these rivers, or these collections of water, would soon have dried up.

184. G.ii.17.

'Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day of thy eating of it, dying thou shalt die.'

VON BOHLEN observes, ii.*p.*39:—

On account of certain interpretations, we bring prominently forward some

inconsistencies, which, however, we do not wish to impute to the simplicity of the narrator. Thus, at the beginning, the man has to *watch* (שָׁמַר, *shamar*, 'guard') the garden; whereas the animals are not created until *v.*19, and they remain peaceably by him. Again, the first female transgressor, Eve, cannot hear the prohibition of Jehovah when Adam receives it, because she is not yet created; yet she repeats it in a more stringent form, iii.3, 'Ye shall not eat of it, *neither shall ye touch it*, lest ye die.' And the myth as little considers how the man himself could understand the prohibition [*i. e.* the consequence of disobeying it], as he had not yet had death before his eyes.

Dr. PYE SMITH, however, says, *Geology and Scripture*, *p.*322:—

The denunciation in G.ii.17 would seem to imply that they [? *he*—the man,] understood *what* the penalty was, *in consequence of their having witnessed the pangs of death in the inferior animals.* [But did the man 'witness the pangs of death' *instantly* after his Creation, *before* he was put into Paradise,—or when?]

185. The Jehovist, however, here writes evidently from quite a different point of view from that of the Elohist, who represents the Almighty as saying to the man and woman, i.29—

'Behold! I give you *every* herb . . . and *every* tree . . . to you it shall be for food';—

whereas a prohibition is here given in the case of one particular tree,—not one of the whole earth, but a tree of the garden,—not to the man and woman, but to the man only.

WILLET observes, *Hexap. in Gen. p.*33:—

Though AUGUSTINE do think that this precept of not eating was given only to Adam, and by him to Eve, yet we hold it more probable that God gave this charge unto them both together:—

(i) Eve confesseth that God spake unto them *both*, and said, iii.3, '*Ye* shall not eat of it;'

(ii) The Lord said unto both of them together, i.29, 'Behold! I have given unto you every herb and every tree, &c.'—at which time also it is like that He gave them the other prohibition, of not eating of that one tree; for, if God had made that exception before, He would not have given a general permission after, or, if this general grant had gone before, the exception coming should seem to abrogate the former grant;

(iii) The Septuagint seem to be of this mind, that this precept was given both to Adam and Eve, reading thus in the plural number, 'In what day *ye* eat thereof, ye shall die;'

(iv) But, though in the original the precept be given in the name of Adam only, that is so, for that Adam was the more principal, and he had charge of the woman, and for that the greatest danger was in *his* transgression, which was the cause of the

ruin of his posterity, or as MERCERUS well noteth, Adam was the common name both of the man and woman, v.2, and so is taken *v.*15, ['and Jehovah-Elohim took the *man*, and put him into the garden of Eden,'] and likewise here—[but the woman was not made till afterwards, *v.*22.]

186. G.ii.19,20.

'And Jehovah-Elohim formed out of the ground every animal of the field, and every fowl of the heaven, and brought it to the man, to see what he would call it, and, whatsoever the man would call it, the living soul,—that should be its name. And the man called names to all the cattle, and to the fowl of the heaven, and to every animal of the field.'

We have noticed above (39) that in this passage not only are the beasts and birds formed *after* the creation of man, whereas in i.21,25,27, man is formed after the birds and beasts, but the fishes and reptiles are not mentioned at all.

187. On this point DELITZCH observes, *p.*157 :—

When we look at G.i, where the animals after their kinds are all created *before* man, and endeavour to reconcile the two accounts by translating וַיִּצֶר *vayyitser*, 'and He *had* formed,' instead of 'and He formed,' or as the fundamental fact preparatory to וַיָּבֵא *vayyave*, 'and so, having previously formed them, He brought them,'—we do violence, as it appears to me, to the proper meaning of the narrator. It is better to allow the manifest contradiction to stand; at the end we shall gain more by that, than by a hasty reconciliation.

'When God has indicated to man his actual employment [to till and keep the garden], He wishes to give him a community to help him for it, and forms next the animals, which, certainly, are all meant to become useful to him. Only the 'fishes' [and reptiles] are not mentioned, because they, in the light in which the other animals are regarded, do not come into consideration.

The reason, which DELITZCH gives for the omission of the fishes, is probably true to some extent, though it would be far from explaining why *all* the beasts and birds should have been brought to Adam, and none of the reptiles and fishes, since the vast majority of the former cannot have been regarded as special 'helps' for him, any more than the latter. Still the few domestic animals are found among the 'beasts' and 'birds,' and supply, as we have said (39), some sort of companionship for man, which is not the case with the 'reptiles' and 'fishes': and this may account for the former being mentioned, and not the latter.

188. But how could the White Bear of the Frozen Zone, and the Humming-bird of the Tropics, have met in one spot, — or, being assembled, how could they have been dispersed to their present abodes,— with the beasts and birds of all kinds, of totally different habits and habitats, many of them ravenous creatures, that would have preyed on one another, unless their fury was miraculously restrained, or their hunger was miraculously relieved, or their whole nature and bodily constitution changed, so that the lion should cease to be a lion, and eat grass like the ox? Or how could Adam have given names to *all*, it being remembered that, with the Hebrews, the word 'fowl' included (151) all 'creeping things that fly,' as the locust, L.xi.20-23?

189. It is painful, though almost ludicrous, to be obliged to sit down in this age of the world, in a day of widely-extended scientific education, and deliberately reason out such a question as this. But, in the interests of truth, there is no alternative, since influential and eminent men, distinguished by their attainments in science as well as by dignified ecclesiastical position, are still found defending the traditionary view with such arguments as the following,— I quote from Archd. PRATT, *Scripture and Science*, &c. *p.*49 :—

> This difficulty need not stagger us, unexpected as it is. For, in the first place, it is not impossible that the regions, which are found on the opposite side of the globe, and others, also, of which the limits are far from the boundaries of man's first residence, have become the scenes of creative power, at epochs *subsequent to the six days' work.* ['And the Heaven and the Earth were *finished, and all their host,*' ii.1.] And, further, there is nothing in the account of the six days' Creation to militate against the idea, that Creation may have been going on over the whole surface of the Earth at the same time. It simply requires us to suppose that the animals, brought to Adam for him to name them, must have been *those only in the neighbourhood of Paradise.* ['The man called names to *all* the cattle, and to the fowl of the heaven, and to *every* animal of the field,' ii.20.]

DELITZCH, too, assumes the actual historical truth of this statement, when he observes of the 'deep sleep' which fell on Adam, *p.*159 :—

This sleep is God's work, but caused by means of the *weariness* of the man, the natural consequence of his attention having been directed to so many different creatures, and deeply engaged in the contemplation of them.

190. The question here involved is, of course, this, whether we are to believe, that there was originally *only one* centre of creation, or *more than one*. If *all* animals of every kind—we may suppose, one, or a pair, of each—came to Adam to be named, then all must have been created in, or in the neighbourhood of, Paradise itself. But can anyone suppose that all kinds of *plants* were created in Paradise, and only there, so that the seeds were scattered from thence to all ends of the earth,—as that of *maize* or *Indian corn*, for instance, which was not known to the Eastern Hemisphere, till after the discovery of America,—or that all kinds of *reptiles*, *fishes*, and *insects*, were formed only in the neighbourhood of Paradise? Why, then, must this be believed with respect to all kinds of beasts and birds, in direct contradiction to the conclusions of modern Science, from which we learn that certain species of animals have lived all along, in particular regions of the earth, in the same fixed habitats, from an age long antecedent to the existence of man.

191. Thus Prof. OWEN writes, *Address at Leeds*, 1858 :—

Of the present dry land, different natural continents have different faunæ and floræ; and the fossil remains of the plants and animals of these continents, respectively, show that they possessed the same peculiar characters, or characteristic *facies*, during periods extending far beyond the utmost limits of human history. *p.*3.

The class of animals, to which the restrictive laws of geographical distribution might seem least applicable, is that of *Birds*. Their peculiar powers of locomotion, associated in numerous species with migratory habits, might seem to render them independent of every influence, save those of climate and of food, which directly affect the conditions of their existence. Yet the long-winged *Albatross* is never met with north of the Equator; nor does the *Condor* soar above other mountains than the Andes. . . Several genera of *Finches* are peculiar to the Galapagos Islands; the richly and fantastically ornate *Birds of Paradise* are restricted to New Guinea and some neighbouring islands. . . Some species have a singularly restricted locality, as the *Red Grouse* to the British Isles, the *Owl-Parrot* to Philip Island, a small spot near New Zealand. The long-strong-limbed *Ostrich* courses over the whole continent of Africa and conterminous Arabia. The genus of *three-toed*

Ostriches is similarly restricted to South America. The *Emeu* has Australia assigned to it. The continent of the *Cassowary* has been broken up into islands, including, and extending from, the north-eastern peninsula of Asia to New Guinea and New Britain. The singular nocturnal wingless *Apteryx* is peculiar to the islands of New Zealand. Other species and genera, which seem to be, like the *Apteryx*, mocked, as it were, with feathers and rudiments of wings, have wholly ceased to exist, within the memory of man, in the islands to which they also were respectively restricted. The *Dodo* of the Mauritius and the *Solitaire* are instances. In New Zealand also there existed, within the memory of the Maori ancestry, huge birds having their nearest affinities to the still-existing *Apteryx* of that island, but generically distinct from that and all other known birds. I have proposed the name of *Dinornis* for that now extinct genus, of which more than a dozen well-defined species have come to my knowledge, all peculiar to New Zealand. . . A tridactyle wingless bird of another genus, *Æpyornis*, second only to the gigantic *Dinornis* in size, appears to have also recently become extinct—if it be extinct—in the island of Madagascar. The egg of this bird, which may have suggested to the Arabian voyagers, attaining Madagascar from the Red Sea, the idea of the Roc of their romances, would hold the contents of 6 eggs of the Ostrich, 16 of the Cassowary, and 148 of the common fowl. *p.*34,35.

The two species of *Orang* are confined to Borneo and Sumatra; the two species of *Chimpanzee* are limited to an intertropical tract of the western part of Africa. They appear to be inexorably bound by climatal influences, regulating the assemblage of certain trees and the production of certain fruits. With all our care in regard to choice of food, clothing, and contrivances for artificially maintaining the chief physical conditions of their existence, the healthiest specimens of Orang or Chimpanzee, brought over in the vigour of youth, perish within a period never exceeding three years, and usually under shelter, in our climate. *p.*36.

Geology extends the geographical range of the *Sloths* and *Armadillos* from South to North America. But the deductions from recent rich discoveries of huge terrestrial forms of Sloth, of gigantic Armadillos, and large Anteaters, go to establish the fact, that these peculiar families of the order *Bruta* have ever been, as they are now, peculiar to America. *p.*39.

The sum of all the evidence from the fossil world in Australia proves its mammalian population to have been essentially the same in pleistocene, if not pliocene, times, as now; only represented, as the Edentate mammals in South America were then represented, by more numerous genera, and much more gigantic species, than now exist. *p.*40.

192. But, if this be so, then there arises also the question, whether all mankind are descended from one pair, or whether there may not be different races, generically alike, brothers, therefore, of one great Family, having all the same precious gifts, of speech and thought, reason and conscience, proper to humanity, but

yet from the first differing as species:—so that it will be no longer necessary to believe that the Bushman, Australian Savage, and Andaman Islander, are only degraded descendants of Adam or Noah, and that the European, Chinese, Negro, and North American Indian, are all derived from one pair of ancestors; and it may be possible to assume a different parentage from ours for those ancient makers of flint-implements, who lived, as scientific men assure us, many thousands—perhaps, tens of thousands—of years before the Scripture epoch of the Flood.

193. Such questions as these must now be open questions, since we are no longer bound to believe in the historical infallibility of this composite record, which lies before us in the book of Genesis. Meanwhile, the remarks of Dr. NOTT are very suggestive, *Types of Mankind, p.*76:—

These facts [quoted from Prof. AGASSIZ] prove conclusively that the Creator has marked out both the Old and New Worlds into distinct zoological provinces, and that Faunæ and Floræ are independent of climate, or other known physical causes; while it is equally clear that, in this geographical distribution, there is evidence of a *Plan*,—of a *design* ruling the climatic conditions themselves. It is very remarkable, too, that while the races of men, and the Fauna and Flora of the Arctic region, present great uniformity, they follow in the different continents the same general law of *increasing dissimilarity*, as we recede from the Arctic and go South, *irrespectively of climate*. We have already shown that, as we pass down through America, Asia, and Africa, the farther we travel, *the greater is the dissimilarity* of their Faunæ and Floræ, to their very terminations, even when compared together in the same latitudes or zones; and an examination will show, that differences of types in the human family become more strongly marked, as we recede from the Polar regions, and reach their greatest extremes at those terminating points of continents, where they are most widely separated by distance, although occupying nearly the same parallels of latitude, and nearly the same climates. For instance, the Fuegians of Cape Horn, the Hottentots and Bushmen of the Cape of Good Hope, and the inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, are the tribes which, under similar parallels, differ most. Such differences of races are scarcely less marked in the Tropics of the Earth, as testified by the Negro in Africa, the Indians in America, and the Papuan in Polynesia. In the Temperate Zone, we have in the Old World, the Mongolians and the Caucasians, no less than the Indians in America, *living in similar climates, yet wholly dissimilar themselves.*

History, traditions, monuments, osteological remains, every literary record and scientific induction, all show that races have occupied substantially the same zones or provinces from time immemorial. . . The *Caucasian* races, which have

always been the representatives of [the highest] civilisation, are those alone that have extended over, and colonised, all parts of the globe: and much of this is the work of the last three hundred years. The Creator has implanted in this group of races an instinct, that, in spite of themselves, drives them through all difficulties to carry out their great mission of civilising the Earth. It is not reason, or philanthropy, which urges them on; but it is destiny. When we see great divisions of the human family increasing in numbers, spreading in all directions, encroaching by degrees upon all other races, wherever they can live and prosper, and gradually supplanting inferior types, is it not reasonable to conclude that they are fulfilling a law of nature?'

194. G.ii.22.

'And Jehovah-Elohim built the rib, which he took out of the man, into a woman.'

MILTON, *Par. Lost*, Book viii, appears to regard the act here described as having taken place only in a vision, though his language is painfully literal and graphic:—

Mine eyes He closed, but open left the cell
Of fancy, my internal sight; by which,
Abstract, as in a trance, methought I saw,
Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
Still glorious before whom awake I stood;
Who, stooping, open'd my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and healed;
The rib He form'd and fashion'd with His hands.

KALISCH notes, *Gen.p.*91:—

The Greenlanders believed that the first woman was fashioned out of the *thumb* of the man. It is, therefore, absurd to urge that the delicate body of woman was formed—not out of the dust of the earth, but—of organic matter already purified, or that the rib points to the heart of man and his love. The Hebrew historian intended to convey his idea of the intimate relationship between man and woman, and of the sacredness and indissolubility of conjugal life; and he expressed this idea in a form, which was familiar to his contemporaries, and which will, at all times, be acknowledged, as a beautiful and affecting mode of enforcing a moral truth of the highest social importance.

195. G.ii.23,24.

'And the man said, 'This time this is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh:

therefore shall a man forsake his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall become one flesh.'

DELITZCH says, *p.*162 : —

Is this utterance a *prophetical* saying of Adam about marriage, or merely a *reflection* of the narrator? . . . . It is, indeed, the custom of this writer [the Jehovist], to insert in the history remarks beginning, as this, with עַל-כֵּן, *hal-ken*, 'therefore,' x.9, xxvi.33, xxxii.32. But these and similar remarks are all of an archæological character, and lie within the historical matter-in-hand. On the contrary, the remark in *v.*24 would be a pure reflection, without any explanatory object; and, as the story of the creation of the woman is only brought to a close in *v.*25, it would disturb the historical connection.

But then the first man would be represented as using these words, when he could as yet have had no idea of the relations of father and mother, or even of the nature of marriage itself. We may, therefore, suppose that *v.*24 may be a note of the Jehovist himself, as well as iii.20, 'because she was the mother of all living.' Still the context makes this supposition in both cases improbable.

KALISCH remarks on the above text, *Gen.p.*116 : —

We must not forget to mention that similar reflections to these are found in the holy books of the *Hindus* and *Persians*. 'The bone of woman is united with the bone of man, and her flesh with his flesh, as completely as a stream becomes one with the sea into which it flows.' *Manu*, ix.22,45, VON BOHLEN, *Alt. Ind.* ii.42.

Thus in the Hindu marriage ceremony the husband says, *As.Res.*vii.309 :—

I unite thy breath with my breath, thy bones with my bones, thy flesh with my flesh, thy skin with my skin.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEN.III.1–III.24.

196. G.iii.1.

'And the serpent was subtle out of all animals of the field, which Jehovah-Elohim had made: and he said unto the woman, &c.'

Dr. THOMAS BURNET observes, *Arch.Phil.p.*295:—

We read that all these great and multifarious matters were transacted within the short space of a single day. But I burn with pain, when I see all things upset and disordered in a little moment of time, and the whole nature of things, scarcely yet arranged and dressed out, sinking into death and deformity before the setting of the first day. In the morning of the day God said, that all was 'very good': in the evening all is execrable. How fleeting is the glory of created things! The work elaborated through six days, and that by the Hand of Omnipotence, the infamous beast has destroyed in so many hours.

Dr. BURNET would have been relieved of some part of his difficulties, if he had known that the statements, which he contrasts, were written by two different authors.

197. We are now, however, arrived at the point where DELITZCH produces his promised solution of the difficulties noticed in (187), which we commend to the consideration of the reader: *Gen.p.*164–9.

But had then the animals at that time reason? Could the Serpent at that time speak? This question is too readily settled, if it is said that the Serpent is the symbol of pleasure (CLEM. ALEX. and others, after PHILO), or of the evil proponsity (PHILLIPSON), or of the one-sided understanding (BUNSEN). Others, who do not care at all if these fundamental histories are regarded as mere fables, maintain that the author has really meant that the animals then could speak. But, after it has been shown in chap.i that man was the conclusion of the progressive creations of God, and in ii.7 that God directly 'breathed into him the breath of life,' the author, surely, will not again displace the so-sharply-drawn boundaries of creation,

and make now the beasts to be brothers and sisters of men, endowed with speech and, therefore, with reason! Let it be only considered that out of the Serpent speaks the deepest possible wickedness. That it speaks at all, is not a bit more strange than that it speaks such downright wickedness. That it speaks at all, is a wonder. That it speaks such utter wickedness, proceeds from this, that it is the instrument of a higher, but deeply-degraded, nature. It is thus a demoniacal wonder that it speaks. . .

But when was it that evil entered into the Creation? We are here arrived at the point, where the two yet outstanding contradictions must be removed, *viz.* that G.i only knows of a creation (i) of plants, and (ii) of animals, *antecedent* to the creation of man, whereas G.ii brings them both back into close connection with the creation of man, [placing them, however, both *subsequent* to it]. So, then, when did evil enter into the creation? Not first *after* the six-days' work,—for the remains of animals and plants of the old world, ever coming before our eyes in greater number and variety, are acknowledged to be older than the origin of man; and not already *before* the six-days' work,—for the 'desolation and emptiness' concealed no Mollusks and Saurians; it was the conglomerated mass of a world very different from a world of such creatures as these, exhibiting themselves as lowest links in the chain of development of the present creation. . .

Demoniacal powers have interfered with their work in the course of creation,—not, certainly, as demiurgic powers, which might have opposed contradictory caricatures to the creation of God, against which supposition Zoology raises a protest which must be admitted, since it shows in the old-world Fauna the same laws of construction and relations of form as in the existing,—probably, however, in such a way that they misled the Earth translated thus into misery, stirred up the dark fiery principle of the creature, and made unnatural intermixtures and mongrel-formations, mutual murder, disease and death, common among the races of God-created animals (!) Thus the Divine Creation was not merely a working-out of the dark matter into a bright, living, form, but also a struggle with the might of evil; whole generations, called into existence by God, yielded to the corrupting influence of that might, and must, consequently, be swept away. They were imbedded in the bowels of the mountains. The first act of the Third Day does not contradict this. For it consisted in the separation of the dry-land from the water, not in unchangeable fixed definition of the earth's external form. The shaping of the mountains began on the Third Day, without having been brought to a close when plants and animals began to appear. The Earth became again and again the grave of the organic beings, which she had long borne upon her surface. If we cast a glance forwards, the reason for the judgment of the Flood, vi.1-4, will show us that we are saying nothing strange to the Scriptural view. Also the story of the temptation of man entitles us to look backwards. The creation of the Earth and its inhabitants was, in some sense, a struggle of the Creator with Satan and his powers, as the redemption is a struggle of the Redeemer with Satan and his powers. This back-ground of the Creation is veiled in G.i; the writer has purposely veiled it; but we, to whom, through the N.T. revelation, an open look is

allowed into the vanquished kingdom of darkness,—we know that the 'and behold! it was very good' is a word of victory, and that the divine Sabbath is a rest of triumph, similar to the 'it is finished!' of the Redeemer and the triumphal-march of the Ascension. . . The Nature, which was taken possession of by the spirits of evil, is destroyed, and—here is the solution of the two contradictions—a plant-world and an animal-world have now come into being, (as the last links of the plant-and-animal-creation, which was *begun* with the third and sixth days,) such as corresponds to him, who is called to be lord and conqueror of evil, *viz.* Man. . .

It is now clear why Satan seeks to mislead the man, against God's command, to taste the deadly fruit of the tree of knowledge: he wishes to destroy man, and, with him, the whole of the *last* creation. . . It is clear also why he, since his power of destruction is so limited and confined in the paradisiacal plant-world, makes use of a beast in order to befool man, and to enslave him together with the last of the creations. The narrator confines himself to the *external* appearances only of the event, without raising the veil from the being behind. He might well have raised it, since even the heathen legend gives a full, though distorted, account of it; but he veils it, because the unveiling would not be good for the people of his time, inclined to heathenish misbelief, and heathenish intercourse with the demon-world (!). That the Devil himself tempted the first pair, says the Book of Wisdom, ii.23,24. It was also not so unknown to the narrator as might appear from his silence, since, even in the human race external to Israel, a consciousness of this meets us in many a legend and mythology. . . The Serpent is the first creature, through which Ahriman corrupts the first-created land of Ormuzd; Ahriman is represented as appearing in the form of a Serpent, and is even named the Serpent. SPIEGEL, *Avesta*, i.264.

198. The reader will perceive that, in order to reconcile the contradiction, which DELITZCH admits to exist between the two accounts of the Creation, in respect of the *order* in which Man and the animals were created, he is driven to make the following assumptions:—

(i) The creation was a 'struggle' between the Divine Creator and the 'might of evil';

(ii) The Evil One prevailed so far as to 'mislead' the animals created in the fifth day, i.21, and in the sixth *before* the creation of man, i.25;

(iii) Hence all these animals, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, &c., were obliged to be 'swept away,' together with the *vegetation*, created on the third day, i.12;

(iv) A new creation of plants and beasts and birds took place on the sixth day, *after* the creation of man, as related in ii.9,19,—[but what of the *reptiles* and *fishes*?];

(v) The Evil Spirit tried to corrupt this last creation also, and, therefore, 'made use of a beast' in order to deceive the woman.

199. G.iii.8.

'And they heard the sound of Jehovah-Elohim walking in the garden in the breeze of the day.'

DELITZCH explains this and other 'anthropomorphisms' of the Jehovist as being consequences of the *Fall*, as follows, *p.*176:—

In this state they perceive the sound of God's footstep. God draws near to them, as one man to another. That this was the mode, in which God *originally* had converse with man, is not true. That, from this point onwards, the sacred history marks such an outward distinction between God and man, has its good reason in this, that through the Fall the inner unity of God and man is really lost, and now a gradual return to approximation on both sides begins. Only then, when man has lost the uniform inner presence of God's Love, begin the (theophanies) Divine appearances. Now, for the first time, God has intercourse with man in an external form like this, corresponding to his changed condition. The relation of Love is broken. This is what is now also historically manifest, with a view to the historical restoration of it. The anthropomorphism of the mode of intercourse culminates in the Incarnation (!)

Dr. LIGHTFOOT defines the exact time of day, as follows, *Harmony &c. p.5*:—

vith day of creation . . . his (Adam's) wife the weaker vessell; she not yet knowing that there were any devils at all . . . sinned, and drew her husband into the same transgression with her; this was about *high noone*, the time of *eating*. And in this lost condition, into which Adam and Eve had now brought themselves, did they lie comfortlesse, till towards the cool of the day, or *three o'clock afternoon*.

200. G.iii.14.

'Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life.'

Here the serpent is represented as having had its nature degraded and debased from what it was originally.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*i.1–4, and after him the Fathers generally, conceived of the serpent as having had originally a human voice and legs. And DELITZCH at this very day maintains that the serpent's form was actually changed, in consequence of its having been used by Satan as the instrument of his deception, *p.*180.

The punishment of the serpent, as all antiquity understood the sentence, consists in this, that its mode of motion and its form were changed. The consequence of sin is ever something abnormal, which lies beyond the proper end of creation: it works deformity, as in the human body, though that is wholly the instrument of the spirit, so also upon the serpent, though it has only been the instrument of a

spirit. The serpent was before made otherwise: now, with its fiery colour, its forked vibrating tongue, its poison-distilling teeth, its dreadful hiss, its arrow-like motion, like a flash of light, its occasionally fascinating glance, it is, as it were, the embodiment of the diabolical sin and the divine curse. This its present condition is the consequence of a divine transformation, and, as its speaking is the first demoniacal wonder, so this transformation is the first divine. Of the original condition of the serpent it is, certainly, impossible to frame to ourselves a conjecture. We might imagine generally a machine, perhaps, but no living creature, were it even a chimæra; and even the reconstruction of one, that has previously existed, is impossible for us without given remains and indications.

201. But Geology shows us that the serpent was the same kind of creature, in the ages long ago, before man existed upon the earth, as it is now. And the notion, that the Devil took possession of the serpent, and used it as an instrument for his malicious purpose, is disproved at once by the words of the curse, which charge the crime upon the *serpent* itself,— 'because *thou* hast done this, *thou* art cursed above all *cattle* and *beasts of the field*,'—as well as by the expressions, 'upon thy belly shalt thou go,' 'dust shalt thou eat,' which refer distinctly to the animal. Is it possible to believe that a curse could have been passed by the gracious Creator upon an innocent animal, which the Devil had mastered, — while no mention is made of the Devil himself being punished? As well might we believe that the Almighty Father would curse a human being, afflicted with madness.

202. Dr. THOMAS BURNET says, *Arch. Phil. p.*291 :—

But you will say, 'The woman ought to have been careful, not to violate a law enforced by the penalty of death. '*On the day on which you shall eat thereof you shall die, you and yours*,' so ran the law.' 'Die! what does this mean?' says the virgin in her ignorance, who had never yet seen anything dead, not even a flower, nor had felt yet death's image *sleep*, or *night*, with her eyes or with her mind. And, as to what you add about her *posterity* and the *penalty upon them*, nothing of this is expressed in the law. But no laws ought to be twisted,—certainly not penal laws.

Also no light difficulty arises about the punishment of the serpent. If the Devil did the whole under the form of a serpent, or if he compelled the serpent to do or suffer all this, why is the serpent punished for the crime committed by the Devil? Then, as to the manner and form of the punishment inflicted on the serpent, *viz.* that hereafter it should go on its belly, it is not easy to explain what this means. It

will hardly be said that the serpent was formerly erect, or walked after the manner of quadrupeds. But, if it went upon its belly from the first, as serpents do now, it may seem unmeaning that something should be imposed on this animal, as a punishment and penalty for a particular deed, which it had always by nature.

203. On the point of the serpent's 'eating dust,' KALISCH observes, *Gen.p.*125:—

The great scantiness of food, on which the serpent can subsist, gave rise to the belief, entertained by many Eastern nations, and referred to in several Biblical allusions, that they 'eat dust,' Mic.vii.17, Is.lxv.25, *Sil. Ital.* vii.449, 'ferventi pastus arena,' see BOCHART, *Hier.*i.4, ROBERTS's *Illustr. of Scripture, p.*7,—while the Indians believed them to feed upon wind.

And, as to the 'enmity' between the woman's seed and the serpent, he remarks:—

In many Eastern religions, the extirpation of the reptiles, and especially of the serpents, was enjoined as an important duty. Among the *Persians*, it was considered as equivalent to the war for Ormuzd and against Ahriman, and the most sacred festival was consecrated to this 'destruction of evil.' HEROD. i.140. The Hindoos celebrated similar great feasts for the same purpose; and in Cashmere solemn sacrifices were offered for the annihilation of the serpents. (FRANK, *Vyasa, p.*139.) Thus the 'open enmity' between man and the serpent recurs throughout the whole Orient. It is everywhere impressed with a religious character; it bears a hidden symbolical meaning; it is the combat either against the Tempter, or against the Prince of Evil.

Among the Zulus, on the contrary, the snake is held in great respect, and is not willingly killed; as their dead ancestors are supposed to reappear in the form of snakes. So among the Greeks the serpent was the emblem of healing wisdom; while to the Phœnicians it became the symbol of eternity, from its habit of coiling itself into a circle.

204. G.iii.15.

'And enmity will I put between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed: it shall bruise thee on the head, and thou shalt bruise it on the heel.'

KALISCH notes, *Gen.p.*89:—

Krishna also, as the incarnation of Vishnu, is represented now as treading on the bruised head of a conquered serpent, and now as entwined by it, and stung in the heel.

And so says Mr. SHARPE, *Egyptian Mythology, p.*45:—

The serpent of evil, the great enemy of the human race, plays an important

part in all [Egyptian] pictures and sculptures relating to the next world. . . When it is pierced through the head by the spear of the goddess Isis, we see the enmity between the woman and the serpent, spoken of in G.iii. It is always conquered by the good, sometimes pierced through its folds by a number of swords, and sometimes carried away alive in the arms of its conquerors in triumph.

205. Accordingly, the usual explanation of the above passage is, that the 'seed of the serpent' typifies in some way the Devil and all that belongs to him; while the 'seed of the woman' represents JESUS CHRIST and all true believers; the 'serpent' shall bruise the woman's seed on the *heel*, *i.e.* shall have power to injure, but not *fatally*; while the 'seed of the woman' shall bruise it on the *head*, *i.e.* shall crush and utterly destroy the power of evil. So writes DELITZCH, *p.*182:—

The crafty venomous bite of the snake on the heel of man, which he retaliates, without having suffered fatal injury, by crushing its head with his foot, shadows forth the conflict of the human race with the Devil and all who are 'of the Devil,'—and who are, therefore, not so much the woman's, as the serpent's seed,—and the decisive victory of the human race, in which this conflict ends.

206. It is probable that the deadly conflict of man with evil is symbolised in this narrative by the mortal hatred, which, for very natural reasons, exists almost everywhere between the human race and the serpent tribe. So most people have a dislike of *scorpions*, Lu.x.19, *spiders*, &c. But it is doubtful if the injury is here supposed to be mortal in the one case, and not in the other. The serpent stings the heel,—that part of the man which is most accessible to its bite,—whenever it has an opportunity of doing so, with a fatal power; while the man, in like manner, wreaks his vengeance on the serpent by crushing its head.

207. Thus WILLET writes, *Hexap. in Gen.*, *p.*51:—

Part of this sentence is literally true in the serpent. For, as RUPERTUS noteth, if a woman tread upon the serpent with her bare foot, he presently dieth; but *if he first bite her heel, the woman dieth of that poison.* But, howsoever this be true, it is most certain that between man and those venomous creatures, there is a natural hatred, that one cannot endure the sight and presence of the other. Some do marvel why the serpent is not made mute and dumb, seeing Satan abused his tongue and mouth to tempt the woman. The Hebrews think that the punishment

is included, in that dust is appointed to be his meat; for such, whose mouths are filled with earth, cannot speak. And to this day we see that the punishment remaineth upon the serpent, who *maketh no perfect sound, as other cattle do, but hisseth only* (!).

208. G.iii.16.

'Unto the woman He said, Multiplying I will multiply thy pain, and thy conception; in pain shalt thou bear children.'

There is no reason to suppose that the pain of childbirth has really been *increased* to the woman. It would arise, from the natural conformation of her body, if she was to bear children at all,—and the mention of a man 'leaving his father and mother,' ii.24, implies that she was meant to do so, in the view of this writer, even in Paradise, before the Fall. In tropical countries, indeed, the birth of a child seems often to be attended with little more pain and disturbance than the birth of a beast. It is merely the imagination of the Hebrew writer, which ascribes the pain of childbirth, and the natural subjection of the female to the male, (which also is not peculiar to man amongst animals,) to her being foremost in sin.

209. DELITZCH, however, assumes a change in the woman's form, *p.*184: —

That the woman shall become a mother, is God's original will; but the punishment is, that she shall henceforth bear children with pains, which threaten her life as well as the child's. This sentence also upon the wife changes the original state of things judicially; and, since the woes indicated are necessarily grounded on the present physiological condition of the woman, this also must have undergone a change, without our being able to frame to ourselves a conception of the original state of things.

And again, as to the 'subjection' of the woman to the man he writes, *p.*184: —

It was intended from the first that the man should have a certain superiority over the woman. But only now, when the harmony of their mutual wills in God is disturbed, this superiority is changed to *lordship*: the man can command in a lordly manner, and the woman is from without and within compelled to obey. In consequence of Sin there exists that subjection, bordering on slavish, of the woman to the man, which, as it is still in the East, was in the old world usual, and which *first through the religion of Revelation* has been by degrees made more endurable, and equalised with the human worth of the woman.

With reference to the words italicised in the above extract, we cannot but be reminded of the words of TACITUS, who, speaking of the ancient Germans, says, *Germ.* viii,—

Moreover, they think that there is something sacred, or gifted with foresight, in their women; nor do they either despise their counsels, or neglect their prophetical utterances.

210. G. iii. 17, 18.

'Cursed is the ground for thy sake: in pain shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; and thorns and thistles shall it make to sprout to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.'

Here the ground is represented as cursed for man's sake, and on this account bearing briars and thorns, and requiring to be cultivated with hard labour.

But Geology shows that the state of things upon the Earth, before man appeared upon it, was just the same as it is now. There are no signs of any curse having passed upon the Earth. Thorns and briars were as plentiful in the primeval world as they are now. The same abundant crop of weeds would have sprung up, under the same circumstances, *then* as *now*, on any ground uncared-for. And man, if he had lived then, could only have eaten bread by the sweat of his brow, in those days as now.

211. And, in fact, a life of toil and exertion is far more healthy, joyous, and ennobling,—far more suited to man's bodily and spiritual nature,—far better adapted to draw out his highest faculties,—than one of inactivity and careless ease, such as the life of Paradise is generally imagined to have been. It is the kind of life evidently *meant* for man by his Creator, the life for which man was made,—the *normal* kind of life which, when not excessive in its labours, is natural and pleasant to him, happy and healthgiving, and not one to remind him at all of sin and of the curse.

212. G.iii.19.

'Until thy returning unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken: for dust art thou, and unto dust shalt thou return.'

Reddenda est terræ terra, says EURIPIDES, in CIC.*Tusc.*iii.25. This appears to be the writer's mode of accounting for death in the human race. And DELITZCH observes, *p.*189 : —

With the man, however,—the threatened one,—a change has now taken place. When he was threatened, he was only *one*. Now he is man and woman. Through the fact, that God has given him the woman, arises on the one side the possibility of a diminution of the fault, on the other the possibility of a fulfilment of the threatening, without breaking off human history. It is now possible that the man may die, without the human race coming to an end.

213. But Geology shows that living creatures of all kinds died in the ages long ago, as they die now,—died, overwhelmed by floods, or falling earth, or the fiery streams poured out by volcanoes,—died by old age or the action of disease, their bones being found distorted, carious, or twisted with pain,—died, often tearing and devouring one another, even as now, the bones of one animal being found in the stomach of another. As Dr. PYE SMITH says, *Geology and Scripture*, *p.*89 :—

We can see and examine their powerful teeth, the structure of their bones for the insertion, course, and action of muscles, nerves, and the tubes for circulation, indicating the functions, and their very stomachs, beneath their ribs, replenished with chewed bits of bone, fish-scales, and other remains of animal food.

Death, therefore, has been in the world from the very first, as the universal law for the animal, as well as for the vegetable, creation. And there is nothing to compel us to believe,—even if we could gather a definite meaning to that effect from the Hebrew writer, which, perhaps, we cannot,—that man's mortal frame would have endured for ever, any more than those of other animals similarly constituted to his.

214. Yet it may be questioned if this passage of Scripture really means to say that death was inflicted as the penalty of sin, notwithstanding the interpretation put upon it by the later Jews, Wisd.ii.24, Ecclus.xxv.24. For, as KNOBEL observes, *p.*49 : —

According to the Bible, Adam is not to die because he has *sinned*, but because he was 'taken out of the ground,'—because he 'is dust,' he shall 'return to dust.' Hence he was created mortal; through his original nature, according to which he is exposed to death, it is plain, he dies. He *might* have gained immortality through the tree of life, ii.9, but only as something over and beyond his created nature, only as a prerogative of the celestial beings. But, because he wilfully appropriated to himself another prerogative of the spiritual powers, and was not yet to become like to these, he was prevented from this, and death took place, in accordance with his original nature. 'That prevention of further encroachment on the prerogatives of the spiritual, and this entrance of the original destiny of man, cannot be said to be the infliction of death as the punishment of sin. God cannot be said to have taken from Adam immortality,—which he did not at all possess,—and to have inflicted on him death,—which from the beginning was to have been expected. But He left him simply with his original mortality, which finally took effect through death.

And, indeed, Bishop JEREMY TAYLOR is quoted by Archd. PRATT, *p.*48, as having written, two centuries ago, as follows:—

That *Adam was made mortal* in his nature, is infinitely certain, and proved by his very eating and drinking, his sleep and recreation, &c. *That* death, which God threatened to Adam, and which passed upon his posterity, is not the going out of this world, but the manner of going. If he had stayed in innocence, he should have gone placidly and fairly, without vexatious and afflictive circumstances; he should not have died by sickness, defect, misfortune, or unwillingness.

215. It need hardly be said, however, that the above explanation of this scientific difficulty, though supported by the authority of so eminent a writer, does not satisfy the ardent defenders of the traditional view, or those who have imbibed, as unhappily we have, most of us, from childhood, the defective theological teaching of that great poet, who wrote—

> Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> *Brought Death into the world.*

Accordingly, Archd. PRATT, who quotes it, does not agree with the writer, but referring to Rom.v.12, 'as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin,' he admits that death was in the world before man's sin, but reconciles the difficulty, as follows:—

Science here comes to our aid, *to correct the impressions we gather from Scripture* (!), and the lesson we learn from the Apostle is, not that death had never

appeared even in the irrational world, before the Fall of man, but that, in that fearful event, sin had degraded God's intellectual creature, to the level of the brutes in his animal nature, and in his spiritual, to that of a lost and fallen being. Death received its horrors when it fell upon man, who alone was made in the image of God.

216. On this point Prof. HITCHCOCK writes as follows, *Geology, p.*73:—

The common theory of Death maintains that, when man transgressed, there was an entire change throughout all organic nature; so that animals and plants, which before contained a principle of immortal life, were smitten with the hereditary contagion of disease and death. Those animals, which, before that event, were gentle and herbivorous or frugivorous, suddenly became ferocious or carnivorous. The climate, too, changed, and the sterile soil sent forth the thorn and the thistle in the place of the rich flowers and fruits of Eden. The great English Poet, in his 'Paradise Lost,' has clothed this hypothesis in a most graphic and philosophical dress; and, probably, *his descriptions have done more than the Bible to give it currency.* Indeed, could the truth be known, I fancy that, on many points of secondary [?] importance, the current theology of the day has been shaped quite as much by the ingenious machinery of the 'Paradise Lost,' as by the Scriptures,—the theologians having so mixed up the ideas of Milton with those derived from Inspiration, that they find it difficult to distinguish between them.

The truth is that we literally *groan,* even in the present day, under the burden of Milton's mythology.

217. No mention, however, is made of the *immortality of the soul,* of *life after death,* in this passage, G.iii.19; and, indeed, in the writer's view, apparently, the death of the body was the end of all, as is so mournfully intimated in the Psalm of Hezekiah, Is.xxxviii.10-20. Nor does he draw any strong distinction between the *nature* of man and the brute creation: *both* man and beast are *formed by Jehovah-Elohim* Himself, *out of the ground,* ii.7,19, *each* is called a 'living soul,' ii.7,19, *each* has 'in its nostrils the breath of life,' ii.7, vii.22. DELITZCH takes note of this, *p.*143,190, and places the excellency of man in the fact, that of him only it is said, that 'Jehovah-Elohim *breathed* into his nostrils,' &c.

218. But it seems doubtful if the writer intended to express this difference. By *whom* was the spirit of life breathed into the nostrils of any of the creatures, unless by Jehovah-Elohim?

In the later Hebrew writings, indeed, we find, apparently, a distinction drawn between the 'spirit of a man that goeth upward,' and 'the spirit of a beast that goeth downward to the earth,' Eccl.iii.21. And though the writer says, *v.*19,20,—

'That, which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one spirit (רוּחַ, *ruăkh*, E.V. 'breath'); so that *a man hath no preeminence above a beast*; for all is vanity; all go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again'—

yet he seems to allow a preeminence to the spirit of man above that of the beast, both in the words of iii.21 above quoted, and in those of xii.7, where, speaking of the death of *man*, he says,—

'Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it.'

219. Yet even this is doubtful, since 'spirit' here means, probably, the same as in Ecc.iii.19, where it is said that man and beast 'have all one spirit,' and therefore the language here used of man might be used of beasts also. And again in iii.21, 'Who knoweth the spirit of a man, &c,' the construction of the interrogative, without a negative, implies rather a negative answer, as in Is.xl.13,14, 'Who hath directed the Spirit of Jehovah?' &c., or Is.liii.1, 'Who hath believed our report?'—where the answer is meant to be, 'No one.' So here the meaning may be, 'No one knows whether the spirit of man goeth upward, and the spirit of a beast downward.'

220. DELITZCH takes account of some of the natural and necessary phenomena of death, in the natural world of plants, animals, &c., before the Fall, as follows, *p.*187:—

To come into being and be deprived of being, to be formed and unformed, to appear and to pass away, are certainly grounded in the essence of natural life, and it is true that the right of the individual among the creatures properly first begins with man. Thus, even without the sin of man, the individual formations of nature could not have existed eternally; they would, generally, have been returned to that from which they were taken, but without that anguish-and-torment-fraught, for the most part violent, death, and that offensive, air-polluting putrefaction, which the Scripture names 'death' and 'corruption.'

221. The fact is, in short, that we have every reason from

Science to suppose that for man, as well as other animals, in his natural, normal, state, death is necessary,—that his body also will at length be worn out naturally, as those of the innumerable living creatures of all kinds, which have died in the ages before him, by the wear and tear of seasons, which are just the same now as in the days of old, or that men may come, perhaps, to an untimely end, by such accidents as those, which have buried so many beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, &c., as well as plants, of past ages, in the very prime of their strength, and in the midst of their activity.

222. But then man's nature is a glorious, spiritual, nature, conscious of personal identity, prescient, desirous of a future life,—a nature fitted to have converse with the good and the true and the beautiful, which things endure for ever,—a nature that can live in eternity, that even now has kindred with the Divine, that can be filled with the Light and Life of God. There is good reason, therefore, for believing that the dissolution of this mortal framework of the human body will not be the death of the spirit of man.

223. G.iii.21.

'And Jehovah-Elohim made to Adam and to his wife coats of skin, and clothed them.'

DELITZCH takes this passage as being literally and historically true. He makes this act, however, one of great significance, *p.*192 :—

> Man, in consequence of sin; needs a covering to hide his nakedness. He himself has made the attempt to cover his nakedness by his own contrivance: however, he has not succeeded; before God he cannot present himself with his fig-leaves. Only God himself prepares for him a covering, which may serve for man to appear in before God,—and that, from the skins of slain animals, and, therefore, at the cost of innocent life, at the expense of the shedding of innocent blood. This blood was an image of the blood of Christ, this clothing an image of the clothing of righteousness in Christ . . . The original couple, clothed by God himself, upon believing apprehension of the word of promise, are the image of all men justified through faith in Christ.

It is of course allowable for any to draw out such analogies,

provided that they are not enforced as articles of faith, or as really meant to be conveyed in a passage like this.

224. G.iii.24.

'And He placed in front of the garden of Eden the cherubs.'

Dr. THOMAS BURNET writes, *Arch. Phil. p.*293:

The text says, 'They sewed together fig-leaves, and made to themselves girdles.' Here we have the first step in the art of sewing. But whence had they a needle, whence a thread, on that first day of their creation? These questions may seem to be too free: but the matter itself demands that we act freely, when we are seeking the naked truth. When, however, they had made to themselves girdles, God gave them besides coats, made, forsooth, out of the skins of beasts. But here again we run into difficulties. To soften the matter, let us substitute in the place of God an *angel.* An angel, then, slew and skinned the animals, or stripped the skin from innocent and living animals. But this is the business of a slaughterer, or butcher, not an angel. Besides, through this slaughter, *whole races of animals would have perished*; for it is not believed that more than two of each kind were created at first; and one without the other, its male, would have had no offspring.

After all this, however, transacted, what follows? God drove our parents, thus clothed in skins, out of Paradise, and placed at the entrance of the garden cherubim, with a flaming, turning, sword, lest they should reseek the blessed abode by force, or even by accident. Is there any interpreter who will bend this to the letter, and will assert that angels stood, like guards, with drawn swords, before the entrance of the garden through I know not how many ages?—as the dragons are said by the poets to have guarded the apples of the Hesperides. Why, how long did these angelic watches last? To the Deluge, I suppose, if not longer. Do you believe that angels were so occupied, for more than 1,500 years, in keeping a garden night and day? How easy would it have been, in a well-watered place like Paradise, to have surrounded the garden with a stream or river, which would have been an abundantly sufficient obstacle to Adam and Eve, who knew nothing as yet of the use and construction of boats or ships! But these and such like considerations, lest they should seem invidious, I would rather leave to be pondered by others.

CHAPTER XIV.

STORIES OF PARADISE AND THE FALL IN OTHER NATIONS.

225. The *Persian* myth, describing the Fall of Man, which bears a striking resemblance to the story in Genesis, is thus given by KALISCH, *Gen.p.*87 :—

The first couple, the parents of the human race, *Meshia* and *Meshiane*, lived originally in purity and innocence. Perpetual happiness was promised to them by Ormuzd, the Creator of every good gift, if they persevered in their virtue. But an evil demon (*Dev*) was sent to them by Ahriman, the representative of everything noxious and sinful. He appeared unexpectedly in the form of a serpent, and gave them the fruit of a wonderful tree, *Hôm*, which imparted immortality, and had the powers of restoring the dead to life. Thus evil inclinations entered their hearts; all their moral excellence was destroyed. Ahriman himself appeared under the form of the same reptile, and completed the work of seduction. They acknowledged him instead of Ormuzd as the creator of everything good; and the consequence was, that they forfeited for ever the internal happiness for which they were destined. They killed beasts, and clothed themselves in their skins; they built houses, but paid not their debt of gratitude to the Deity. The evil demons thus obtained still more perfect power over their minds, and called forth envy, hatred, discord, and rebellion, which raged in the bosom of the families. *Zendavesta, Kleuker's Ed.* ii.217,280,iii.62,84,85.

It is unnecessary to point out the parallel features of this legend with the Mosaic narrative. It contains almost all the materials of the latter,—the remarkable tree, the serpent, the degradation and fall of man. It is, then, evident that all these traits are not specifically Mosaic; they belonged to the common traditionary lore of the Asiatic nations; they cannot, therefore, be *essential* in the system of *Mosaic* theology; they serve to represent the ideas, but are not indispensable for them; they are the vehicle used to convey certain truths, but these truths might have been expressed in a thousand other shapes; the truths are unchangeable and necessary, the form is indifferent and accidental.

226. And he describes thus the Chinese myth, *p.*89 :—

The Chinese, also, have their age of virtue, when nature furnished abundant

food to the happy men, who lived peacefully, surrounded by the beasts, exercised virtue without the assistance of Science, and did not yet know what it meant to do good or evil. The physical desires were perfectly subordinate to the divine spirit in man, who had all heavenly, and no earthly, dispositions; disease and death never approached him; but partly an undue thirst for knowledge, partly increasing sensuality, and the seduction of women, were his perdition; all moderation was lost; passion and lust ruled in the human mind; the war with the animals began; and all nature stood inimically arrayed against him.

And many more such myths are found in the folk-lore of other nations.

227. So, again, KALISCH writes of the garden of Eden:—

The Paradise is no exclusive feature of the early history of the Hebrews. Most of the ancient nations have similar narratives about a happy abode, which care does not approach, and which reechoes with the sounds of the purest bliss. The *Greeks* believed that, at an immense distance beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the borders of the Earth, were the islands of the Blessed, the Elysium, abounding in every charm of life, and the Garden of the Hesperides, with their golden apples, guarded by an ever-watchful serpent (Ladon). But still more analogous is the legend of the *Hindus*, that, in the sacred mountain Meru, which is perpetually clothed in the golden rays of the Sun, and whose lofty summit reaches into heaven, no sinful man can exist,—that it is guarded by dreadful dragons,—that it is adorned with many celestial plants and trees, and is *watered by four rivers*, which thence separate and flow to the four chief directions. Equally striking is the resemblance to the belief of the *Persians*, who suppose that a region of bliss and delight, the town Eriene Vedsho, or *Heden*, more beautiful than all the rest of the world, traversed by a mighty river, was the original abode of the first men, before they were tempted by Ahriman, in the shape of a serpent, to partake of the wonderful fruit of the forbidden tree *Hôm*.

The 'tree of life' has analogies in the 'king of trees,' *Hôm*, which the Persians believed to grow at the spring Ardechsur, issuing from the throne of Ormuzd, and in the tall *Pilpel* of the Indians, to which was also ascribed the power of securing immortality and every other blessing. But the 'tree of knowledge' may be compared with the 'well of wisdom' in northern mythology, from which even the great God Odin drinks, and which gives knowledge even to the wise Mimer. *p.*108.

228. And so writes DELITZCH, *p.*152:—

When in the second Fargard of the Vendidad, Ormuzd commands Yima, under whose lordship, before he yielded to the seduction of Ahriman, love, youth, and immortality gladdened the life of man, to prepare a four-square well-fenced garden, and to bring into it the most choice of the creatures, since winter, snow, and, in consequence of them, sterility, have pressed into the world, and when it is said that in this kingdom of Yima, shut against the world, eternal light shone,—this, with many other features of the Iranian legend, is an echo of the Truth hidden under the simple and almost colourless covering of the story before us.

And again, *p.*156:—

'We are reminded of the 'tree of life' in this narrative, by the sacred tree of the Hindoos, the Zoroastrian Hôm, and by the 'tree of life' on the Assyrian monuments. LAYARD, *Nineveh*, *p.*427.

229. TUCH writes as follows, *p.*50:—

The mythology of many nations knows such a Paradise and such an Adam, to whom the fundamental cause of the fates of mankind is referred. Nothing else than the paradisiacal life of Adam was that happy, golden, Saturnian, age; nothing else was that life, free from toil and misfortune, which, according to HESIOD'S poetry, men enjoyed, before woman was given to them. All evil was banished into a vessel, which the Gods forbad to be opened. But Pandora takes the cover away, and misery unfettered overpowers the human race. Among the Thibetans, the paradisiacal condition was more complete and spiritual. The desire to eat of a certain sweet herb deprived men of their spiritual life. There arose a sense of shame, and the need to clothe themselves. Necessity compelled them to agriculture; the virtues disappeared, and murder, adultery, and other vices, stepped into their place. India knows of no connected myth, which would be the complete analogue to the Biblical, although many particular traits, as the wonderful trees, and Krishna's struggle with the serpent, whose head he bruises, may be used as analogies. A more exact analogy, depending upon the connection of mythical poetry, is presented again by the Zend legend, which requires to be more fully explained and compared with the Biblical. Here we find the tree Hôm, the death-expeller, whose juice makes immortal, and at the resurrection gives life to the dead. Here leaps from heaven the death-fraught Ahriman, in the form of a snake,—the most usual self-created form, in which the evil principle, together with his *divs*, appears. Here we find Meshia and Meshiane, the progenitors of the human race, destined for happiness, if they continue in unison with their Creator. But the evil spirit intruded into their thoughts, and they recognised the creation of Good as Ahriman's work. The happiness of the pure soul, created for immortality, was lost. Further, the *Div* put before them fruits, of which they ate. Of a hundred blessings there remained to them but one. They clothed themselves with the skins of animals. They built houses, but forgot to thank the author of life. Through this, the *divs* obtained a fearful power over them, and caused among them insurrections, hostility, envy, hatred.

230. DELITZCH observes, *p.*195:—

The cherubs appear here as guards of Paradise, just as in the Persian legend 99,999, *i.e.* innumerable, attendants of the Holy One keep watch against the attempts of Ahriman over the tree Hôm, which contains in itself the power of the resurrection. Much closer, however, lies the comparison of the winged lion-and-eagle-formed griffins, which watch the gold-caves of the Arimaspian metallic mountains, and of the sometimes more or less hawk-formed—sometimes only winged and otherwise man-formed—guardians, upon the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. The resemblance of the symbols is surprisingly great, and the comparison

of the king of Tyre, Ez.xxviii.14–16, to a protecting cherub with outspread wings, who, stationed on the holy mountain, 'walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire,' justifies us in assuming such a connection. Its explanation lies in this, that the human race, when separating into peoples, took with them from their original home the idea of the cherub, and fashioned it mythologically. But the fundamental traces have remained unchanged. For the occupation of the griffin is just as two-fold as that of the biblical cherub. They watch before the rock of gold, but also they draw the chariots of the gods, and carry gods upon their wings. Æsch. *Prom. Vinct.* So the cherubs keep watch over that which must not be approached; and the name כְּרוּב, *kĕruv, kruv,* is derived probably from כָּרַב, 'grab, grapple, grasp, gripe,' Sanscr. *gribh,* Pers. *giriften,* Goth. *griffan;* comp. Gr. γρύψ, meaning a being holding fast, and making what it holds unapproachable. But the cherubs also are described as carrying the glory of God, when He appears in the world, Ps.xviii.10, Ez.i.15, Ecclus.xlix.8.

231. KNOBEL observes upon the narrative contained in this chapter, *p.*41 :—

Upon this passage is the doctrine of Original Sin [mainly] grounded. According to it, the first pair found themselves at first in a state of perfection (*status integritatis*), and had an original righteousness (*justitia originalis*), or the Divine image (*imago divina*), to which also belonged—in a corporeal point of view, incorruptibility, health, freedom from pain, a temperate state of sensual impulses, (*æquale temperamentum qualitatum corporis,*) and agreement thereof with reason and will, and, according to many, immortality also,—in a spiritual point of view, right knowledge of God and His Will, also of self and of things generally, (*recta ratio, sapientia concreata,*) and the power to love God, to fulfil His commands, and to act in entire agreement with Him, (*liberum arbitrium, sanctitas concreata*). The first pair, however, allowed themselves to be misled by the Devil to the transgression of the Divine Command, and fell into sin: they lost the divine image, and experienced a corruption of their whole nature, and of all their powers, *viz.* death, and other bodily evils, darkening of the spirit and ignorance of God, inability to fear and love God, and to do His Commands, general incapacity of the will for good, and supremacy of the evil desires. This corruption (*peccatum originale*) descended by inheritance through natural procreation to all the posterity of Adam.

As this doctrine, however, is framed, it finds very little support in the narrative before us, independently altogether of the question whether it is historically true.

(i) The writer does not teach any original state of perfection. As to the corporeal state he is silent, and simply with respect to the point of immortality betrays his view to this effect, that man was created originally *mortal,* and only through partaking of the tree of life, which, however, never took place, might have become immortal, ii.17, iii.19,22. Instead of perfect knowledge, he rather ascribes the opposite to the first pair, *viz.* the not knowing good and evil, *i.e.* the want of moral perception, and, in fact, to such an extent, that they did not perceive at all that going naked was unbecoming, and that clothing was proper, ii.25. This want

made them *unlike* God, iii.22, and was certainly not regarded by the narrator as *sapientia concreata*, and reckoned as part of the 'divine image.' Of the Will of God they knew simply the command forbidding them to eat of the tree of knowledge, ii.17; at all events, the narrative tells us of no other. Just as little does the writer ascribe to the first pair a moral perfection. He represents them rather as finding themselves in a state of moral indifference, and could not do otherwise, since he denies to them moral perception,—exactly that, through which all morality and immorality is conditioned. Only they did not transgress the above-named command before the temptation; more than this is not to be seen in the narrative.

(ii) The writer relates nothing about the *Devil*, and the temptation of Eve through him, but speaks only of a *serpent*, iii.1,15.

(iii) He does not teach that a *general corruption* was introduced through the Fall. With reference to the body, he represents only in the case of Eve something of that kind, iii.16, without, however, mentioning it as a corruption. On the contrary, in the case of Adam, whom he makes merely to be punished with the labours of agriculture, he is silent about any such change, and has certainly not assumed any corruption of the sensitive nature of man, and especially not that the latter then first became mortal through the Fall. In an intellectual point of view, he maintains not a *loss* and *retrogression*, but a *gain* and *advance*, of the first pair, since he makes them through the transgression attain a moral perception, and thereby become like unto God, iii.22. How that can be a loss of the divine image, it is impossible to see. In a moral point of view, he relates only that Adam and Eve had transgressed the divine command, had committed a sin; and introduced evil into human life. But he does not teach that, through one single transgression, the moral nature of man was entirely changed and corrupted, and man has lost all capability for good.

(iv) He knows still less of a propagation of the moral corruption through procreation, but has manifestly assumed a growing increase of evil through the free inclination of man: at least, that terrible idea cannot be shown to exist in his story. He sets forth the direction given to Cain to master sin, iv.7, and assumes therefore, the possibility, and, consequently, the capability also, for good, as existing with him.

(v) He knows nothing at all of the 'divine image' in man, which only the Elohist has, and says, therefore, nothing about the possession or the loss of it.

232. The truth is, that the expression 'divine image,' as used in dogmatic theology, is used in a totally different sense from that, in which the words are employed in i.26,27, where it seems to mean chiefly the possession by man of a more noble and divine form, and especially of superior intelligence, and the power of reason and conscience:

> 'He gave him mind,—the lordliest
> Proportions,—and, above the rest,
> Dominion in the head and breast.'

And the doctrine, which is above stated, cannot be derived by any process of just interpretation, from the narrative in G.ii.16-iii.24, though other passages of Scripture no doubt may be adduced in support of it; *e.g.* Rom.v.12, 1Cor.xv.21,22. The writer in Genesis rather appears to have considered that he was giving an account of the subjection of the human race to *physical* evil: whereas St. PAUL represents the death of the human race in Adam as involving that tendency to *moral* evil, that 'lusting of the flesh against the spirit,' that 'bodily death,' which he felt in himself, and perceived to be common to all mankind.

233. It is sufficient merely to mention in this place the horrible doctrine of St. AUGUSTINE, upon the dogma of 'Original Sin,' with reference to which Bishop WATSON writes as follows, *Apologies, &c. p.*463: —

The doctrine in the words of FULGENTIUS stands thus, *Firmissimè tene, et nullatenus dubites, parvulos, sive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur, sive cum, de matribus nati, sine sacramento sancti baptismatis de hoc seculo transeunt, ignis æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendos.* 'Hold thou most firmly, nor do thou in any respect doubt, that infants, whether in their mothers' wombs they begin to live and there die, or when, after their mothers have given birth to them, they pass from this life without the sacrament of holy baptism, will be punished with the everlasting punishment of eternal fire.' Parent of universal good! Merciful Father of the human race! how hath the benignity of Thy nature been misrepresented! how hath the Gospel of Thy Son been misinterpreted by the burning zeal of presumptuous man! I mean not on this occasion to enter into the various questions, which learned men have too minutely discussed concerning the lapse of our first parents, original rectitude, and subsequent depravation of human nature. I simply mean to say that a proposition, which asserts that infants dying in the womb will be tormented in everlasting fire because of Adam's transgression, is a proposition so entirely subversive of all our natural notions of the justice and mercy of the Supreme Being, that it cannot be admitted unless a passage in Scripture could be produced, in which it is clearly and in so many words revealed. And I am certain that no such passage can be produced.

CHAPTER XV.

GEN.IV.1–V.32.

234. G.iv.2.

'Abel was a keeper of sheep.'

DELITZCH observes, *p.*199:—

The small domestic cattle, sheep and goats, were kept in this earliest, extra-paradisiacal time, on account of their woolly skin, not at all to be used as food, although, perhaps, also for the sake of their milk, since milk is certainly an animal nutriment, and, therefore, not used in paradise, but yet is not obtained through the destruction of animal life. . . The calling of each brother was directed towards food,—that of Abel especially towards that covering of their sinful nakedness, which God's own initiation had consecrated.

It is obvious, however, that animals must have been *slain*, if their hides were used for covering,—unless, indeed, Adam and Eve were taught the art of weaving the wool into cloth, which the statement in iii.21, 'Jehovah-Elohim made coverings of skin,' is very far from implying. It may be supposed that they used the skins of animals killed for sacrifices. But we have seen (157) that, even in the use of vegetable food, there is necessarily infinite destruction of animal life.

235. G.iv.14.

'Every one that findeth me shall slay me.'

There seems to be an inconsistency here in the story. For, at this time, the only man upon the face of the earth was Adam—rather, the only *male* person, for Seth was not born till after this, *v.*25, and, during the whole time which had elapsed since the birth of Cain and Abel, Eve had borne no son, though she

may be supposed to have had daughters, among whom may be reckoned Cain's wife, *v.*17. Hence Cain would hardly have expected to find people ready to kill him. DELITZCH writes, *p.*205:—

Eden (*i.e.* the land of Eden) was certainly at this time the exclusive dwelling-place of the young humanity. The writer seems here to have forgotten himself. But not so: for, whereas Cain fears that beyond Eden he shall be recognised as the well-known murderer, the story explains this by saying that there was only one human family, the family of Adam, and no other family standing out of connection with it, [so that *every* person, whom he might hereafter chance to encounter anywhere, would be a relative of the murdered Abel.] It is manifestly the avenging-of-blood, which Cain fears, when his father's family shall spread itself: for, that murder is to be punished through the death of the murderer, is a principle of justice written in every human breast; and the circumstance, that Cain already sees the earth full of avengers, is one quite usual with the murderer, who feels himself everywhere surrounded and tormented by avenging spirits (Ἐρινύες).

236. G.iv.17.

'And he (Cain) builded a city.'

DELITZCH notes, *p.*209:—

That already a *city* comes upon the scene, seems absurd to those, who choose to imagine to themselves the advance of human cultivation, as no other than a slow laborious progress, out of an entirely, or partially, animal state of existence. But, —leaving out of consideration the fact that the introduction of settled dwelling-places and buildings is lost in the legends of all nations, far back in the mythical primal age, beyond the reach of memory,—yet, when this Cainite town arose, already centuries may have elapsed since the origin of the human race, and 'city' means, at first, nothing more than an enclosure with fixed dwellings,—in opposition to mere shepherd's tents, standing near each other [like huts in a Zulu kraal], and, further, changing from place to place. . . It must appear much more strange that Cain, who according to God's judgment, was to be 'a fugitive and a vagabond,' settles himself down so firmly. He has in this way set himself against the divine curse, in order to feel it inwardly so much the more, as outwardly he seems to have overcome it.

237. G.iv.17,18.

There is a considerable resemblance between the descendants of Cain, as given in these verses, and those of Seth in G.v. Thus 'Enoch' and 'Lamech' are found in both genealogies; and in this we have קֵינָן, יֶרֶד, מְחוּשָׁלַח, *Keynan, Yered, Méthu-*

shelakh, in the other, קֵינָן, עִירָד, מְחוּשָׁאֵל, *Kayin*, *Hirad*, *Méthushael*: also אָדָם, *Adam*, and אֱנוֹשׁ, *Enosh*, are both names for 'man.' From this BUTTMANN infers that these are two different versions of the same tradition.

238. The argument is ingenious and plausible. But it scarcely deserves to be noted by Prof. RAWLINSON, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*271, as 'the boldest of all the attempts made to invalidate the historical character of the Pentateuch,' and to be replied to seriously at great length, while so many other difficulties of far greater importance are wholly passed over. HÄVERNICK, *p.*109, considers that the circumstance of the similarity of the two lists of names—

finds its most appropriate explanation in the *small number of names*, that were in use in the old world (!)

It is possible that there may be here two different genealogies, or two different forms of the same genealogy. KNOBEL, *Gen.p.*54, considers that the later form may have been merely framed upon the model of the Elohistic genealogy in chap.v, the names being transferred from the Sethite to the Cainite list, with some modifications.

239. G.iv.20–22.

Here the first introduction of *cattle-keeping*, *music*, and *smithery*, is ascribed to descendants of Cain. With respect to these inventions, and especially that of *music*, DELITZCH observes, *p.*212 :—

How comes the race of Cain to have the honour of making such important advances in civilisation? For this reason, that the race of the Promise has fallen out with the world, while the race of the Curse is on good terms with it,—for this reason, that the one is influenced from within, and the other from without,—for this reason, that the one has in God its heart's treasure, the home of its thoughts, and the object of its every aim and act, while the other lives in the sensual and visible, and from this seeks to enrich, adorn, and establish, its poor, barren, restless life. All human history confirms the observation, to which the beginning of this primary history leads us, that culture becomes more extended and refined in the great bulk of men, just in proportion as estrangement from God increases. The Arts do not even now belie the root of the Curse, out of which they have sprung (!) There lies

a magical attraction in every Art and Science, which seeks to draw back the heart from simplicity in God, and to ensnare it in the bonds of Nature, the Flesh, the life of this world. There is also in all Music, not only an unspiritualised principle still remaining, of material *natural* origin, but also a Cainite element, of impure, *sensual* origin, which makes it at once the most seemingly innocent, but, at the same time, most dangerously seductive, Art. But, although sprung from the soil of man's corrupt nature, the Arts have, however, been taken into the service of Holiness, because the ungodliness, which clings to them, is after all common to all on this side the grave, &c.

240. G.iv.23,24.

'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice!
Ye wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech!
For I have slain a man for my wound,
And a youth for my hurt.
For Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
And Lamech seventy-and-seven.'

This song may have been current in the popular legends, at the time when the Jehovist wrote. It was then comparatively old, as it would be, for instance, if it referred to events in the age of their great-great-grandfathers. BLEEK says, *p.*254 :—

It is probable that the Jehovistic writer knew nothing himself distinctly as to the occasion and reference of this song. This argues, however, directly for the great age of the song, and in that case serves as a proof, that the editor of the section in which it is found, and of Genesis itself as we now have it, must have found it somewhere also beforehand, and taken it over from thence,—perhaps, in *an old collection of songs.*

241. SCHRADER observes, *Studien, p.*127 :—

In this song, in the last strophe, *v.*24, there is a mention of Cain, and that too—which is the point most worthy of notice here—with the use of the very same words, 'Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,' as we read in this same chapter, *v.*15. That this agreement is accidental, no one will maintain; rather, everyone will allow that the one passage has been written with reference to the other. The question now is, to which of the two belongs the priority,—whether the song arose as a suggestion from *v.*15, or the language of *v.*15 was taken from the song already existing. When, however, one sees how that expression is involved so harmoniously in the whole body of the song, and how that song itself forms a complete, simple, and intelligible whole,—when, on the other hand, one cannot disguise from one's-self that in *v.*15 the words sound somewhat constrained, and through this betray themselves manifestly, as applied first at a later day, quite from without, to the story here told,—we cannot hesitate for a moment to assign, with EWALD, BLEEK, TUCH, originality to the *song*, and to maintain that the author of *v.*9–16 has

borrowed from the song, which he found already in existence, the words in question in *v.*15, and freely interwoven them into his narrative of Cain's fratricidal act.

242. In this old song, however, DELITZCH finds a deep meaning, *p.*215 :—

'We must not forget that Lamech did not speak Hebrew, so that this song has passed over from its original form into Hebrew through a process of tradition (!) It is not less a true mirror of the genesis of poetry. If we look only at the contents of the song, how deeply significant is this conclusion of the Cainite primeval history! There we find expressed that Titanic pride, of which the Scripture says that 'its power is its god,' Hab.i.11. Lamech looks at the first arms, which his son forges; his song is the song of triumph at the invention of the sword . . . Here is the genesis of the most spiritual of all Arts, Poetry. Not the glorifying of God, but the glorifying of murderous arms, self-deification, deification of the ungodly, was its origin. It was conceived and born in sin.' Its birth-place is not Heaven, and not Paradise, but the house of Lamech. It needed to be regenerated, in order to be pleasing to God. But it is just the same with this regeneration as with that of man: he becomes a new person, yet retains still the old nature. So has Sacred Poetry certainly a new heart, directed towards God; but its bodily form is and remains entangled in vanity (φθορά), weakness, want of clearness, want of harmony of everything earthly (!). It is coupled, if not with sinful worldliness, yet with the curse-stricken character of things on this side of the grave, and still awaits, though sanctified, its glorification.'

243. DELITZCH, it will be seen, to make out his theory of the 'curse-stricken' nature of Poetry, *assumes*—

(i) that this little song was the first piece of poetry ever written,—

(ii) that it has connection with the forging of the first sword.

Such, however, is the deadly Manicheeism, which is taught by many, even in this day, as Christianity! It is that, which seeks to turn this blessed world in which we live, and in which God dwells —with all its light, and beauty, and glory,—into a dark, gloomy, prison-house, and which represents the very excellencies of our nature, its divine faculties, its God-given capabilities, its infinite strivings after improvement and progress, as standing in close connection with the Curse, and its manifold developments of genius, in all kinds of Arts and Sciences, as so many sources of danger and death, instead of the healthy and happy manifestations of life.

244. Upon the whole story in iv.1–24 TUCH observes, *p.*100:—

There lies in this myth the perfectly correct reminiscence, that in the East *ancient* nations lived, under whom in very early times culture and civilisation extended, but at the same time the assertion, that these could not prejudice the renown of the Western-Asiatics, since the prerogatives, which their descent from the first-born would secure to them, were done away through God's Curse, which lighted on their ancestor, Cain. Thus the East is cut off from the following history, and the thread fastened on, which carries us on in Genesis, right across through the nations, to the only chosen people Israel.

245. Von BOHLEN, *p.*82, supposes that the people of Eastern Asia, generally, and especially of India, are thus referred to.

In the narrative of the Hebrew compiler we find an acknowledgment, that the Asiatic nations to the east of Palestine were of greater antiquity than the Jews, [Cain was the *first-born*, *v.*1,]—that they did not worship Jehovah, ['from Thy Face I shall be hid,' *v.*14, 'and Cain went out from the Face of Jehovah,' *v.*16]—that they followed agricultural pursuits at an earlier period than the Hebrew nation, ['Jabal was the father of all such as dwell in tents and among cattle,' *v.*20,] and inhabited towns, ['Cain was building a city,' *v.*17,] and became civilised, [Jubal invented 'the lute and the flute,' *v.*22, Tubal-Cain wrought in 'brass and iron,' *v.*22, Lamech composed a song, *v.*23,]—but that, with all this, they must be regarded in the light of proscribed outlaws, ['fugitive and vagabond,' *v.*12,14.] . . . We may notice the circumstances, that the Zend religion decidedly enjoins and favours agriculture, [the occupation of Cain, *v.*2,]—this employment appearing to be, according to its tenets, a species of divine service. [The very name 'Aryan,' according to high authorities, BUNSEN, *Egypten*, v.97, MAX MÜLLER, *Science of Language*, *p.*224, is derived from *Ar*, 'to plough.'] . . . On the other hand, a pastoral life, [such as that of Abel, *v.*2,] which in Palestine never wholly disappeared, was considered by the Hebrew narrator as protected and consecrated by the blessing of Jehovah. Agriculture, too, according to the same writer, had been imposed as a *punishment* on man, iii.17–19; and it was here degraded, from the same feeling of antipathy to that employment, which the Hebrew derived from his nomad origin, and which he still continued to manifest, long after he had been obliged, by his settled position in Palestine, to devote himself to the cultivation of the soil, and to enact agrarian laws. Agriculturists were always esteemed an inferior class to shepherds among the Israelites; kings kept their flocks; men of superior attainments arose from pastoral life.

246. He makes also the following ingenious suggestion, *p.*90:—

Nod lay eastward of Eden: and if the compiler (as often happens in Arabic with foreign names) was deceived by imagining that there was a Semitic article in *Hind*, (Heb. and Arab. for *India*, for which הֹדוּ, *Hoddu* = *Hondu*, stands in Esth.i.1,) as if it had been הֵנֹד, we should in that case, of course, with J. D. MICHAELIS,

have here an expression for India in the widest meaning . . . We are reminded by the name of Cain's city, חֲנוֹךְ, *Khănoch*, of the very ancient commercial city of *Chanoge*, Arab. *Khanug*, in northern India, celebrated in the early epics of the Hindoos, and called by the ancients Canogyza, of which the narrator might have heard.

For our purpose, of course, no stress can be laid upon the above suggestion, which at the best cannot be raised beyond a doubtful probability. It seems, however, very possible that India, with its early progress in civilisation and the arts, may be here referred to, since in Solomon's time,—the age in which it is most likely that this Jehovistic chapter was written,—there was probably considerable intercourse with the East, 1K.x.11, and thus India, and even its great commercial town, 'Chanoge,' may have become known to the Israelites.

247. The only difficulty on that supposition, would be to account for the expressions 'fugitive' and 'vagabond,' as applied to the Indian population. If, however, there be any truth in Von Bohlen's idea of the origin of the name 'Nod,' the use of the words נָע וָנָד, *nah vanad*, 'fugitive and vagabond,' might be explained, as an instance of that fondness for deriving names, which we have seen to be characteristic of this writer. And, indeed, as we have seen (236), he does not make Cain really a 'vagabond,' but speaks of him as settling down and building a 'city.' It is well known that Zarathustra, (Zerdusht, Zoroaster,) the great Reformer of the Aryan tribes, and founder of the Zend Religion, was most earnest in recommending the practice of agriculture in opposition to the pastoral life.

248. Knobel, *p.*53, considers that the nations referred to are rather the Northern and Eastern peoples of Asia, the Hunnish tribes of Mongolian origin, to whom belonged the original inhabitants of Thibet and Higher India, as well as the Chinese, Japanese, &c. The restless Tartar tribes would thus correspond to the description 'fugitive and vagabond,' while the very ancient settlement and civilisation of China would explain the notice of inventions in the arts, &c. All these tribes, being marked with a peculiar physiognomy, were quite distinguished, not only from

all the Shemitic tribes, but from the supposed kindred of the latter, the descendants of Ham and Japheth. And, if the words in iv.15 be translated, 'And Jehovah set a mark *on* Cain,' and explained, as they are by many interpreters, to imply some peculiar mark set on his person, there might be a reference to the strangely-marked features of all the people of this race.

249. The Chinese are, indeed, supposed by DELITZCH to be mentioned by the writer of the last part of our book of Isaiah, xlix.12, 'and these from the land of *Sinim*.' But this is contradicted by the fact, that the name *Thsin*—whence the Hindu *Tchin*, and our *China*—was first adopted, as the name of the Chinese empire, under Thsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, the founder of the Thsin dynasty, B.C. 221: see *Types of Mankind*, *p.*646. Accordingly, the LXX have ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν, from the land of the Persians. Still, it is possible that, through increasing acquaintance with Eastern commerce, something may have been known about them, and their very ancient polity and advanced culture, even at the much earlier time, when, as we believe, this chapter of Genesis was written.

250. No doubt, there is, as KNOBEL observes, a more important objection to any explanation of this kind, than even the non-acquaintance of the Hebrews with these East-Asiatic nations, *viz.* that, according to the story, the Cainites must have been altogether swept away by the Deluge, and therefore it cannot be supposed that they represent nations living after that event. But he remarks, *p.*54:—

It cannot be doubted, however, that the writer was led to give the Table of Cainite genealogy through his knowledge of the post-diluvian Eastern-Asiatics, and follows this knowledge in the separate details about the Cainites. There exists, then, an inconsistency, if, knowing of post-diluvian Cainites, he yet makes all the Cainites perish through the flood. Such mistakes, however, are not uncommon with him, [as in the notice of Cain's fear of being killed, *v.*14, his building a city, *v.*17, and see the notes on vi.4.] This inconsistency might have been avoided, if he had mentioned the Cainites, in case he did not wish to omit them, among the *post*-diluvian men; but then he would have fallen into another error, since he must have referred them back to Noah and his sons, while he yet knew

that the descendants of Noah, and those of Seth generally, were confined to the *West*-Asiatic nations.

251. There is considerable difference between the *Heb.*, the *Sam. Text*, and the *Sept.* (which JOSEPHUS follows), with reference to the ages of the ten patriarchs, as will appear from the following table, in which the notices in the *Sam. Text* and *Sept.* are given only when they *differ* from the *Heb.*

Hebrew.	Son's Birth.	Remaining.	Life.	Sam. Text.			Sept.		
Adam	130	800	930	. .	. .	. .	230	700	
Seth	105	807	912	. .	. .	. .	205	707	
Enos	90	815	905	. .	. .	. .	190	715	
Cainan	70	840	910	. .	. .	. .	170	740	
Mahalaleel	65	830	895	. .	. .	. .	165	730	
Jared	162	800	962	62	785	847			
Enoch	65	300	365	. .	. .	. .	165	200	
Methuselah	187	782	969	67	653	720	167	802	
Lamech	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah	500	. .	950						

In the case of Lamech, JOSEPHUS agrees with the Hebrew. In the other instances, except that of Methuselah, it will be seen that in the *Sept.* the number of years at the son's birth is *systematically* increased by 100, in every instance where the father's age falls *below* 150 years in the Hebrew, and the number of remaining years of life is diminished, so that the sum-totals remain throughout the same. Some are of the opinion that the *Sept.* represents the numbers, as they stood originally; see HALES, *Chronology*, i.272–4. But if, according to the *Sept.*, Methuselah was 167 years old at the birth of his son, he must have been (167 + 188 =) 355 years old at the birth of Noah, and, consequently, when the Flood took place, 'in the 600th year of Noah's life,' G.vii.11, he would have been only 955 years old, so that he would have outlived the Flood 14 years—'famosissima quæstio,' says DELITZCH, 'for the Church Fathers.' There is, however, another *Sept.* reading, 187 years.

252. The great longevity of ancient days, beyond the reach of authentic history, is common to the traditions of all nations.

DIOD. SIC.i.26, HEROD.iii.23, PLIN. *Hist. Nat.*vii.48, speak of persons who have lived a thousand years. According to the Lamaic creed, the first man lived 60,000 years; and the Indian traditions speak of four epochs, during which the duration of human life sank, successively, from 400 to 300, 200, 100 years. . . . There are *ten* Patriarchs reckoned before the Flood. So the Hindoos believed in *ten* great saints, the offspring of Manu, and in *ten* different personifications of Vishnu; the Egyptians knew *ten* mighty heroes, the Chaldeans *ten* kings before the Flood, the Assyrians *ten* kings from Ham to Ninyas, and as many from

Japhet to Aram; and the book of Enoch enumerates *ten* periods, each comprising seven generations, from Adam to the Messiah, KALISCH, *Gen.p.*156,160.

So PLATO enumerates *ten* sons of Neptune, as the rulers of his imaginary Island of Atlantis, submerged by the Deluge.

253. DELITZCH justly observes, *p.*221, that the notion that these great ages can be reduced to moderate dimensions, by supposing that a year meant a *month*, brings nonsense instead of meaning into the story; for, in that case, Mahalaleel and Enoch would have each had a son when only (65 months =) 5½ years old. Besides which, the notices of Noah's age in the account of the Deluge, vii.11, viii.13, refer incontestably to common years, as appears from the mention of *second*, *seventh*, *tenth*, and *first*, months, vii.11, viii.4,5,13,14.

254. As soon, however, as we come down in the Bible to the account of really historical times, we see no more of these extraordinary ages; but the average extreme duration of human life,—which is described as lying between 1000 and 700 years from Adam to Noah, between 600 and 200 years from Noah to Abraham, and between 200 and 100 years from Abraham to Moses and Joshua,—sinks down at last to 'threescore-years-and-ten,' Ps.xc.10, even as now.

255. DELITZCH observes, *p.*223:—

As the duration of life of the patriarchs appears to many incredibly long, so the sum of the years from the Creation to the Flood, and from thence to Abraham, when compared with the Egyptian history appears to many too short. If LEPSIUS assumes the year 3893 B.C., as the first of Menes, so that the first historical dynasty fell within the first half of Adam's life, he must naturally regard the numbers and genealogies in G.v as unhistorical. It is possible that already the LXX were induced, through acquaintance with the chronological data of other nations, to increase as much as possible the numbers of Genesis. . . Certainly the difference between the reckoning of Manetho and the Bible is, and remains under any circumstances, colossal enough; but there is no reason to doubt of the possibility of a reconciliation, at least after a time. . . We are justified for the present in not believing in an extension of the old Egyptian sovereignty into the time before the Flood; although, should incontestable proof thereof be given, we should not contend against it from a mere apologetic prepossession.

256. It is deserving of notice that, while we have statements in the Pentateuch of the ages of all the principal persons men-

tioned, at the births of their eldest sons and at their deaths, we have no such accounts of the ages of the Judges or Kings, —(except Rehoboam, 2 Chr.xii.13, but no mention of this is made in the Book of Kings,)—*before* the time of Jehoshaphat, 1 K.xxii.42,—after which the ages of the Kings of Judah are regularly given. Does not this seem to intimate that in Jehoshaphat's reign more strict attention began to be paid to recording these facts, as also that the exact chronological details of the earlier times are not historical?

257. V.3.

'And he (Adam) begat in his likeness after his image, and called his name Seth.

KNOBEL observes, *p.*71 :—

This passage teaches—

(i) That the Elohist, also, assumed only one human pair, which is not distinctly mentioned in i.26;

(ii) That Seth was [according to this writer] an image of God; for the writer first marks distinctly that man had been created after God's image, and then adds that he begat *in his likeness after his image, i.e.* a being altogether like himself.

The Elohist, in fact, knows nothing of the account of the Fall in G.iii, and, therefore, cannot mean to say, in the passage before us, as some suppose, that Adam begat a son in his own *fallen* image. That doctrine cannot be based on this passage of Scripture, rightly interpreted according to the meaning of its author.

258. G.v.24.

'And Enoch walked with Elohim, and he was not, for Elohim took him.'

KNOBEL here notes, *p.*72 :—

With Enoch may be well compared the Phrygian King 'Αννακός or Ναννακός, who is said to have lived before the great Flood, and whose name was proverbial for very ancient things, as well as for great calamities. According to STEPH. BYZ. ('Ικόνιον), it was predicted in the time of Annakus, (who was more than 300 years old, and could prophesy,) that after his death all should be destroyed, by reason of which the Phrygians were very sorrowful, and, according to ZENOB. *Paræm.* iv.10, who names older historians as his authorities, as well as SUIDAS (Ναννακός), Nannakus saw the coming Flood beforehand, assembled all into the Temple, and offered mournful intercessions. The connection of this legend with the Hebrew

cannot be doubted, especially as Enoch also, in the Jewish book of that name attributed to him, appears as the prophetical announcer of the divine judgment, and as intercessor. It is impossible, however, to conjecture its true ground of origination. The fables of the Jews and Arabs, according to which he discovered the art of writing and bookmaking, arithmetic, and astronomy, must probably have reference to his name (Enoch=) *Khănoch*, as derived from חָנַךְ, *Khanach*, 'instruct, teach, initiate,' [see (Part III. 702) on *Jehoshaphat's* name,] and to the astronomically significant number of his years, 365, precisely the same as the number of days in the year.

N.B. For some account of the apocryphal 'Book of Enoch,' see the *Appendix*.

CHAPTER XVI.

GEN.VI.1–VI.4.

259. G.vi.1,2.

'And it came to pass that man began to multiply upon the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them. And the sons of Elohim saw the daughters of man that they were goodly: and they took to them wives of all whom they chose.'

By 'sons of God' the Scripture (44) invariably means 'angels,' Job i.6,ii.1,xxxviii.7, Ps.xxix.1,lxxxix.7: and, accordingly, the Book of Enoch, gives a very full account of the doings of these angels, who 'sinned' and 'left their first estate,' and their punishment, as described in this book (*App.*9.xvi), is distinctly referred to in 2Pet.ii.4, Jude 6. In the face of these facts, it is not easy to suppose, as some have suggested, that the expression here means only 'Sethites,' who are called 'sons of Elohim' on account of their piety, by which they were distinguished from the Cainites, who are described, generally, as 'man,'—or that it means 'rulers, chiefs, &c.' in opposition to the people of lower rank, &c. On either of these suppositions, indeed, it is difficult to see how 'giants' could have been conceived to have sprung from the union.

260. But this notion of the 'sons of God,' descending to the beautiful 'daughters of men,' appears to have been borrowed from foreign and heathen sources.

The sons of God cannot here be identical with the angels, or with the sons of God mentioned in other parts of Scripture: they are not of Hebrew, but of general Eastern, origin. And these notions were, gradually, more and more amplified; they were enlarged from other heathen sources, or from the fictions of imagination. The book of Enoch shows that the chief of these sons of Heaven, Samyaza, at first opposed their wicked design. But they pledged themselves by awful oaths and

imprecations to execute it. They descended, two hundred in number, to Mount Hermon; they chose wives, taught them sorcery and conjuration, introduced ornaments of vanity and luxury, bracelets and trinkets, paints and costly stuffs. Giants, three thousand cubits high, were the offspring of these alliances. They first consumed all the produce of the earth; then they devoured all the animals, and afterwards began to turn against the men. The cries of the earth rose up to heaven. The angels, Michael and Gabriel, Surgan and Urgan, brought the complaint before the throne of God. He precipitated Azazel, the most wicked of the 'sons of God,' into a dark cavern, where he lies in fetters, and covered with rough pointed stones, in order to be thrown into the burning pool on the great day of judgment. He inspired the progeny of these unnatural unions with fierce rage; and the consequence was that they destroyed each other in mutual murder, after which they were tied to subterranean hills, to remain there for seventy generations, and then to be for ever hurled into the fiery abyss. But he assured the son of Lamech, that an approaching deluge would spare him and his children, to become the ancestors of better generations. KALISCH, *Gen.p.*171.

261. G.vi.3.

'And Jehovah said, My spirit shall not preside in man for ever.'

DELITZCH notes on this passage, *p.*236 :—

Here is not meant the Holy Spirit with its judging, punishing, power, but, with reference to ii.7, the created, human, spirit, which on account of its Divine origin and God-related nature, or, perhaps, only as the Divine gift, is called by God 'My spirit.' This rules (presides) in man, inasmuch as it animates and governs the bodily part of man.

The expression 'for ever' is used apparently to denote merely a long time, as in the following instances :—

1S.i.22, 'I will bring him, that he may appear before Jehovah, and there abide *for ever*:'

1S.xx.15, But thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house *for ever*.'

262. G.vi.3.

'And his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.'

TUCH explains these words as follows, *p.*157 :—

This shall henceforward be the limit of human life, with reference to the much greater age of the Patriarchs, G.v. The objection has been made that, even after the Flood, the Patriarchs still overstepped this limit of life, and so these words have been explained to mean, 'I will still give them a respite of 120 years, within which they may repent.' But here it is overlooked that the continually decreasing term of life at length reaches that limit, [Aaron, 123 years, N.xxxiii.39,—Moses, 120, D.xxxiv.7,—Joshua, 110, Jo.xxiv.29,] and so the divine determination takes effect. If the author had meant to express this thought, he would infallibly have made

the time to the Flood extend to 120 years, which the data in v,32,vii.6, make impossible.

The data, to which TUCH refers, show that Noah was 500 years old *before* the announcement in vi.3 was made, and 600 years old when the Flood began, so that only 100 years could have intervened.

263. G.vi.4.

'The giants were in the earth in those days.'

The *Targ. Jon.* paraphrases here:—

Schamchazai (*i.e.* Samyaza, of the book of Enoch) and Uzziel, who fell from heaven, were on the earth in those days.

As already observed (250) in the case of the descendants of Cain, the writer,—who may be endeavouring to account for the existence of the supposed giant races of the Mosaic times, 'great, many, and tall,' the Emims, Anakims, Zamzummims, &c., which, according to the old legends, reported by the Deuteronomist, ii.10,11,20, once lived in that 'land of giants,' on both sides of the Jordan,—seems to have lost sight of the fact, that all these gigantic beings, the product of this mixture of the 'sons of Elohim' with the 'daughters of man,' must have been swept away by the Deluge.

264. It may be that the notion of the existence of gigantic men in the primitive times, which is found among so many nations, has really arisen from the discoveries of huge bones, the remains of extinct animals, which have been ignorantly supposed to be human bones, and has been confirmed, perhaps, by the gigantic statues and vast architectural structures of Egypt, Assyria, the Peloponnese, &c., among which may be reckoned also the massive ruins of the Transjordanic lands (III. 602). Or it may have expressed originally the sense of man, that he was surrounded by gigantic powers in nature, to which he gave a human form, as the Arabs do to their 'jins' at this day.

265. Mr. FARRAR writes, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, i.*p.*688;—

The general belief (until very recent times) in the existence of fabulously

enormous men, arose from fancied giant-graves, (see De la VALLE's Travels in Persia, ii.89,) and above all from the discovery of huge bones, which were taken for those of men, in days when comparative anatomy was unknown. Even the ancient Jews were thus misled, JOSEPH. v.2.3,—[‘There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men.’] AUGUSTINE appeals triumphantly to this argument, and mentions a molar tooth which he had seen in Utica a hundred times larger than ordinary teeth (*de Civ. Dei*, xv.9). No doubt, it once belonged to an elephant. VIVES, in his commentary on the place, mentions a tooth as big as a fist, which was shown at St. Christopher's. In fact, this source of delusion has only very recently been dispelled. Most bones, which have been exhibited, have turned out to belong to whales or elephants, as was the case with the vertebra of a supposed giant, examined by Sir HANS SLOANE in Oxfordshire.

266. In Greek, however, the word *gigas*, ‘giant’ = *gēgenēs*, ‘earth-born,’ is strictly synonymous with *autōchthōn*, ‘indigenous.’ The Athenians, as we know, carried down the claim of being *autochthones* to a late day. Probably, it was for a long time a mere name for men as ‘earth-born,’ until the term lost its original force, like the names *Apollōn*, *Perseus*, *Endymiōn*, *Hekatos*,—all names of the Sun. People then began to think of the old *gēgeneis* or *gigantes* as distinct from themselves: but—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*; and so, as time went on, they invested them, more and more, with the attribute of size. VIRGIL undoubtedly believed, not only in a diminution of size from primeval times, but that this diminution would continue. When he speaks of the slaughter on the plain of Pharsalia, he pictures the ploughman as going over the ground centuries afterwards, and says, *Georg.*i.497 :—

> *Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris,*
>
> And digging up the graves at the huge bones
> Will marvel.

That, however, the stature of the human race was really the same, generally, in those days as now, is shown by the remains discovered in ancient tombs and in the pyramids.

267. KALISCH notes, *Gen.p.*171 :—

This is the story of the Titans storming heaven; it is a tradition which recurs, in many modified forms, among most of the ancient nations. The giants are, in the mythology of the Hindoos, the enemies of the gods, who pollute the holiest sacrifices; . . . they belong to the highest order of the beings of darkness; their number is incalculable . . . In the mythology of the Chinese, the giants are the originators of crime and rebellion, who long waged a successful war against the virtuous kings. And, in the northern and western legends, they are enormous beings, with the power, and sometimes the disposition, of doing mischief. . . . Men of such extraordinary size seem never to have lived. The human race has remained essentially the same in its physical proportions ever since the historical time. The large bones, which have occasionally been found, are the remains of huge antediluvian [old-world] animals, not of human beings. And the men, who have been mentioned in history for their size, as being eight or nine feet high, are as rare exceptions as the men 'with six fingers on every hand, and with six toes on every foot,' 2S.xxi.20, and are no proof of a time when whole races of such men existed.

268. KNOBEL also writes, *Gen.p.*84 :—

With this narrative the writer wishes to describe the origin of the giant races of the primitive time. The Hebrew legendary lore names a number of peoples west and east of Jordan, which appeared as aboriginal inhabitants, and are supposed to have been distinguished through gigantic size, prodigious might, great and strong towns, terrible fierceness, &c., N.xiii.33,D.ii.10,11,21,ix.1,2. So the Arabic legends mention such peoples as aborigines of Arabia, *e.g.* the Adites, Themudites, Amalekites, 'the first of nations,' N.xxiv.20, and ascribes to them gigantic size, unbelief, ferocity, massive buildings, &c. The Greeks and Romans believed that men generally in the primeval time had been much larger and stronger, PLIN. H.N.vii.16,GELL.iii.10,11, and tell many stories about the digging-up of human bones, which had a superhuman size, *e.g.* 7 ells long, HER.i.68, SOLIN.i.84,85, of 10 or 11 ells, or even longer, PAUS.i.35,5,6,viii.29.3,32.4. A parallel to those, here said to be begotten by the 'sons of God,' may be found, in respect of their heroic deeds, in the *heroes* of the Greeks, which, according to the myths, sprang for the most part from the intermixture of gods, or goddesses, and human beings. So the writer derives those renowned giant-races, in whose generation superhuman energies appeared to have cooperated, from an intercourse of angels and the 'daughters of man'; he does this, however, only with the first generation. [The 'mighty men of old, the men of a name,' vi.4, were, in KNOBEL's view, begotten by the offspring of this primary intermixture.] Their origin he carries back, like that of the Cainites, to a time beyond the Flood. He assigns them to the Sethites, and annexes their origin accordingly to the Sethite genealogy, G.v, thereby indicating at the same time how corruption had entered among the Sethites also. *v.5* is not in close connection with *v.*1–4; but a fresh paragraph begins, and, perhaps, both

Sethites and Cainites are included in *v.5–8*: among the former arose overbearing pride and giant-races committing acts of violence,—among the latter, cruelty, blood-thirstiness, and murder, G.iv.

269. KENRICK observes, *Primeval History*, *p.*71–74:—

The mythology of several ancient nations represents the dominion of the gods as not having been established without struggles with powerful enemies, by whom they even suffered partial and temporary defeat. The general idea, which such myths embody, is derived partly from the conflicting forces which are still active in nature, and appear to have possessed even greater energy in primeval times, partly from the mixture of evil with good, which pervades nature and human life. In the Greek mythology, in which a moral element seldom appears, the conflict of the gods with the Titans denotes merely the slow and reluctant submission of the vast and turbulent powers of nature to those laws, by which the actual system is preserved in harmony and order. The giants, who endeavoured to storm heaven, and were buried in the Phlegræan fields or under Mount Etna, represent the violent disturbance which volcanic agency introduces. The Egyptian Typhon combines physical and moral evil: so does the Ahriman of the Zoroastrian mythology. The Hindoos have no such distinct and single personification of the principle of evil: but their preserving god, Vishnu, becomes incarnate at intervals, when either moral or physical evil is likely to predominate. These fictions show, not only that man has been universally conscious of the mixed influences to which he is subject, but also of the preponderance of the good. The Titans have been cast down and imprisoned in Tartarus. Typhœus turns under the weight of Etna, but cannot throw it off. Typhon has been vanquished by Horus, and buried in the Serbonian bog. Ahriman still continues the contest with Ormuzd: but the power of the evil principle has been already limited, and will be ultimately overthrown.

The fiction of a race of giants, engaged in warfare with the gods, is so remote from all historical probability, that its true nature is at once seen. But it may be thought that there is something of an historical foundation for the very prevalent belief that a race, of stature, strength, and longevity far surpassing that of later degenerate days, has once occupied the earth, and even left on it the traces of mighty works. We by no means deny the possibility that such a race may have existed; but . . . the direct evidence will be found to be fallacious. . . . The supposed remains of gigantic human bones, which afford to popular credulity an argument of their former existence, when examined, prove to be those of cetaceous animals or elephants. The traditions, which ascribe great works to them, are only proofs how completely the remembrance of their real origin has been lost. Looking upward from the base of the Great Pyramid, we might suppose it the work of giants: but it is entered by passages, admitting with difficulty a man of the present size, and we find in the centre a sarcophagus about six feet long. The strength and stature of the men of past ages have been exaggerated, from the same causes as their happiness and their virtue.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEN. VI. 5–VI. 22.

270. G.vi.16.

'A light shalt thou make for the Ark, and unto a cubit shalt thou finish it upward.'

If we were obliged to regard this story of the Deluge as historically true, the question, of course, would arise, how the animals in the *three* stories, or, if one was used for the food, in *two* of them, could have had the necessary supplies of air and light, if there was only one window, and that, apparently, only a cubit, = 22 inches, high.

271. DELITZCH notes, *p.*250:—

According to BAUMGARTEN's idea, this opening, a cubit wide, was carried along the whole upper length of the Ark, and, what must also be conceived in addition to this, was *overarched*,—[*i.e.* was supplied with some kind of *pent-house*, to keep the floods of rain from beating in, when the window was opened to admit *air*.] Was it also carried along both sides of the ship? [But, as there were *three* stories, even thus a great many of the creatures would have had no light or air,—not to lay stress on the fact that, in viii.6, Noah is spoken of as 'opening the window which he had made,' which seems plainly to imply that this window was small enough to be so opened, and was specially intended for the use of Noah himself and his family.] On the other hand, most commentators understand a window a cubit each way,—according to TUCH, for giving light to Noah's chamber, while the animals had to be in darkness. So LUTHER, after the *Vulgate*. This explanation is so far modified by the *Syriac*, that the Heb. word for window, צֹהַר, *tsohar*, is taken *collectively* [=a row of windows]; but this is not probable, not so much because in viii.6 mention is made of only one 'window,' חַלּוֹן, *khallon*, as because then the number of the windows would have been given. [Still the difficulty of having light and air in the different stories remains.] . . . Are we to think of this window, or row of windows, as *transparent*? The name צֹהַר, *tsohar*, 'light,' is favourable to this supposition: also from viii.7,9, it seems that we must

imagine a casement, so that the birds flew to and fro before a transparent window, [of *glass* or of *horn*?] without being able to get in, until Noah opened the window.

272. G.vi.17.

'I am bringing the Deluge of waters upon the earth.'

It is plain from the whole description of the Deluge, and especially from the mention of *Eden*, *Havilah*, *Ethiopia*, *Assyria*, *Euphrates*, and the other three rivers, in G.ii, as well as the 'land of Nod' in iv.16, that the face of the earth was supposed by the writer to have been, generally, the same *before* and *after* the Deluge; so that there is no room for the theory, which some have advanced, of the land and sea having changed places at the time of the Deluge, or of the general geographical disposition of the earth having been different from what it is now. We do not refer, as evidence of this, to the 'mountains of *Ararat*,' mentioned in viii.4, since it might be said that these may have first made their appearance, and received their appellation, *after* the Deluge.

273. G.vi.19.

'Of every living thing out of all flesh.'

These words are as general and comprehensive as possible; and evidently the 'fowls' and 'creeping-things' of *v.*20 must be understood to include not only birds and reptiles, but creeping and flying things of all kinds, worms, insects, &c. Otherwise, as has been observed already (151), no provision is made at the Creation for the existence of these things, or at the Deluge, for the continuance of them; and a new and very extensive creation would have been required after the Flood, of which the Scripture tells us nothing. And, indeed, as we have seen, (151), different kinds of locusts are expressly named among the 'fowls,' and the lizard and snail among the 'creeping things,' L.xi.22,30.

274. How then could these snails, and worms, and snakes, and lizards, of all kinds, have found their way to the Ark,

across vast countries, mountains, seas, and rivers, from the distant localities in which they lived? or how could they have *returned* to them? Every great continent has at this time its own peculiar set of beasts and birds; and these are known to have occupied the circles around these centres in ages long before that ascribed to the Deluge.

When America was first discovered, its indigenous quadrupeds were all dissimilar from those previously known in the Old World. The elepliant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, camelopard, camel, dromedary, buffalo, horse, ass, lion, tiger, apes, and baboons, and a number of other mammalia, were nowhere to be met with on the new continent; while, on the old, the American species of the same great class were nowhere to be seen, such as the tapir, lama, peccary, jaguar, cougar, agouti, paca, coati, and sloth. BUFFON, in SIR CHARLES LYELL'S *Principles of Geol.* iii. 6.

And most of these can live only in a certain zone of latitude, and perish, if suddenly transferred to an uncongenial climate.

Could, then, the *sloth* and *armadillo*, from the tropical regions of South America, have marched up to the Icy North, and so across the Behring's Straits, and at length, after many years of painful wandering over field and flood, have been received into the Ark? and did they again, *after* the Deluge, *travel back once more in like manner to their present abodes?*

275. What again shall be said of the wingless bird (*apteryx*) of New Zealand, or the ornithorhynchus, wombat, and kangaroo, of Australia, which are found nowhere else upon the globe? Many insects have no wings: many live but a few days, or even a few hours, after they have obtained their wings. How, then, could these have reached the Ark *before* the Flood? Or how, *after* it, could they have made their way to the distant regions of the earth, where they are now found, having crossed vast continents and oceans to do so?

276. I shall support this part of my argument by reference to the authority of Prof. OWEN, who writes as follows, *Brit. Fossil Mamm. p.* xlv:—

Not a relic of an elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, bison, or hyæna, has yet been detected in the caves or the more recent tertiary deposits of South America.

On the contrary, most of the fossil mammalia from those formations are as distinct from the Europæo-Asiatic forms, as they are closely allied to the peculiarly South-American existing genera of mammalia. . . If even the first types of the primary groups of the class mammalia radiated from a common centre, it must have been at a period incalculably remote; and there is small hope of our being able to determine its site, by reason of the enormous alternations of land and sea, that have taken place since the class was first introduced into our planet. We find, however, that from the period, when the great masses of dry land assumed the general form and position that they now present, the same peculiar forms of mammalia characterised their respective faunæ. . . . According to the hypothesis, that all existing land-animals radiated from a common Asiatic centre within the historical period, we must be prepared to believe that the nocturnal Apteryx, which is organised neither for flying nor swimming, migrated across wide seas, and found its *sole* resting-place in the island of New Zealand, where alone the remains of similar wingless birds have been found fossil,— that the wombats, dasyures, and kangaroos travelled as exclusively to Australia, where only have been found the remains of extinct and gigantic species of the same genera or families of marsupialia,—and that the modern sloths, armadillos, and ant-eaters, chose the route to South America, where only, and in the warmer parts of North America, are to be found the fossil remains of extinct species of those very peculiar edentate genera.

277. And again, in his *Address at Ipswich*, in *Annals and Magazine of Natural History, Feb.* 1850, Prof. OWEN says:—

Had all the terrestrial animals, that now exist, diverged from one common centre within the limited period of a few thousand years, it might have been expected that the remoteness of their actual localities from such ideal centre would bear a certain ratio with their respective powers of locomotion. With regard to the class of Birds, one might have expected to find that those which were deprived of the power of flight, and were adapted to subsist on the vegetation of a warm or temperate latitude, would still be met with more or less associated together, and least distant from the original centre of dispersion, situated in such a latitude. But what is the fact? The species of no one order of birds are more widely dispersed over the earth than those of the wingless or struthious kind. Assuming that the original centre has been somewhere in the south-western mountain range of Asia, there is but one of the species of flightless birds whose habitat can be reconciled with the hypothesis. By the neck of land still uniting Asia with Africa, the progeny of the primary pair, created or liberated at the hypothetical centre, might have travelled to the latter continent, and there have propagated and dispersed themselves southward to the Cape of Good Hope. It is remarkable, however, that the Ostrich should not have migrated eastward over the vast plains or steppes which extend along the warmer temperate zone of Asia, or have reached the southern tropical regions; it is in fact scarcely known in the Asiatic continent, being restricted to the Arabian Deserts, and being rare even in those parts which are most contiguous to what we may call its proper continent—Africa.

If we next consider the locality of the Cassowary, we find great difficulty in conceiving how such a bird could have migrated to the islands of Java, the Moluccas, or New Guinea, from the continent of Asia. The Cassowary is not web-footed like the swimming birds; for wings it has only a few short and strong quills. How could it have overcome the obstacles, which some hundreds of miles of ocean would present to its passage from the continent of Asia to those islands; and furthermore, how is it that no individuals have remained in the warm tropical southern border of Asia, where the vegetable sustenance of the Cassowary seems as abundantly developed, as in the islands to which this wingless bird is now exclusively confined?

If the difficulty already be felt to be great in regard to the insular position of the Cassowary, it is still greater when we come to apply the hypothesis of dispersion from a single centre to the Dodo of the island of Mauritius, or the Solitaire of the island of Rodriguez. How, again, could the Emeu have overcome the natural obstacles to the migration of a wingless terrestrial bird from Asia to Australia? and why should not the great continent of Asia have offered in its fertile plains a locality suited to its existence, if it ever at any period had existed on that continent? A bird of the nature of the Emeu was hardly less likely to have escaped the notice of naturalist travellers than the Ostrich itself; but, save in the Arabian Deserts, the Ostrich has not been found in any part of Asia, and no other species of wingless bird has ever been met with on that continent: the evidence in regard to such large and conspicuous birds is conclusive as to that fact.

In order that the Rhea, or three-toed Ostrich, should reach South America, by travelling along that element on which alone it is organised and adapted to make progress, it must, on the hypothesis of dispersion from a single Asiatic centre, have travelled northward into the inhospitable wilds of Siberia: it must have braved and overcome the severer regions of the arctic zone: it must have maintained its life, with strength adequate to the extraordinary power of walking and running over more than a thousand miles of land or frozen ocean, utterly devoid of the vegetables that now constitute its food, before it could gain the *northern* division of America, to the *southern* division of which it is at present, and seems ever to have been, confined. The migration in this case could not have been gradual, and accomplished by successive generations. No individual of the large vegetable-eating wingless bird, that now subsists in South America, could have maintained its existence, much less hatched its eggs, in arctic latitudes, where the food of the species is wholly absent. If we are still to apply the current hypothesis to this problem in Natural History, we must suppose that the pair or pairs of the Rhea that started from the highest temperate zone in Asia capable of sustaining their life, must have also been the same individuals, which began to propagate their kind, when they had reached the corresponding temperate latitude of America. But no individuals of the Rhea have remained in the prairies or in any part of North America; they are limited to the middle and southern division of the South American continent.

And now, finally, consider the abode of the little Apteryx at the Antipodes, in the comparatively small insulated patch of dry land formed by New Zealand. Let us call to mind its very restricted means of migration,—the wings reduced to the minutest rudiments, the feet webless like the common fowl's, its power of swimming as feeble. How could it ever have traversed six hundred miles of sea, that separate it from the nearest land intervening between New Zealand and Asia? How pass from the southern extremity of that continent to the nearest island of the Indian Archipelago, and so from member to member of that group to Australia,—and yet leave no trace behind of such migration, by the arrest of any descendants of the migratory generations in Asia itself, or in any island between Asia and New Zealand?

278. Again, it is obvious that the *fish* also in the rivers and fresh-water lakes must almost all have died, as soon as the salt-water of the sea broke in, and rendered them brackish. And, as the flood still increased, and the waters of the sea began to lose their saltness, the fish in the sea and the shellfish on the shore must also have perished.

So, too, a Flood such as this must have destroyed, not only all animal life, but all *vegetation* also, from off the face of the earth. Of the innumerable species of known plants, very few could have survived submersion for a whole year; the greater part of them must have certainly perished.

Yet nothing is said in vii.21,23, about the destruction of either fish or plants: nor are we told of any new creation to supply the loss of these. On the contrary, an olive leaf is brought plucked apparently fresh and green from a tree, which had been eight or nine months under water, viii.11.

279. The difficulty, that so long an immersion in deep water would kill the olive, had, no doubt, never occurred to the writer, who may have observed that trees survived ordinary partial floods, and inferred that they would just as well be able to sustain the deluge, to which his imagination subjected them. Of the enormous *pressure*,* that would be caused by such a

* The pressure of a column of water, 17,000 feet high, would be 474 tons upon each square foot of surface. This, however, would be the pressure of such a Deluge, as that here described, at the ordinary *sea-level*; and olives would grow far above this. Still, even at the level of the *snow-line* of Ararat, the column of water would be 3,000 feet high, and its pressure 83 tons on every square foot of surface.

superincumbent mass of water, he was, we may be sure, entirely ignorant. And, supposing that vegetable tissues may have power to adapt themselves rapidly even to such a prodigious increase of pressure, yet what would be the state of an olive-tree, after having been buried for months in water, some thousands of feet deep, without its natural supplies of air and light?

280. G.vi.19.

'*Two* out of all shalt thou bring into the Ark, to keep-alive with thee: male and female shall they be.'

But there are many kinds of animals, which do not *pair*, but one male consorts with many females, as in a herd of *buffaloes*, or one female with many males, as in a hive of *bees*. Hence, while some of the animals in the Ark would be in the natural state, which was most proper for them, the condition of others would be most unnatural, if they were admitted two by two into the Ark. As NOTT writes, *Types of Mankind*, p.73:—

Is it reasonable to suppose that the Almighty would have created [or preserved in the Ark] *one* pair of locusts, of bees, of wild pigeons, of herrings, of buffaloes, as the only starting-point of these almost ubiquitous species? The instincts and habits of animals differ widely. Some are solitary, except at certain seasons; some go in *pairs*,—others in herds or shoals. The idea of a *pair* of bees, locusts, herrings, buffaloes, is as contrary to the nature and habits of these creatures, as it is repugnant to the nature of the oaks, pines, birches, &c. to grow singly, and to form forests in their isolation. In some species, *males*—in others, *females*—predominate, and in many it would be easy to show that, if the present order of things were reversed, the species could not be preserved,—in the case of bees, for example. . . . . It is natural to have one female for a whole hive, to whom many males are devoted, besides a number of drones.

281. G.vi.21.

'And thou, take to thee out of all food which is eaten, and thou shalt gather it unto thee, and it shall be to thee and to them for food.'

We have noticed already (48.iii) that, in the Elohistic narrative, the creatures are to 'come' to Noah of their own accord,—impelled we may suppose, by a Divine impulse, or by a foreboding sense of the great calamity which was impending, and he

has only to 'bring them into the Ark,' vi. 19; whereas, in the Jehovistic, he is to 'take them to him,' vii. 2, and this seems to imply the writer's notion that he was to go out and gather them. But, however this may be, he is here commanded to 'take to him' *food*, for himself and all the creatures; and this, of course, implies that he or his must go out in person into all lands, and gather these supplies of food, and must know also the different kinds of food on which the different animals subsist.

282. But what provision could he have made for the *carnivorous* animals,—for the lions, tigers, leopards and hyænas, the eagles, vultures, kites and hawks,—and that for more than twelve months' consumption? How could he have supplied the otters with their fish, the chameleons with their flies, the woodpeckers with their grubs, the night-hawks with their moths? How could the snipes and woodcocks, that feed on worms and insects, in the bottoms of sedgy brooks, or the humming-birds that suck the honey of the flowers, have lived for a whole year in the Ark? And what would happen, when they were all let out of the Ark, and the predaceous animals turned, we must suppose, to seek at once their usual food? The loss of one single animal out of a pair would be the destruction of a whole species.

283. It is hardly necessary to estimate the *size* of the Ark, so as to compare it with that required for the reception of so many thousands of animals of all sizes, from the elephant and hippopotamus down to the shrewmouse and the humming-bird, besides half a million species of insects, and innumerable snails, together with their food for more than a year,—or to consider how Noah and his three sons could have brought together the materials for building this huge vessel, seven times as large as the Great Britain steam-ship,* and have built it, either with their own hands, or with the help of hired labourers, remembering with what

* Ark, 550 ft. x 93 ft. x 55 ft., Great Britain, 289 ft. x 41 ft. x 33 ft.

expenditure of labour such a 'Great Eastern' must have been constructed,—or to form conjectures as to the way in which, day by day, during this whole year, supplies of food must have been taken round, morning and evening, by the eight human inmates, to these tens of thousands of living creatures, shut up (apparently) without light or air, who must have needed also to be furnished daily with water and fresh litter, their cribs being cleansed, and impurities removed,—though *how*, and *whither*, they could have been removed, are questions equally perplexing. Yet, if this ancient story is still to be put forward, and the people are to be required to believe that it is historically true, —as if this were necessary to salvation,—as if 'all our hopes for eternity,' 'all our nearest and dearest consolations,' depended upon our believing this,—such questions as these must be asked, till the fact is recognised that they cannot be answered.

In the next chapter we shall consider some of the arguments, with which the defenders of the traditionary view endeavour to maintain their position.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DELUGE EXPLAINED BY TRADITIONARY WRITERS.

284. DEAN WILKINS, F.R.S., disposes of some of the scientific difficulties which are raised by the Scripture story of the Deluge, as follows, *Essay towards a real Character and a philosophical Language, p.*163-6:—

'Tis agreed upon as most probable that the lower story [of the Ark] was assigned to contain all the species of beasts, the middle story for their food, and the upper story in one part of it for the birds and their food, and the other part for Noah, his family and utensils. . . . . As for the Morse, Seal, Turtle or Sea Tortoise, Crocodile, &c., these are usually described to be such kind of animals as can abide in the water; and therefore I have not taken them into the Ark, though, if that were necessary, there would be room enough for them, as will shortly appear. The *serpentine* kind, Snake, Viper, Slowworm, Lizard, Frog, Toad, might have sufficient space for their reception and for their nourishment in the drain or sink of the Ark (!), which was probably three or four foot under the floor for the standings of the beasts. As for those lesser beasts, Rat, Mouse, Mole, as likewise for the several species of Insects, there can be no reason to question but that these may find sufficient room in several parts of the Ark, without having any particular stalls appointed for them.

The carnivorous animals upon a fair calculation are supposed equivalent, as to the bulk of their bodies and their food, unto *twenty-seven Wolves*: but, *for greater certainty*, let them be supposed equal to *thirty Wolves*; and let it be further supposed that six Wolves will every day devour a whole Sheep. According to this computation, five Sheep must be allotted to be devoured for food each day of the year, which amounts in the whole to 1,825. Upon these suppositions, there must be convenient room in the lower story of the Ark to contain the fore-mentioned sorts of beasts, which were to be preserved for the propagation of their kinds, besides 1,825 Sheep, which were to be taken in as food for the rapacious beasts. And, though there might seem no just ground of exception, if these beasts should be stowed close together, as is now usual in ships, when they are to be transported for a long voyage, yet *I shall not take any such advantage*, but afford them such fair stalls or cabins, as may be abundantly sufficient for them in any kind of

posture, either standing, or lying, or turning themselves,—as likewise *to receive all the dung that should proceed from them for a whole year*, [so as (we may suppose) to save Noah and his family from the necessity of cleansing daily the stalls. Alas! for the boa-constrictors and others of the serpentine kind, 'snakes, vipers, slow-worms, lizards, frogs, toads,' condemned to live in the 'drain or sink' containing the whole year's drainage!]

285. The learned Dean then estimates that 1 Beeve = 7 Sheep, and that the total number of hay-eating animals = 92 Beeves,—'but,' he says, 'to prevent all kind of cavil,' say 100 Beeves = 700 Sheep,—and those eating 'roots, fruits, and *insects*,' = 21 Sheep; the carnivorous animals are reckoned, as we have seen, 'for greater certainty,' as = 30 Wolves = 30 Sheep; so that the room required for *all the animals* preserved would be equivalent to 751 Sheep, while more than twice as much room would be required for the 1,825 Sheep alone, to be taken in merely as *food* for the carnivorous animals. And the food for these Sheep again would require nearly twice as much room as the food of the herbivorous animals; or rather, as the Dean observes, only half this extra quantity of food will be required, as Noah and his sons will be killing five Sheep daily, cutting them up, and distributing the pieces to the representatives of the 'thirty Wolves.'

286. He has forgotten, however, to provide 'insects' for the swallows and ant-eaters. And HUGH MILLER, *Test. of the Rocks*, *p.*326, reckons that there are 1,658 known species of mammalia, 6,266 of birds, 642 of reptiles, and 550,000 of insects,—which numbers, of course, are being daily increased with the advance of geographical science. But then, quite in the spirit of Dean GRAVES, and other 'reconcilers,' ancient and modern, Dean WILKINS concludes with the usual stereotyped form of assertion, *p.*168:—

From what hath been said it may appear that *the measure and capacity of the Ark*, which some atheistical, irreligious, men make use of, as an argument against [the historical credibility of portions of] the Scriptures, *ought rather to be esteemed a most rational confirmation of the truth and divine authority of it.*

287. The following are the views of WILLET, *Hexap. in Gen.* *p.*80:—

(i) There were neither *four* rooms, or regions, in the Ark, as JOSEPHUS supposeth;

(ii) Nor yet *five*, as ORIGEN thinketh, the first for the dung of the cattle, the second for their food, the third for the cruel and savage beasts, the fourth for the tame and gentle, the fifth for man;

(iii) Neither were there, beside the three regions in the Ark, certain cabins without, in the side of the Ark, for the beasts called *amphibia*, that live both in the waters, and upon the earth, as the crocodile, sea-calf, and such like, as HUGO thinketh; for all the beasts came *into* the Ark, which were preserved;

(iv) Neither, beside the three partitions in the Ark, was there a bottom beside to receive the filth of the Ark, as PERERIUS, for conveyances might be made otherwise in the side of the Ark for that use, and it would have been a great annoyance to have kept the dung of the cattle one whole year in the Ark.

All these opinions are repugnant to the the text, which presenteth but three ranks, the lower, second, and third.

288. Concerning the distinctive use of these chambers, he writes:—

(i) Some make the lowest for the dung, the next for the food, the third for the cattle;

(ii) Some, the first for the beasts, the second room for their food, which might be put down into their cabins with ease;

(iii) Some will not have the cruel and tame beasts together, but make two several regions for them;

(iv) Some do place men and beasts together in the upper and third room, dividing it into three parts, having both the ends for the beasts, the middle for the men;

(v) Some do place the beasts together in the lowest,—which they make also the drain of the ship,—their food in the middle, and men together with the fowls in the uppermost;

(vi) It is most likely that the food and provender was in the *lowest* room, and the beasts in the *middle*, because of the fresh and more open air, as also for the better conveying of their dung by the sides of the Ark into the water . . . Otherwise, if the cattle were in the lowest room, we must be forced, contrary to the text, to make a fourth place in the bottom, to be as the sink and drain of the Ark . . . Neither was the door five cubits from the bottom, as PERERIUS: but it was placed lowest of all, for the more easy entrance of the beasts, which, being entered, might ascend by stairs and other passages to their cabins.

289. If it be said that the opinions of WILLET, A.D. 1605, and Dean WILKINS, F.R.S., A.D. 1668, are now somewhat antiquated, yet the same views—the same in substance, though varying in details—have been maintained within the last few years, and are still maintained, by dignified clergy of the Church of England, as *e.g.* by the Rev. Sir G. MACGREGOR, Bart., Rector of Swallow,

and Rural Dean, in his *Notes on Genesis, designed principally for the Use of Students in Divinity*, 1853, who writes thus, *p.*155:—

From this it follows that no genus, at least,—if not no species,—was lost in the Flood. Therefore these fossil land animals of extinct species, which we discover in the strata, must have existed anterior to the Adamic economy; and, therefore, the strata which contain them must have done so likewise. . . . . God has often made the beasts subservient to man's purposes. At Creation, they came to Adam to exercise his powers of language. Here they come to Noah, to be included in the Ark. . . . . This was as much a miracle as any of the foregoing, when the animals all came to Noah, two of every sort, for preservation. It does not seem likely that this included *animal* food, for animal food would not keep well in the Ark; nor is it implied that more than two animals of a kind were in the Ark; therefore it was probably farinaceous or vegetable food. If so, this would agree with the notion that the *carnivorous* animals were originally created *herbivorous*, and were, in fact, *omnivorous*.

290. The 'Rural Dean,' it will be seen, purposes to relieve his 'Students in Divinity,'—that is, the clergy of the next generation,—from the difficulty of taking account of the 'thirty Wolves,' for whom Dean WILKINS provides so carefully. Others, again, dispose of the whole question in another and much more summary way: *e.g.*, the *Ecclesiastic*, quoted in my Preface to Part II, *p.*xix, can still, in this age, ask seriously—

What difficulty can there be in accepting the hypothesis, which seems so likely, that these animals were further kept during their sojourn in the Ark *in a state of torpor*?—

though in G.vi.21 Noah is commanded to 'take unto him of all food that is eaten,' for the *beasts*, as well as for himself, and though, on that hypothesis, the building of the Ark at all would have been unnecessary. It is clear that the writers describe it as built, in order to keep the animals alive by natural means. If we are to introduce miracle for their preservation at all, why not let each animal go to sleep where the Flood found it, and be preserved in a state of torpor under the water? The omnipotence of the imagination is as competent to the one task as to the other.

291. Some, again, have suggested, that it may have sufficed that

only a very few primary *types* of animals should be preserved in the Ark, from which the numerous existing species have all been developed,—so that, for instance, from one single pair of *wolves*, preserved from the Flood, may have been derived all the different varieties of the *canine* tribe, dogs, wolves, hyænas, foxes, jackals, &c. But, without disputing the possibility of such development, yet, at all events, a great length of time would have been required for it. Whereas on the most ancient monuments of Egypt, of older date than the time of Abraham, we find depicted the wolf, hyæna, jackal, greyhound, blood-hound, turnspit, common dog, of 4,000 years ago, just exactly the same animals as now. See *fig.* 236–50, in *Types of Mankind.*

292. WILLET writes on this point as follows, *Hexap. in Gen. p.*87 :—

Neither came there of every kind of living thing, for these are excepted :—

(i) All that liveth in the water,—either wholly, or partly in the water, partly in the land; for such creatures only came which moved upon the earth;

(ii) Such creatures as come *by corruption, not by generation* (!), as *flies*, of the water, *worms*, of dung, *bees*, of bullock's flesh, *hornets*, of horse-flesh, the *scorpion*, of the crab or crevice [? 'crayfish,' or else *écrévisse*, 'crab,'] *moths*, of putrefied herbs, and certain small *worms*, of the corruption of wood and corn; for those creatures only entered, which increase by generation;

(iii) Such creatures are excepted, which are of a mixed kind, . . . as the mule.

293. DELITZCH writes, *p.*252 :

We find it possible to explain how Noah could assemble the numerous animals, and among them wild animals: the presentiment which had come over the animal-world of the approaching catastrophe impelled them to him. Also it does not appear to us surprising that Noah could keep them all in subjection: he had the power to do so through the strength of his faith, with the additional assistance of the terror of the judgment. But how could he have managed to get together all animals without exception, unless possessed of a knowledge of zoology wonderfully advanced beyond the point of culture of antiquity? And how could he have got possession of them so without exception, without making great journeys, since the *reindeer* and *sloth*, the *white-bear* and *crocodile*, without doubt, have never lived in the same climate? Further, how was it possible that all animals, even if we lessen considerably the numbers of those now known, together with their supplies of food, should have found room in the Ark?—that they should all have been fed, as need required, by eight persons? &c.

The text of the sacred history does not require that we demolish these objections. On the contrary, we might deduce from it the *impossibility* that, without exception, all kinds of animals then living *could* have entered the Ark. The water-animals are expressly excluded, vii,21,22.' [But how did the *salt*-water fish survive, when the sea was deluged with rain, or the *fresh*-water, when the sea broke in upon the lakes?]

And since these, although the judgment speaks of the destruction of 'all flesh,' were excepted in the narrative itself, so likewise may the reception of pairs of 'all flesh' into the Ark be reduced to a certain *relativeness*. The measure of this 'relativeness' cannot be more closely determined. For, on the one hand, it is possible that, contemporaneously with the formation of races of man and the domestic animals, the primeval types of the wild kinds of animals may have separated into a variety of different forms, which we now regard as different species,—[*i.e.* DELITZCH seems to mean that representatives of these 'primeval types,' having been preserved in the Ark, may have *since the Deluge* 'separated' again into a 'variety of different forms.'] On the other hand, it is impossible to estimate the multitude of natural and accidental means of preservation,—as the egg-, larva-, or pupa-form, winter-sleep, &c.—which God might make use of, in order to maintain the life of many kinds of animals, lying altogether outside of Noah's horizon, without their being received into the Ark. *We might just as reasonably assume that land-species also were preserved outside the Ark, as that marine-species altogether perished through the Flood, since it mixed together fresh-water and sea, although the record is silent about both* (!) To assume with PRICHARD a subsequent creation, is unnecessary and quite inadmissible; for between the completed creation, and the history which begins from thence, stands the Divine Sabbath, which excludes that after-creation.

294. The reader may now, in conclusion, consider the chief arguments of HÄVERNICK, to prove the historical truth of this narrative: *Pent. p.*112–114:—

Here, if anywhere, everything is combined, which can give the Bible-narrative the stamp of the highest credibility. (!) Consider only the following points.

(i) The exact statements concerning the Ark and the mode of its construction, where we have not the slightest trace of mythical ornament. The simplicity of this vessel is sufficiently clear from the account [of the one door and the one window for the three stories]; and it is quite in accordance with that period, as its colossal size also is quite in harmony with the primitive age, and with the strength and duration of its erections, to us enigmatical. Were it not in our power still to view with our eyes the ruins of Thebes (!), the narrative of the royal city of a hundred gates would be undoubtedly referred to the region of the fabulous. Yet the relation of those monuments to those that are recent is quite the same as of this Bible-fact to the modern art of ship-building (!), especially as our narrative says nothing of a ship, but only of an Ark. It is only the scoffing frivolity of the

enemies of Revelation, that would think of doubting the accomplishment of such an undertaking.

Ans. If we had been told that one of the Pharaohs had killed his thousands of slaves in the labour of building the Ark, the work, though gigantic, and only to be paralleled with the building of Thebes, would yet be conceivable. But, if this be so difficult to be believed, is it 'scoffing frivolity,' to doubt the building of such a vessel as the Ark by Noah and his three sons, even if aided by a body of hired labourers?

(ii) Add to this, that the calculations, made by excellent mathematicians in reference to it, show that the size of the Ark bore a suitable proportion to the number of beasts contained in it, as it has been demonstrated that more than 6,000 kinds of animals would have had room in it.

Ans. But we require room, air, light, food, attendance, for more than 40,000.

(iii) So also it is proved by facts that the climate of the antediluvian age was one different from ours, with respect to the variety of changeable zones, since an equable tropical climate prevailed through the whole Earth, and, consequently, the reception of the different kinds of beasts into the Ark, which in itself is quite conceivable and probable, obtains practical confirmation.

Ans. Supposing this 'equability' of climate before the Flood, of which there is no proof whatever, yet how did the *sloths* cross the Atlantic from their present habitat in South America, or how did the wingless bird of New Zealand find its way to the Ark? Or if, before the Flood, under the 'equable' climate, they lived near the Ark in its place of construction, yet how, *after* the Flood, did they cross the seas, and reach their present strictly-defined localities?

(iv) The exact statement of the natural causes, that concurred in the Deluge, in no wise removes the miraculous nature of the whole fact who has unveiled the mysteries of nature?—but certainly shows how exact was the attention paid to the external phenomena of the Deluge.

(v) The statements, *exactly agreeing with what has been observed of the remains and traces of a Deluge* (!), of the *universality* of the Flood, though not of such an effect resulting from it as a change of firm land into sea, and the reverse,—the fearful might of the Flood, exactly harmonising with the statement of the height of the waters, &c.,—prove how fully our information is founded on facts, and, when compared with the slight and shallow objections urged against it, make the littleness of these very manifest.

(vi) The careful statements of the chronology, which marks with such exactness day and month in the course of this occurrence, [but so that the different data are at variance with each other (55,64.xiv),] puts all suspicion of the history to shame.

295. It may be well to quote here the words of the late HUGH MILLER, *Testimony of the Rocks*, *p.*335–9, who, however, while

himself proving the impossibility of a *general* Deluge, attempts, it will be seen, to show that Noah's Flood was not universal, but *partial*,—a point which we shall consider presently.

The Deluge was an event of the existing creation. Had it been universal, it would either have broken up all the diverse centres [of existing creation], and substituted one great general centre instead,—that in which the Ark rested; or else, at an enormous expense of miracle, all the animals, preserved by *natural* means by Noah, would have had to be returned by *supernatural* means to the regions, whence by means *equally supernatural* they had been brought. The sloths and armadillos,—little fitted by nature for long journeys,—would have required to be ferried across the Atlantic [after the Flood] to the regions [of South America, from whence also they had been brought before the Flood],—the kangaroo and wombat, to the insulated continent [of Australia], and the birds of New Zealand, including its heavy flying quails and its wingless wood-hen, to the remote islands of the Pacific.

Nor will it avail aught to urge, with certain assertors of a universal deluge, that, during the cataclysm, sea and land changed their places, and that what is now land had formed the bottom of the antediluvian ocean, and, *vice versâ*, what is now sea had been the land on which the first human inhabitants of the earth increased and multiplied. No geologist, who knows how very various the ages of the several table-lands and mountain-chains in reality are, could acquiesce in such an hypothesis. Our own Scottish shores,—if to the term of the existing we add that of the ancient coast-line,—must have formed the limits of the land, from a time vastly more remote than the age of the Deluge.

But even supposing, for the argument's sake, the hypothesis recognised as admissible, what, in the circumstances of the case, would be gained by the admission? A continuous tract of land would have stretched,—when all the oceans were continents and all the continents oceans,—between the South American and the Asiatic coasts. And it is just possible that, during the hundred and twenty years (?), in which the Ark was in building, a pair of sloths might have crept by inches across this continuous tract to where the great vessel stood. But after the flood had subsided, and the change in sea and land had taken place, there would remain for them no longer a roadway; and so, though their journey outward might, in all save the impulse which led to it, have been altogether a natural one, their voyage homewards could not be other than miraculous. . . Even supposing it possible that animals, such as the red deer and the native ox, *might* have swam across the Straits of Dover or the Irish Channel, to graze anew over deposits, in which the bones and horns of their remote ancestors had been entombed long ages before, the feat would have been surely far beyond the power of such feeble natives of the soil, as the mole, the hedge-hog, the shrew, the dormouse, and the field-vole.

Dr. Pye Smith, in dealing with this subject, has emphatically said, that, 'all land animals having their geographical regions, to which their constitutional natures

are congenial,—many of them being unable to live in any other situation,—we cannot represent to ourselves the idea of their being brought into one small spot from the polar regions, the torrid zone, and all other climates of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, Australia, and the thousands of islands,—their preservation and provision, and the final disposal of them,—without bringing up the idea of miracles more stupendous than any that are recorded in Scripture. 'The great decisive miracle of Christianity,' he adds,—'the resurrection of the Lord Jesus,—sinks down before it.'

And let us remember that the preservation and re-distribution of the land-animals would demand but a portion of the amount of miracle, absolutely necessary for the preservation, in the circumstances, of the entire fauna of the globe. The fresh-water fishes, molluscs, crustacea, and zoophytes, could be kept alive in a universal deluge only by miraculous means. It has been urged that, though the living individuals were to perish, their *spawn* might be preserved by natural means. It must be remembered, however, that, even in the case of some fishes whose proper habitat is the sea, such as the salmon, it is essential for the maintenance of the species that the spawn should be deposited in fresh water, nay, in running fresh water; for in still water, however pure, the eggs in a few weeks addle and die. The eggs of the common trout also require to be deposited in running fresh water; while other fresh-water fishes, such as the tench and carp, are reared most successfully in still, reedy, ponds. The fresh-water fishes spawn, too, at very different seasons, and the young remain for very different periods in the egg. The perch and grayling spawn in the end of April or the beginning of May,—the tench and roach about the middle of June,—the common trout and powan in October and November. And, while some fishes, such as the salmon, remain from ninety to a hundred days in the egg, others, such as the trout, are extruded in five weeks. Without special miracle, the spawn of all the fresh-water fishes could not be in existence, *as such*, at one and the same time; without special miracle, it could not maintain its vitality in a universal deluge; and without special miracle, even did it maintain its vitality, it could not remain in the egg-state throughout an entire twelvemonth, but would be developed into fishes, of the several species to which it belonged, at very different periods. Farther, in a universal deluge, without special miracle, vast numbers of even the salt-water animals could not fail to be extirpated.

Nor would the vegetable kingdom fare greatly better than the animal one. Of the one hundred thousand species of known plants, few indeed would survive submersion for a twelvemonth; nor would the seeds of most of the others fare better than the plants themselves. There are certain hardy seeds, that in favourable circumstances maintain their vitality for ages; and there are others, strongly encased in water-tight shells or skins, that have floated across oceans to germinate in distant islands. But such, as every florist knows, is not the general character of seeds; and, not until after many unsuccessful attempts, and many expedients had been resorted to, have the more delicate kinds been brought uninjured, even on shipboard, from distant countries to our own. It is not too

much to hold that, without special miracle, at least three-fourths of the terrestrial vegetation of the globe would have perished in a universal deluge, that covered over the dry land for a year. Assuredly, the various vegetable centres or regions,—estimated by Schouw at twenty-five,—bear witness to no such catastrophe. Still distinct and unbroken, as of old, either no effacing flood has passed over them, or they were shielded from its effects at an expense of miracle many times more considerable than that, at which the Jews were brought out of Egypt and preserved amid the nations, or Christianity itself was ultimately established.

CHAPTER XIX.

GEN. VII. 1—VIII. 22.

296. G.vii.4,12,17, viii.6.

The Jehovist here introduces the number 'forty,' which occurs so frequently in the subsequent history. Thus Isaac and Esau were each *forty* years old when they married, G.xxv.20, xxvi.34. *Forty* days were fulfilled for the embalming of Jacob, G.l.3. Moses was in the mount *forty* days and *forty* nights on each occasion, E.xxiv.18,xxxiv.28. The spies were *forty* days in searching the land of Canaan, N.xiii.25: the people wandered *forty* years in the wilderness, N.xxxii.13. So the land 'had rest' *forty* years on *three* occasions, Ju.iii.11,v.31,viii.28, and was 'delivered into the hand of the Philistines' *forty* years, Ju.xiii.1. Eli judged Israel *forty* years, 1S.iv.18: Goliath presented himself *forty* days, 1S.xvii.16: David and Solomon reigned each *forty* years, 1K.ii.11,xi.42: Elijah 'went in the strength of that meat *forty* days and *forty* nights,' &c. &c. From these instances, it is plain that the number was used in a loose, indefinite, sense, to express a large number; just as we find, among other oriental nations, the *forty* sources of Scamander, and the *forty* pillars of Persepolis.

297. G.vii.19,20.

'And the waters were very, very, mighty upon the earth; and all the high mountains, that were under all the heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards the waters were mighty, and the mountains were covered.'

Here the waters are said to have covered the Earth to the

height of (15 cubits=) 27 feet above the tops of the highest mountains,—where, however, the density of the air, and, consequently, the temperature, would have been much the same as on the present surface of the earth, *while the Deluge lasted*, since the effect of a *universal rise* of the waters would be to push out the air to a corresponding distance from the Earth's centre.

298. But, when the waters had retired from the Earth, *i.e.* for at least *two* months, according to the story, the air would scarcely have supported respiration, and all living creatures in the Ark must have been frozen to death. For the story evidently supposes that the Ark rested on the highest mountain-summit for 73 or 74 days; since it says that it 'rested' on the *seventeenth* day of the *seventh* month,' viii.4, and the mountain-tops were seen on 'the *first* day of the *tenth* month,' viii.5. Now the highest summit of Ararat is 17,000 feet high, more than 1,000 feet higher than Mont Blanc (15,668 feet), and 3,000 feet above the region of perpetual snow,—*above* which, according to the story, they must have lived, from 'the *seventeenth* day of the *seventh* month' to 'the *twenty-seventh* day of the *second* month,' viii.14, for more than seven months.

299. DELITZCH describes Mount Ararat as follows, *p.*267:—

Mount Ararat raises itself in two high summits above the plain of the Araxes, Great Ararat to 16,000 feet, and Little Ararat about 4,000 feet lower. Great Ararat forms a pretty regular cone: its snow-field descends 3,000 feet from its summit, and its dark base, 10,000 feet high, forms a majestic pyramid, visible far off with its snowy crown. The eastern declivity is connected by a narrow ridge, like a neck, with the Little Ararat, which shows a clear conical form. F. PARROT, who, as head of a scientific expedition, set on foot by the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, first made the ascent of Great Ararat, Sept.26-8, 1829, found a slightly-curved, almost circular, surface of 200 feet in circumference, which at the edge went down sheer on every side, covered with eternal ice, interrupted by not a single block of stone,—from which a wide panorama offered itself to the astonished gaze. On one of the summits of this mountain was Noah's landing-place, the starting-place of new humanity, spreading itself over the whole earth. [PARROT 'describes a secondary summit, about 400 yards distant from the highest point, and on the gentle depression, which connects the two eminences, he surmises that the Ark rested.' SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, *p.*100.] There is no point of the old

continent, which lies inland, and yet so truly island-like, surrounded by mighty waters. It is as if from these heights the water must run down on all sides. And there is no point of the old continent, which would have a position in so many respects central,—in the middle of the great African and Asiatic desert-track, in the middle of the greatest line of breadth of the Caucasian race, in the middle of the longest old lines of land, between the Cape of Good Hope and Behring's Straits, equally distant from the south point of Farther India and the north-west Spitzbergen Islands. This insular and central position of Mount Ararat, next to the peaks of Himalaya, the highest summit of the Old World, serves as *a surprising confirmation of the historical truth of the Biblical record* (!)

300. But, further, the depth of water needed for a literal compliance with the story is *two miles* greater than the height of Ararat, and this would require, according to Dr. PYE SMITH's estimate, about *eight times* as much water as is contained in all the seas and oceans of the Earth. Therefore, if all the water on the Earth were evaporated, and poured down as rain, the fact of the Deluge, as stated in the book of Genesis, would require a miraculous creation of this vast amount of water, and a *miraculous removal of it by natural processes*, viii.1–3, of which the Bible gives not the least intimation.

301. Dr. PYE SMITH's words are these, *Geology and Scripture*, *p.*140 :—

The mass of water, necessary to cover the whole globe to the depth supposed, would be in thickness about five miles above the previous sea-level. This quantity of water might be fairly calculated as amounting to eight times that of the seas and oceans of the globe, in addition to the quantity already existing. The questions then arise, Whence was this water derived? And how was it disposed of, after its purpose was answered? These questions may, indeed, be met by saying that the water was created for the purpose, and then annihilated. That Omnipotence could effect such a work none can doubt. But we are not at liberty thus to *invent* miracles; and the narrative in the Book of Genesis plainly assigns two *natural* causes for the production of the diluvial water,—the incessant rain of nearly six weeks,—called in the Hebrew phrase, the 'opening of all the windows of heaven,' *i.e.* of the sky,—and the 'breaking up of all the fountains of the great deep.' By the latter phrase some have understood that there are immense reservoirs of water in the interior of the earth, or that even the whole of that interior, down to the centre, is a cavity filled with water,—a notion which was excusable in the defective state of knowledge a century ago, but which, from the amplest evidence, we now know to be an impossibility. The use of this expression, in other parts of Scripture, sufficiently

proves that it denotes the general collection of oceanic waters. It is scarcely needful to say that all the rain, which ever descends, has been previously raised by evaporation from the land and water that form the surface of the earth. The capacity of the atmosphere to absorb and sustain water is limited. Long before it reaches the point of saturation, change of temperature and electrical agency must produce copious descents of rain: from all the surface below, evaporation is still going on; and, were we to imagine the air to be first saturated to the utmost extent of its capacity, and then to discharge the whole quantity at once upon the Earth, that whole quantity would bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the entire surface of the globe. A few [about *five**] inches of depth would be its utmost extent. It is, indeed, the fact that, upon a small area of the Earth's surface, yet the most extensive that comes within experience or natural possibility, heavy and continued rain for a few days often produces effects fearfully destructive, by swelling the streams and rivers of that district. *But the laws of Nature as to evaporation, and the capacity of atmospheric air to hold water in solution, render such a state of things over the whole globe not merely improbable, but absolutely impossible.*

Dr. SMITH, therefore, endeavours to maintain the notion of a *partial* Deluge, which, as we shall presently see, the Scripture itself, as well as scientific considerations, will certainly not allow.

302. Lastly, geological facts are decisive against the possibility of an universal Deluge having ever taken place within recent ages of the world's history,—that is, within a period long antecedent to the time of the Creation, as narrated in the book of Genesis. Not only are there no indications of such an event,—though if 'the fountains of the great deep' were 'broken up,' and the 'windows of heaven opened,' and the waters covered the Earth for a whole year, we must expect to find numerous and distinct traces of such a stupendous occurrence in former days,—but the researches of Geology absolutely deny and disprove the fact of such an event having ever taken place.

303. The following quotation from Sir CHARLES LYELL'S

* Atmospheric air holds in solution three-fifths of its own quantity of water. Therefore, 'supposing the vast canopy of air, by some sudden change of internal constitution, at once to discharge its whole watery store, this precipitate would form a sheet of scarcely *five* inches thick over the surface of the globe.' Sir JOHN LESLIE'S *Discourse on the Progress of Mathematics*, Enc. Brit. i. *p.*650.

*Elementary Geology, p.*197,198, will sufficiently attest the truth of the above assertion.

We are presented in Auvergne with the evidence of a series of events of astonishing magnitude and grandeur, by which the original form and features of the country have been greatly changed, yet never so far obliterated, but that they may still, in part at least, be restored in imagination. Great lakes have disappeared,—lofty mountains have been formed, by the reiterated emission of lava, preceded and followed by showers of sand and scoriæ,—deep valleys have been subsequently furrowed out through masses of lacustrine and volcanic origin,—at a still later date, new cones have been thrown up in these valleys,—new lakes have been formed by the damming up of rivers,—and more than one creation of quadrupeds, birds, and plants, Eocene, Miocene, and Pliocene, have followed in succession; yet the region has preserved from first to last its geographical identity; and we can still recall to our thoughts its external condition and physical structure, before these wonderful vicissitudes began, or while a part only of the whole had been completed. There was a period, when the spacious lakes, of which we still may trace the boundaries, lay at the foot of mountains of moderate elevation, unbroken by the bold peaks and precipices of Mont Dor, and unadorned by the picturesque outline of the Puy de Dôme, or of the volcanic cones and craters now covering the granitic platform. During this earlier season of repose, deltas were slowly formed,—beds of marl and sand, several hundred feet thick, deposited,—siliceous calcareous rocks precipitated from the waters of mineral springs,—shells and insects imbedded, together with the remains of the crocodile and tortoise, the eggs and bones of water birds, and the skeletons of quadrupeds, some of them belonging to the same genera as those entombed in the Eocene gypsum of Paris. To this tranquil condition of the surface succeeded the era of volcanic eruptions, when the lakes were drained, and when the fertility of the mountainous district was probably enhanced by the igneous matter ejected from below, and poured down upon the more sterile granite. During these eruptions, which appear to have taken place after the disappearance of the Upper Eocene fauna, and partly in the Miocene epoch, the mastodon, rhinoceros, elephant, tapir, hippopotamus, together with the ox, various kinds of deer, the bear, the hyæna, and many beasts of prey, ranged the forest or pastured on the plain, and were occasionally overtaken by a fall of burning cinders, or buried in flows of mud, such as accompany volcanic eruptions. Lastly, these quadrupeds became extinct, and gave place to Pliocene mammalia, and these, in their turn, to species now existing.

There are no signs, during the whole time required for this series of events, of the sea having intervened, nor of any denudation which may not have been accomplished by currents in the different lakes, or by rivers and floods accompanying repeated earthquakes, during which the levels of the district have in some places been materially modified, and perhaps the whole upraised relatively to the surrounding parts of France.

304. Here are also the words of KALISCH with reference to the same remarkable phenomena: *Gen. p.* 208.

In the centre of France, in the provinces of Auvergne and Languedoc, are still the remains of several hundred volcanic hills and mountains. The craters, some of which are higher than that of Vesuvius, ejected immense masses of lava to the heights of fifty, one hundred, and many more feet, and spreading over many miles of area. Distant periods separated the different eruptions. Distinct mineral formations, and an abundance of petrified vegetable and animal life, bespeak an epoch far anterior to the present condition of our planet. And yet, since these volcanoes ceased to flow, rivers have worked their way through that vast depth of lava; they have penetrated through basalt rocks one hundred and fifty feet in height, and have even considerably entered into the granite rocks beneath. The time required for such operations is immeasurably slow. Centuries are required to mark the least perceptible progress. The whole period, which was necessary for the rivers to overcome that hard and compact mass, is large almost beyond the conception of man; all our measures of chronology are insufficient; and the mind stands amazed at the notion of eternal time. That extraordinary region contains rocks, consisting of laminated formations of siliceous deposits; one of the rocks is sixty feet in thickness; and a moderate calculation shows, that at least 18,000 years were required to produce that single pile. All these formations, therefore, are far more remote than the date of the Noachian flood; *they show not the slightest trace of having been affected or disturbed by any general deluge*; their progress has been slow, but uninterrupted; even the pumice-stone, and other loose and light substances, with which many of those hills and the cones of the volcanic craters are covered, and which would have been washed away by the action of a flood, have remained entirely untouched.

305. And, further, I add the words of HUGH MILLER, *Test. of the Rocks, p.* 341, 342:—

The cones of volcanic craters are formed of loose incoherent scoriæ and ashes; and when exposed, as in the case of submarine volcanoes, such as Graham's Island and the island of Sabrina, to the denuding force of waves and currents, they have in a few weeks, or at most a few months, been washed completely away. And yet, in various parts of the world, such as Auvergne in central France, and along the flanks of Ætna, there are cones of long extinct or long slumbering volcanoes, which, though of at least triple the antiquity of the Noachian Deluge, and though composed of the ordinary incoherent materials, exhibit no marks of denudation. According to the calculations of Sir Charles Lyell, no devastating flood could have passed over the forest zone of Ætna during the last twelve thousand years,—for such is the antiquity which he assigns to its older lateral cones, that retain in integrity their original shape; and the volcanic cones of Auvergne, which enclose in their ashes the remains of extinct animals, and present an outline as perfect as those of Ætna, are deemed older still. Graham Island arose out of the sea early in July, 1831; in the beginning

of the following August it had attained to a circumference of three miles, and to a height of two hundred feet; and yet in less than three months from that time the waves had washed its immense mass down to the sea-level; and in a few weeks more it existed but as a dangerous shoal. And such, inevitably, would have been the fate of the equally incoherent cone-like craters of Ætna and Auvergne, during the seven and a half months, that intervened between the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep and the re-appearance of the mountain-tops, had they been included within the area of the Deluge.

CHAPTER XX.

WAS NOAH'S FLOOD A PARTIAL DELUGE?

306. THERE are some, however, and as we have seen, HUGH MILLER among them, who endeavour to make it appear that the Flood in Noah's time was not universal, but partial. Not, however, that the difficulties already noticed, besides others yet to be named, will really be removed by this supposition. For it is just as inconceivable that the worms, and snails, and grasshoppers, should have crawled into the Ark, from different parts of some large basin in Western Asia, (as HUGH MILLER imagines), as from different parts of the world. One small brook alone would have been a barrier to their further progress. Nor could Noah have provided for the wild carnivorous animals of these parts, which included the lion and leopard, the eagle and vulture. Besides, in such a case, what need would there have been to crowd the Ark with 'the fowls of the air by sevens'? G.vii.3,—since *birds*, surely, might have made their escape easily beyond the boundaries of the inundation.

307. And so writes Archd. PRATT, *Scripture and Science, p.55*:

The words of Scripture, were there no facts [of Science], like those I have mentioned, to modify our interpretation, would by most [? *all*] persons, be understood as describing an universal flood of waters over the whole extent of the globe. *There would be no cause for questioning this, and, therefore, no ground of doubt.* [The words of Scripture, consequently, would be taken in their plain, obvious, meaning, as any simple-minded reader would understand them.] But, when the new facts become known, as they are at present, then [the words of Scripture must be *twisted* to meet them, or, as Archd. PRATT puts it,] the question is started, 'Does the Scripture language present any insuperable obstacle to this more limited interpretation?' That it does not, may be inferred from the fact that two of our

celebrated commentators on Scripture, Bishop STILLINGFLEET and MATTHEW POOL, both in the 17th century, long before the discoveries of natural science required it, advocated this view (!) [Modern science has proved, by pointing to the hills of Auvergne, that there certainly never was an universal deluge. But STILLINGFLEET and POOL, doubtless, felt some of the *other* insurmountable difficulties of the case as strongly as we do, and were tempted to 'twist' the Scripture accordingly, to suit the *facts* which 'required' it.]

And as to the *birds*, Archd. PRATT writes, *p.*55 :—

A better acquaintance with the habits of many of the non-migratory birds will convince an objector, that even in a local deluge, of the extent which we suppose the Deluge may have attained, *many species* would have become extinct but for their preservation in the Ark, as the surrounding regions could not have supplied them. [But why, on this account, should *all* the birds, &c., within this limited district have been preserved in the Ark, since most of them existed also beyond its boundary?]

308. But, surely, plainer words could hardly be used than the Scripture employs to show that the Deluge *was* universal:—

'vi.7, 'Jehovah said, I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the Earth, *both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air.*'

vi.17, 'Behold, I, even I, do bring a Flood of waters upon the Earth, to destroy *all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven, and everything, that is in the Earth, shall die.*'

vi.19, 'Of *every living thing of all flesh*, &c.'

vii.4, '*Every living substance, that I have made, will I destroy, from off the face of the Earth.*'

vii.15, 'Two and two, of *all flesh wherein is the breath of life.*'

vii.19, '*All the high hills, that were under the whole heaven*, were covered.'

vii.21–23, 'And *all flesh died, that moved upon the earth, . . . all, in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed, which was upon the face of the ground*, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things and the fowl of the heaven. And Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the Ark.'

See also viii.21,ix.11,15.

309. Archd. PRATT, indeed, refers to D.ii.25, as a proof that the expression 'under the whole heaven' may mean not the whole globe, 'but only Palestine and the countries in its immediate neighbourhood.' But, first, this is not the only expression, which is employed here to denote the universality of the catastrophe; and secondly, in the very passage quoted, the expression is plainly used to express all nations on the face of the whole earth:—

'This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven, who shall hear report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.'

It appears, then, to be impossible to doubt,—if only the expressions of the Bible are to be regarded, and not the incredibility, which in that case will attach to the story, as is freely confessed by such well-informed geologists as HUGH MILLER and HITCHCOCK,—that the Scripture speaks distinctly of an *universal*, and not a partial, Deluge.

310. The difficulties, which are presented by geological considerations to the belief in the Scripture story of the Deluge, are summed up concisely in the following words, by one who labours to maintain the literal historical truth of the Bible narrative, by making this assumption of a partial Deluge,—the Rev. ALFRED BARRY, *M.A., Fell. Trin. Coll. Camb., Intr. to the Study of the O.T.*, *p.* 144, &c. :—

The real difficulties of Geology, stated in their strongest form, amount to this.

(i) There is no existing evidence of a general simultaneous Deluge, the present diluvial deposits having clearly been formed by degrees, and at long intervals of time. There is, indeed, abundant evidence of gigantic diluvial deposits at the higher levels: but they are in all cases local, and to be referred to a Pre-Adamite antiquity. This conclusion is the more undoubted, because so many leading geologists, BUCKLAND, SEDGWICK, &c., who once referred the 'diluvium' to the one period of the historic Deluge, have now publicly withdrawn that opinion.

(ii) There is positive evidence to the contrary, inasmuch as, in some volcanic regions,—especially, the remarkable one, forty miles by twenty, in Auvergne and Languedoc,—there are deposits of scoriæ and lava, extending over many miles, and in some places fifty or a hundred feet deep, which must have taken many thousand years to accumulate, and which yet have certainly not been submerged.

(iii) In all the diluvian deposits, no trace of human remains has ever been found.

311. To the first and third of the above objections Mr. BARRY replies that—

It may have pleased God that, as the Deluge was miraculous, it should pass away, without leaving its footprints amidst the traces of natural formation.

This, of course, assumes that the Deluge was such a miracle as the Bible represents it, which we are only obliged to believe,

if we believe the history in the Pentateuch to be infallibly true, as literal, historical, matter-of-fact. But we have seen that it is no longer possible to believe this. And, if so, this answer falls at once to the ground.

The third objection, however, might be fairly met by saying that, in the regions where the human race is believed to have been first planted, the diluvium has not yet been sufficiently examined, to enable us to say that no human remains are buried up in it.

312. The answer, above given by Mr. BARRY, would, indeed, if valid, apply just as much to the second objection as to the others. The writer, however, feels this second objection to be so strong, and so stubbornly opposed to the notion of an *universal* Deluge, that he also gives up this point, and tries to argue that, 'although G.vii.19,20, seems certainly to speak of universality,' yet the words are 'clearly capable of explanation,' thus:—

We are told that the waters prevailed upon the Earth; but whether over the whole globe, or only over that portion of it, which was occupied by human life, we know not.

Yet it is written, '*all flesh* died, that moved upon the Earth,' —'all, in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land,'—'every living substance, which was upon the face of the ground.'

313. But Mr. BARRY goes on to say—

It is quite possible that the human race, and the animals given them for service, may as yet have extended only over a limited portion of the Earth round the garden of Eden.

And so he argues—

'All flesh' may have been destroyed by a partial Deluge.

Surely, then, we should require another miraculous interference, to have kept any one of the birds from flitting during all that long period of nearly two thousand years, which had elapsed since the Creation, and straying to the uttermost bounds of the Old Continent,—at all events, far beyond the reach of this merely local inundation.

314. But what would be gained after all, even if this were granted? There would still be the same difficulty in accounting for such facts as these—

(i) That all kinds of animals, which are now found upon the Earth, should have lived together in one climate;

(ii) That the creatures, saved in the Ark, should have become *afterwards dispersed from one centre*, across rivers, mountains, and oceans, to all the corners of the Earth;

(iii) That Noah and his family, and these animals of all kinds, should have lived for months above the top of Ararat, in a region far above the snow-line.

315. However, let us suppose that the Deluge was *partial*, and that, instead of the *eight thousand* species of beasts and birds (286), leaving out of consideration the reptiles, insects, &c.—only *eight hundred*—nay, only *eighty*—needed to be received into the Ark, and that, of these, *twenty* were species of clean animals, and *sixty* of unclean. Then the whole number of animals taken into the Ark would have been $20 \times 14 + 60 \times 2 = 400$. And now let any person of common-sense picture to himself what would be the condition of a menagerie, consisting of four hundred animals, of all kinds, confined in a narrow space, under these circumstances, for more than twelve months! We must first suppose, of course, that Noah and his wife and children were occupied every day, and all day long, incessantly, in taking to these 400 creatures, two or three times a day, their necessary supplies of dry food and water, bringing fresh litter, and clearing away the old. But, shut up together closely in this way, with scarcely any light and air, is it not plain that, in a very short time, every part of the ship would have been full of filth, corrupting matter, fever, and pestilence?

316. 'But the ship may have been kept clean, and the air pure, and the animals healthy, though shut up without light and air, by a *miracle*.' Yes, certainly: by multiplying miracles *ad infinitum*, of which the Bible gives not the slightest intimation,

—which, rather, the whole tenor of the story as plainly as possible excludes,—if this is thought to be a *reverent* mode of dealing with Scripture, or at all more reverent than a course of criticism of the kind which I am now pursuing, while thus endeavouring to set the plain facts of the case, in a clear, strong, light, before the eyes of the reader. I feel it to be my duty to do this, to the best of my power; nor ought I to be deterred by being told that I am treating the Bible with unwarrantable freedom, that I am using a 'vulgar' and 'coarse' kind of criticism, and delighting 'like a successful fiend' in dwelling upon the details of the sacred narrative.

317. It is absolutely necessary that thoughtful persons should be called to look at these things from a practical every-day point of view,—that they should be induced to think for themselves about the details, involved in the Scripture statements, and see for themselves that the notion of such a 'Flood,' as that described in these chapters of Genesis, whether it be regarded as a *universal* or a *partial* Deluge, is equally incredible and impossible. If this be so, then it will also follow plainly, that, by believing ourselves, or teaching others to believe, in this account of 'Noah's Flood,' as a statement of real historical matter-of-fact, merely because the Bible records it as such, we shall be sinning against God and the Truth, and simply making an idol of the Bible.

318. But, indeed, the waters of a Deluge, that could cover 'the high hills, that were under the whole heaven,' and the 'mountains' in Armenia, must have found their level on the surface of the whole Earth, unless the Law of Gravitation was suspended, by another stupendous miracle, for the space of twelve months.

319. DELITZCH observes on this point as follows, *p.*260:—

The absolute generality of the Flood, if it was to be expressed at all, could not be expressed more clearly. It seems as if we must imagine the Flood to have covered the highest peaks of the Himalayas and Cordilleras, reaching to a height of

26,843 *ft.* [28,178 ft.] But *v.*20 makes that impossible: 'Fifteen cubits upward the waters were mighty, and the mountains were covered.' That can only be a concise datum from a particular stand-point, and this stand-point is in that case the Great Ararat, by far the highest mountain-summit of the neighbourhood, upon which the Ark grounded immediately after the highest state of the waters. The Ark went 15 cubits deep: and so, at the moment when it grounded, the water also reached the height of 15 cubits over the top of Ararat. If this be so, then the statement in *v.*19, that 'all the high hills that were under the whole heaven' were covered by the waters, must not be understood literally in the sense of *universal.*

EBRARD contests the possibility of this, not only exegetically, but as a matter of fact. 'A partial Flood,' he says, 'which reaches 15 cubits over the tops of even moderately high mountains, is a nonentity, an impossibility. A partial Flood is only conceivable in a basin, enclosed by mountains, and, even here, only then, when it does not reach the ridges of the enclosing mountains.' But this objection is not well-considered. It proceeds from the false supposition that the water could not form an irregular surface,—that *it could not assume a conical form* (!). But this is only true of standing water, which receives no supply. If, in the region about the Ararat, the supply from *beneath* was greatest in intensity, the Flood might go far above Ararat, without at the same time covering far distant mountains,—even low ones. It has, in fact, justly been remarked, in order to make the possibility of the Flood conceivable, that it stood to the map of the Earth in no greater relation than a general profuse sweat upon the body of a man, and that the mountain-heights, in relation to the whole mass of the Earth, appear but as a needle-scratch upon a globe. [What of that? do the rivers, then,—the smallest brooks—the minutest currents of 'perspiration'—*not*, as a matter of fact, run down from the hills? or would the waters of the Flood not speedily forsake the 'conical form,' and find their own proper level over the whole of the Earth's surface?] And to the proof, which long ago TERTULLIAN (*de pall.*), according to the measure of the limited scientific knowledge of his time, adduces in those ingenious words,—*adhuc maris conchæ et buccinæ peregrinantur in montibus, cupientes Platoni probare etiam ardua fluitasse,* 'still the mussels and shells of the sea are found as strange travellers among the mountains, desiring to prove to Plato that even high places have been once under water,'—some have added facts, which, if they stood in connection with the Deluge, would strikingly prove its absolute universality. Alex. v. HUMBOLDT found layers of coal—buried remains of old forests and former water- and land-plants—in Huanoco in S. America, at a height of 13,800 feet, near the modern limit of perpetual snow. Bones of the mastodon have been found on the Cordilleras at a height of 8,000 feet. Avalanches have brought down bone-breccia from the snow-region of the Himalayas, from a height of 16,000 feet. Generally, in the highest mountains of the three quarters of the globe, Mont Blanc, Himâlaya, and the Cordilleras, bones of antediluvian animals are imbedded.

But are we to conclude from this, that once the waters of the Flood went over these mountains? The advanced state of Geognosy forbids it. The contents of the mountains are no proof in her eyes, since they belong to a *pre-*

historic time. The existence of convincing proof of such a kind for the historical Deluge she must regard generally as doubtful, as has been noticed above. As to the fact, that, in historical times, (to which we oppose the time *before* the creation of man as *prehistorical*,) a great flooding of the Earth has occurred, Geology can neither deny nor confirm it. We do not need, however, its confirmation: our faith rests upon the testimony of tradition, and above all on the historical testimony of Holy Scripture. Only the mere generality of the historical Deluge is subject to geological doubt. Thus, for instance, the English Geologist, LYELL, has drawn attention to a phenomenon, which seems to testify against a general Flood since the Tertiary age,—*i.e.* one covering the whole of the Earth's surface. There are found, for instance, upon the extinct volcanoes of Auvergne,—which, as appear from the bones enclosed here and there in their lava-streams, were [last] active in the Tertiary period, and so before the creation of man,—a great number of quite loose cones of cinders, which could not possibly have withstood the pressure of a Flood, though they are not injured by rain, as they very easily imbibe it. It seems, therefore, as if this locality has not been affected by the Flood.

Granting that Geology might raise such and other proofs, against the mere universality of the Flood, to a power of producing irresistible conviction, yet we are not bound under any necessity of maintaining the contrary as an article of faith. Not as if we were *against* the universality of the Flood, because we might not be able to see how to account for it naturally: even the present matter of fact, upon which Geology lays stress, does not move us. But the Scripture requires generality of the Flood only for the Earth as *inhabited*, not for the Earth as *such*, and it has no interest in the universality of the Deluge *for itself*, but only in the universality of the judgment fulfilled through it upon the 'old world,' 2Pet.ii.5. That, with the exception of one single family, the whole then existing human race, together with the animal-world in their neighbourhood, within a great circle of the earth, was destroyed, that, and that only, is the Scripture statement. The human race, however, was then not yet spread over the whole surface of the earth, since they were not yet enough in number to fill it.

Ans. Manifestly, the idea of the Flood is that 'all flesh,'—that is, *animals* as well as men,—had 'corrupted its way upon the Earth,' and must be destroyed; see G.ix. 5, where *guilt* is spoken of in the case of animals, as well as men,—'your blood will I require, at the hand of every *animal* will I require it, and at the hand of man.'

320. Mr. BARRY adds, *p.*148,—

The case, therefore, stands simply thus. It is impossible to conceive any interpretation, except the literal one, which is at all consistent with the veracity of the Mosaic narrative. And, therefore, *if the Scripture be in any sense inspired*, we must accept this portion of it as simple and literal history.

Mr. BARRY should have written, 'If the Scripture be inspired in the *popular, traditional*, sense of the word.' For that the Spirit of Goodness, Truth, and Holiness, *does* breathe in the

words of the Bible, so that the Sacred Book will to the end of time be 'profitable for teaching, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness,'—in spite of the legends and myths which it contains, and the passages of a contrary nature, by which it is in some parts disfigured,—cannot be doubted by any devout mind.

Nay, it is this very mixture in the Bible of human frailty, ignorance, mistake, with that Divine Truth which is the Eternal Word of God, that makes its special value as a true, natural, history—not, certainly, of the mere *facts*, which it details, but —of the progress of human life and religion, which is illustrated for the thoughtful mind in every page. It would not be this, if the rude conceptions of the earlier periods were not truly recorded.

CHAPTER XXI.

STORIES OF THE FLOOD AMONG OTHER NATIONS.

321. MANY heathen nations have traditions concerning either an universal or a partial Deluge. These are given at length by KALISCH, *Gen.p.*202–204. That, with which the Hebrew agrees most closely, is the Chaldæan, as follows.

The representative of the tenth generation after the first man was Xisuthrus, a pious and wise monarch. The god Chronos (or Belus) revealed to him that continual rains, commencing on a certain day, the fifteenth of the month Dæsius, would cause a general Deluge, by which mankind would be destroyed. At the command of the deity, Xisuthrus built an immense ship, 3,000 feet long and 1,200 broad; [and, having first as commanded, buried the records of the primitive world in Sippara, the city of the Sun,] he ascended it with his family, his friends, and all species of quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, having loaded it with every possible provision, and sailed towards Armenia. When the rain ceased, he sent out birds, to satisfy himself about the condition of the earth. They returned twice: but the second time they had mud on their feet; and the third time they returned to him no more. Xisuthrus, who had by this time grounded upon the side of some Armenian mountain, left the ship, accompanied only by his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. They erected an altar, and offered sacrifices to the gods, but were soon raised to heaven on account of their exemplary piety. Those, who had remained in the ship, now left it also with many lamentations. But they believed that they heard the voice of Xisuthrus, admonishing them to persevere in the fear of the gods; after which they settled again in Babylon, from which they had started, and became the ancestors of a new human population. The ship was thought to be preserved in the highland of Armenia, in the mountain of the Cordyæans; and pieces of bitumen and timber, ostensibly taken from it, were in later times used chiefly as amulets.

322. TUCH gives the following account of these myths, *p.*137–154, which is here condensed from Mr. HEYWOOD'S edition of VON BOHLEN, ii.*p.*161–184.

Many legends of a Flood are handed down to us from antiquity, which represent

the inundation to have been in some cases a partial one, as in the Samothracian Flood; DIOD. SIC. v.47, explaining geographical relations, and in other cases describe it as a general Flood over the whole Earth. [There is no ancient *Egyptian* legend of this kind, so that Egypt certainly was not the source of them.] Greece furnishes the accounts of two. In one, Ogyges survives a universal Flood, which had covered the whole surface of the Earth to such a depth, that he conducts his vessel upon the waves through the air. The other Grecian legend, which relates to Deucalion, is more complete, but, like that of Ogyges, is only narrated by *later* writers. Neither Homer nor Hesiod makes any mention of a Flood; and even Herodotus, though he mentions Deucalion, i.56, does not connect the name with any inundation. PINDAR first mentions Deucalion's Flood, *Olymp.* ix.62–71 *; and it is given in a more perfect form by APOLLODORUS, *Bibl.* i.7, OVID, *Met.* i.240–451, and LUCIAN, *de Deâ Syr.* xii, xiii.† The object of the Hellenic deluge appears to have been the annihilation of the brazen race, which according to HESIOD perished *without* any Flood. The race, which was destroyed, had acted wickedly, disregarded oaths and the rites of hospitality, attended to no expostulations, and in the end became necessarily punished. Jupiter sent violent torrents of rain, and the Earth, says

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* Man's first abode Deucalion reared,
When from Parnassus' glittering crown,
With Pyrrha paired, the Seer came down.
Behind them rose their unborn sons,
The new-named *laity of stones*,
A homogeneous mortal throng.' MOORE'S PIND. i.*p.*94.

The idea of the creation of human beings, from stones thrown behind them by Deucalion and Pyrrha, evidently originated in the similarity of the words *lâas*, 'stone,' and *laos*, 'people.'

† 'I heard a story about Deucalion among the Hellenes, which the Hellenes tell about him. Now the fable is this. The present generation, the men now living, were not the first that came into being; but that generation all perished. These, however, are of the second generation, which a second time grew to great numbers after the age of Deucalion. But about that generation the story is as follows. Being thoroughly insolent, they did unlawful deeds; for they never kept oaths, nor entertained strangers, nor spared suppliants,—for which things the great calamity befel them. All at once the earth poured forth much water, and much rain fell, and the rivers came down in floods, and the sea rose to a great height, until all became water, and all perished. Only Deucalion was left of men for a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety. And this was the way in which he was preserved. He embarked his children and wives in a large Ark which he had. And, as he entered, there came to him swine, and horses, and different kinds of lions, and serpents, and whatever else lives in the Earth, by pairs. And he received them all, and they did him no harm, but great friendship existed between them by the will of Jove. And in one Ark they all sailed so long as the water prevailed.'

LUCIAN, opened in order to let the immense body of water run off. Deucalion, the *only righteous man*, entered the vessel which he had made, with his wife Pyrrha, [LUC. 'with his wives'], and, according to the later form of the legend, took with him different kinds of animals in pairs. After nine days and nine nights he landed on the summit of Parnassus, which remained uncovered, PAUS. x. 6; * while the greatest part of Greece was laid under water, so that only a few men, who had fled to the highest mountains, escaped alive. PLUTARCH, *de Soll. Anim.* xiii,† mentions the dove, which Deucalion employed to find out if the rain had ceased or the heavens had become clear.

The Phrygian legend is similar, though we have only faint traces of it. Annakos, the Biblical Enoch, foretells the coming Flood; and coins of Apamea, of the time of Septimius Severus, A.D. 194–211, represent a floating vessel, in which a man and his wife may be discerned, whilst upon the vessel is a bird, and another is flying towards it, holding a twig in its claw. The same couple are seen standing on the dry land, with their right hands uplifted, and upon these specimens of the coin is the name NΩ. This Phrygian legend must refer in some degree to a Flood, and it settled the landing-place of the Floating Ark to be near Apamea, which bears the name of κιβωτός, 'Ark.' The close coincidence, however, with the Biblical narrative, even in the occurrence of the name of Noah (NΩ), excites suspicion, and favours the presumption that this representation of the coins was derived from the Hebrew.

The same fundamental ideas are contained in all these legendary narratives of the Flood. In every instance the legend was transplanted by the people who relate it to their own country. Himalaya, Ararat, and Parnassus, occupy the same place in one set of mythis, as Meru, Albordj, and Olympus do in the others. The Hebrew legend alone removes it entirely from Canaanitish soil, because the Israelites constantly retained the conviction that they had *not* originally belonged to that country. The scene of their legend of the Flood was the original home of their national forefathers, which was to them an inheritance of primeval antiquity.

323. The following lines are taken from Dean MILMAN's translation of 'The Story of the Fish,' in *Nala and Damayanti and other Poems*, *p.*114–5, where Manu is represented as addressed by Brahma in the form of a fish, as follows:—

When the awful time approaches,—hear from me what thou must do.
In a little time, O blessed! all the firm and seated earth,—

* 'And of the people, all, who were able to escape the storm, were saved through the howling of wolves, by escaping to the heights of Parnassus, following the beasts as guides of the way.'

† 'Story-tellers say that a *dove*, sent out from the Ark, became a sign of tempest by returning in again, and of fine weather by having flown away.'

All that moves upon its surface,—shall a deluge sweep away.
Near it comes—of all creation the ablution-day is near;
Therefore, what I now forewarn thee, may thy highest weal secure.
All the fixed and all the moving,— all that stirs or stirreth not,—
Lo! of all the time approaches, the tremendous time of doom.
Build thyself a ship, O Manu, strong, with cables well prepared;
And thyself, with the seven sages, mighty Manu, enter in.
All the living seeds of all things, by the Brahmins named of yore,
Place them first within the vessel, well secured, divided well. . . .
Earth was seen no more, no region, nor the intermediate space;
All around a waste of water,—water all, and air, and sky.
In the whole world of creation, princely son of Bharata!
None was seen but those seven sages, Manu only and the fish.
Years on years, and still unwearied, drew that fish the bark along,
Till at length it came, where lifted Himavan its loftiest peak.
There at length it came and, smiling, thus the fish addressed the sage:
'To the peak of Himalaya bind thou now the stately ship.'
At the fish's mandate quickly, to the peak of Himavan
Bound the sage his bark, and ever to this day that loftiest peak
Bears the name of Naubandhana, from the binding of the bark.

324. We add here the following quotation from KENRICK, *Primeval History, p.*33:—

It must appear very doubtful whether the earliest mythology of the Greeks contained any reference to a destruction of the human race by a Flood. But the coincidence of the Babylonian, the Indian, the Mexican, and the Jewish accounts, can hardly be explained, without supposing a very high antiquity of the Asiatic tradition, an antiquity preceding our knowledge of any definite facts in the history of these nations. . . However high we may be warranted to carry up the existence of this tradition in Asia, it will not necessarily follow that it was founded upon a real fact. . . There is abundant evidence that the past changes of the globe, and the fate of the human race as influenced by them, have excited the imagination to speculate on their causes and circumstances, and that these speculations, assuming an historical form, have been received as matter of fact. The Mexicans believed in four great cycles,—the first terminated by famine,—the second by fire, from which only birds and two human beings escaped,—the third by storms of wind, which only monkeys escaped,—the fourth by water, in which all human beings save two were changed into fishes; and to these cycles they ascribed an united duration of 18,000 years. It was a popular legend among the Greeks that Thessaly had once been a lake, and that Neptune had opened a passage for the waters through the Vale of Tempe. . . 'The legend, no doubt, originated in a very simple speculation. The sight of a narrow gorge, the sole outlet to the waters of a whole district, naturally suggests the idea of its having once been closed, and, as the necessary

consequence, of the inundation of the whole region, which it now serves to drain. The inhabitants of Samothrace had a similar traditionary belief, that the narrow strait by which the Euxine communicates with the Mediterranean was once closed, and that its sudden disruption produced a Deluge, which swept the sea-coast of Asia, and buried some of their own towers. The fact of traces of the action of water at a higher level in ancient times on these shores is unquestionable. . . But that the tradition was produced by speculation on its cause, not by an obscure recollection of its occurrence, is also clear: for it has been shown, CUVIER, *Rev. du Globe, p.*87, by physical proofs, that a discharge of the waters of the Euxine would not cause such a Deluge as the tradition supposed. . . The inhabitants of Polynesia have a tradition that the islands, with which their ocean is studded, are but the fragments of a continent which once existed. In Greece, the continent of Lyctonia was supposed to have been split into the islands of the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of the western part of Cornwall have a tradition, that the Scilly Islands were once united to the mainland, by a tract now submerged. In none of these instances does any historical fact appear to lie at the foundation of the tradition, even where, as in the case last-mentioned, it is not in itself improbable. If the tradition of a Deluge is more widely spread than any of these, so also are the phenomena on which it is founded. . . The sand and shells,—which induced Herodotus to believe, ii.12, that all Lower Egypt, and even the hills above Memphis, had once been covered by the sea,—had lain there for ages, before they drew his attention; and surely his was not the first reflecting mind that had speculated on their origin. . . .

If, from these marks of the action of water on the Earth, the notion of a Deluge arose, it would not only include, as a necessary consequence, the destruction of all living things, but also the guilt of the race which thus violently perished. No principle appears more universally to pervade the legends of early times than that great calamities implied great guilt. At Mavalipuram, on the coast of Coromandel, the remains of several ancient temples and other buildings, now close to the sea, suggested the idea that a splendid city had been buried under the waters. Such a calamity must have been inflicted by the gods, as a punishment for some enormous crime; and this was found in the impiety of the tyrannical king, the great Bali. According to another account, the gods destroyed it, because its magnificence rivalled that of the celestial courts: see SOUTHEY'S *Kehama*, xv. It was on account of the wickedness of the Atlantians that Jupiter submerged their island and drowned the whole race. PLAT. *Tim.* ii.25: comp. *Crit.* iii.109.

A similar tale is related of an island near China, the impious inhabitants of which thus perished, while their righteous king escaped. The remains of buildings, or rocks which fancy has converted into such, seen through the transparent waters near the margin of lakes, have very generally given rise to legends of the destruction of towns for the wickedness of their inhabitants. Dr. ROBINSON, *Trav. in Palest.*, ii.589, mentions a tradition that a city had once stood in the desert between Petra and Hebron, the people of which had perished for their vices, and been converted into stone. SEETZEN, who went to the spot, found no traces of ruins, but a

number of stony concretions, resembling in form and size the human head. They had been ignorantly supposed to be petrified heads, and a legend framed to account for their owners suffering so terrible a fate.'

325. How easily legends grew up in those days, through pious speculations, with reference to ancient facts or memorials, the real meaning and true history of which was unknown, or had long been lost, may be gathered from one which JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*i.2,3, sets forth, as being quite as much a piece of authentic history, as that of the Flood itself or the Tower of Babel.

Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years, in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and, as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him, who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom, which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And, that these inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone, and inscribed their discoveries on them both, that, in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

326. The ground of the latter part of the above legend may have been the fact of the existence of remarkable pillars, which are said to have been erected by *Sesostris*, king of Egypt, to commemorate his victories,—not by *Seth*, son of Adam, and his descendants. And this part of the legend has given birth to the former part, *viz.* that Adam made such a prediction. HERODOTUS writes of these, ii.106,—

As to the pillars, which Sesostris, king of Egypt, erected in the different countries, most of them are no longer in existence; but in Syrian Palestine I myself saw some still remaining.

327. DELITZCH observes, *p.*242,—

The legends about the Flood, which are found in different nations, have just as much their corrective in the Biblical record, as this has in them a proof of its historical value. In them are similar fundamental portions, which form the basis of the heathen legends, only mythologically coloured, and altered in such a way,

that the moral significance of the event retires into the background, the locality of the place of settlement is brought as near as possible, the horizon of an universal Flood contracts itself more or less in national, special, interests, and the forms of national common-life are carried back into the antediluvian time. Nearest to the Biblical record stand the Flood-legends of the West-Asiatic circle of nations. . . With these Semitic legends without doubt are connected as well the Phrygian, about the king 'Αννακός or Ναννακός (*i.e.* Enoch) in Iconium,—who was more than 300 years old, predicted the Flood, and prayed with lamentation for his people,—as also the Armenian, which, as might be expected, agrees with the Biblical in respect of the locality; and LUCIAN *de Syr. Deâ*, xiii, tells us of a Syrian, connected with a cleaving of the earth near the Syrian Hierapolis, whence the waters of the first Flood had poured forth. . . .

328. So, DELITZCH says, in *Persia, India*, and *China*, there is a second group of Flood-legends, peculiar to the countries of Eastern Asia. And he continues:—

A third group is formed by the legends of the Grecian circle—in the first place, that of Ogyges (PLAT. *Tim.*), and the further-developed one of Deucalion and Pyrrha, (first in PINDAR, then brought nearer to the Biblical account by APOLLODORUS, PLUTARCH, LUCIAN, OVID),—both fundamental legends of one and the same general Flood, but thoroughly Hellenised; and upon these many trivial legends group themselves, as the Attic, Thessalian, Phocian, Samothracian, which localise the Flood with more or less narrowed horizon. What DIOD. SIC., i.10,, and PLATO (*Tim.*) report of Egyptian statements about the Flood, sound so Hellenistic, that we cannot well discern therefrom the veritable form of the Egyptian Flood-legend.

329. A fourth group is formed by the legends of nations lying beyond the intercourse of the ancient world, as the *Welsh, Mexicans, Peruvians.*

The legend of the Mexicans and Islanders of Cuba agrees even as to the *dove and raven* with the Biblical account, (von RAUMER, *Allgem. Geog. p.*429). According to the legend of the Macusi-Indians in South America, the only man, who survived the Flood, repeopled the earth by *changing stones into men.* According to that of the Tamanaks of Orinoko it was a pair of human beings, who cast behind them the fruit of a certain palm, and *out of the kernels sprang men and women.* Also the legends of a general Flood, among the Tahitians and other Society Islanders, betray an Asiatic origin, as generally much in this group of people reminds us of India. The inhabitants of Raiatea show—as a proof that a flooding of the land once took place—the *corals and mussels, which are found on the highest summits of the island.*

330. The inference, which DELITZCH draws from the 'dove and raven' appearing in the mythology of Mexico and Cuba, *viz.* that these legends are all most probably derived from one

primeval historical fact, would be justified, if the other chief details of the story were found repeated in these legends. Otherwise, it might be just as fairly argued that the primeval fact involved also the changing stones into men, which appears so prominent in these South American legends, as well as in that of the Greeks.

331. In fact we can account for the observed resemblance in one of three ways:—

(i) The different legends *do* point to one common primeval fact; but, if so, the 'stones' must have formed a feature in it quite as much as the 'birds';

(ii) The legends of the new World may have been derived from those of the Old; but, if so, the American Indians must have had connection with the old mythology of *Greece*, which contains the 'stones,' as well as of *India*, which has the 'dove';

(iii) The legend in each case has arisen from the same cause, *viz.* the inventive faculty of man, as he observed the circumstances with which he was surrounded, and pondered upon them.

332. We have just read that the inhabitants of Raiatea produce, as a proof that a Flood of waters must have covered their country in former days,—

the corals and mussels, which are found on the highest summits of the island.

Probably, we have here the real solution of the question before us. The Raiateans were right in believing that the existence of the remains of these shellfish upon their hills was a certain indication that the sea had once covered their land. But they attributed to some remote era in the history of their own people, what, as we now know, from the teachings of Geology, may have happened vast ages—perhaps, even millions of years—before man lived upon the face of the earth. It seems probable that, in all these different nations, the discoveries, which were made from time to time of these remains of marine creatures,

far away from the sea, and far above the sea-level, must have led to speculations upon the cause of these phenomena. And what account could be given of them, but that they were the result of some tremendous Flood, which covered the whole earth, and left these signs of its terrible violence upon the high mountain-tops, which were buried beneath the waters? In such a Flood all living things must have perished, except such as might have been saved by some kind of floating vessel.

333. Thus the legend in each case would gradually shape itself, according to the special peculiarities of the people or country in which it originated: just as the discovery of huge bones of extinct animals, and the sight of the vast remains of ancient buildings, seem (264) to have given rise in different countries to the legends about a race of primeval giants. It is quite possible also that, in certain cases, some actual fact, handed down by tradition from former days, may have helped to give a substantial basis to the legendary story. The Hebrew narrative, for instance, may have had a real historical foundation in some great Flood, which overwhelmed a considerable tract of country in the neighbourhood of Ararat, just as it is possible that, since the existence of man upon earth, the country of Lyonness, between the Land's End and Scilly Isles, has been actually submerged, as the Welsh legend teaches.

334. Thus the Scripture story of the Deluge may rest upon a reminiscence of some tremendous inundation of the ancient fatherland of the Hebrew tribes,—possibly, as Baron BUNSEN supposes, resulting from geological changes, connected with the formation of the present Caspian Sea, mixed up with recollections of some more recent catastrophe in the lower plains of Mesopotamia, which are not unfrequently flooded by the Tigris and Euphrates, the latter of which rivers has its source in the Armenian mountains, and is swelled prodigiously, at times, by the melting of the snows. It is noticeable that these inundations take place in the *Spring*; when Noah's Flood also was at its

height, which began with the autumnal rains in the middle of the *second* month (October), G.vii.11, and was at its height, at the end of 150 days, in the middle of the *seventh* month (*March*), G.viii.4.

335. We have the following account of such a Flood in the plains of Bagdad in the month of *April*.

A remarkable Flood occurred in April 1839, in Mesopotamia, when the Tigris and Euphrates were both out at the same time, and the greatest exertions were required on the part of the inhabitants of Bagdad, to prevent their city from being swept away by the inundation. . . On April 21, Dr. BELL wrote to a relative that the water was high upon the ramparts of Bagdad, and six feet above the level of the city. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen, from the highest tower of the Mosques, but a great waste of waters, studded here and there with a few date groves, which appeared like little islands; all cultivation in corn and garden-produce was completely destroyed. Thousands of square miles of country were at that time inundated, and numerous encampments of Arabs were drowned in the localities, where they had been accustomed to dig wells for a scanty supply of brackish water. So extensive, indeed, was the inundation, that the Euphrates steamer, under the command of Capt. LYNCH, made long excursions across the newly-formed Flood. Nearly a third of Mesopotamia was under water.' HEYWOOD'S von BOHLEN, ii.p.178.

Dr. BELL further mentions the fact, that the ferry-boats in use on the Tigris at the present day are still 'covered with bitumen'; *comp.* G.vi.14,—

'Thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.'

CHAPTER XXII.

GEN. IX. 1–IX. 29.

336. G. ix. 3.

'Every creeping-thing that liveth, to you it shall be for food; as the green herb, I give to you all.'

DELITZCH notes here, *p.*271 : —

Not as though men had not yet enjoyed the use of any animal food, but now first it is allowed to them; since, now that the fruitfulness of the ground and the nourishing power of its products have been diminished by virtue of the divine curse, iii. 17, v. 29, man required a more extensive and more strengthening nutriment.

But it rather seems that, whatever may have been the case (234) with the Jehovist, the Elohist did *not* suppose that, before the Flood, animal-food was used, as he makes no provision of such food for Noah and his family during the twelve months in the Ark. And yet, of course, as already noted (213), even in the eating of *vegetables* by men, or *grasses* and *leaves* by animals,—nay, even in the drinking of water,—there must have been abundant destruction of animal life, as common observation, and, at all events, the microscope, teaches. And great numbers of fish live by suction, and cause thus infinite destruction of animal life.

As regards the curse, it may be observed that the Jehovist seems rather to regard the Flood as having produced an *alleviation* of toil, v. 29, viii. 21.

337. WILLET writes on this point, *Hexapl. in Gen. p.*105 :—

The sounder opinion is, that not only the eating of flesh was permitted before the Flood, but used not only among the profane race, but with the faithful,—though with greater moderation. Our reasons are these:—

(i) Because there is made no new grant, neither in this, nor in the rest, as of multiplying, but only the ancient privileges, granted to man, are confirmed;

(ii) The distinction of clean and unclean beasts was known to the faithful before the Flood, G.vii.2, and *they* are counted *clean* beasts, which it was lawful for them to eat, and they unclean, whereof they might not eat, L.xi.1–8;

(iii) It is evident by the oblation of Abel, who offered the first fruit of his sheep, and the fat of them, iv.4: but it had been no praise to Abel to offer the fatlings, if he used not to eat of them; it had been all one to God, whether to offer lean or fat; but herein Abel is commended, because he preferred the service of God before his own private use;

(iv) In that express mention is here first made of eating of flesh, it is not, as one well resolveth, *quantum ad usum*, 'in respect of the use,' but *quantum ad necessitatem*, 'in regard of the necessity.' The food of flesh began now to be more necessary, because the plants and herbs had lost now—[rather, had lost at the Fall, iii.18]—the first natural vigour and strength.

338. It is plain, however, that the Elohist *does* here imply a new grant of the use of animal food, since in *v.*3, he expressly contrasts the present grant with the former, i.29,—

'every creeping-thing that liveth, to you it shall be for food; as the green herb, I give to you all,'—

and besides lays so much stress in *v.*4 on their not eating blood,—about which something would have been said before, if they had been supposed to be permitted the use of animal food. But it will be seen that WILLET's reasons (ii), (iii), (iv), are all caused by statements occurring in *Jehovistic* passages.

339. G.ix.4.

'Only flesh, with its soul, its blood, ye shall not eat.'

This may either be a recognition by the Elohist, in the form of an express law, of a custom already existing in his time, of abstaining from the use of blood as food, or it may have been introduced with the view of checking and extirpating among the Hebrews the practice of eating raw meat, which, as KALISCH observes, is still customary among some tribes of Syria, as it is to a certain extent among the Zulus, but especially among the modern Abyssinians, who are said to eat raw steaks cut from the living animal.

ARISTOTLE, *de Anim.* i.2, considered the blood as the seat of the soul, whilst

[according to PLUT. *Plac. Phil.* iv.5,] EMPEDOCLES limited it to the blood of the heart (*αἷμα περικάρδιον*). VIRGIL speaks of an effusion of the 'purple soul,' *purpuream vomit ille animam*, Æn. ix.349. It was the doctrine of CRITIAS, that blood is the soul, and of PYTHAGORAS, that the soul is nourished by the blood. KALISCH, *p.*218.

340. G.ix.13.

'My bow do I set in the cloud.'

The writer evidently intends to account in this way for the *first* appearance of the rainbow. This is the plain meaning of the language here used, which must be twisted to imply that, though the rainbow had often been *seen* before,—as it must have been, if there was rain and sunshine together before the Deluge,—it was then first, after the Deluge, made the sign of peace between God and man. The writer supposes it was then first set in the clouds after the Deluge.

341. DELITZCH notes, as follows, *p.*276:—

It is plain that, in the writer's meaning, the rainbow now appears for the first time, although—and this requires to be especially noticed—only *that* rainbow, which is visible far off in the clouds of heaven, after they have discharged their burden of water. For the same phenomenon of refraction is also to be observed at a waterfall, and it shows itself at times in a dew-dropping mist. But first after the deluge, with the entrance of the (so-called) rainbow, entered also the natural conditions, which made possible the appearance of the rainbow, as a cloud-bow bending itself high and far away over the earth. The production of the rainbow through a cooperation according to natural laws, of air, and water, and light, is no proof against its here described origin and object.

The Hindoos see in it Indra's weapon, [with which he discharged his arrows of lightning against the Asuras, the assailants of heaven, and] which he placed by his side, [as a sign of peace for men,] after his fight was ended. The Greeks named it Iris, [the daughter of Thaumas (*wonder*) by Electra (*brightness*), the daughter of *Oceanus*, HES. *Theog.* 265,] 'the messenger between gods and men,' [or they deemed it the path by which Iris herself descended]. Among the Germans, it is the great bridge made by the gods, connecting Heaven and Earth. . . The Samoides call it the border on the mantle of Num, *i.e.* the Deity. According to still existing German folk-lore, golden coins drop from it, and, in the spot where it rises, there lies a golden key, or one finds hidden treasures. These and similar views, existing also outside of Israel, show that the knowledge of the origin and signification of the rainbow had travelled out of the house of Noah into the world of peoples, and had not yet quite died away, though overpowered and repressed by various, and, in part, contradictory imaginations.

342. Surely, we must believe that these and similar views are merely the results of human speculation upon the origin, and attempts to explain the meaning, of this remarkable phenomenon. The Hebrew, however, is the most intelligent and beautiful of all these imaginings; and *true*, as beautiful. For it *is* true that God has set His bow in the heavens, as a sign of His goodwill to us; but He has done this from the time when He first created the light and the rain,—not then first after the Flood. All things beautiful in heaven and earth are signs of His Loving-kindness,—of His special favour to a creature like man, who is gifted with power to behold this and other manifestations of the glory and beauty of the universe, and with power also to reflect upon and realise their meaning, as messages of peace, with which our Father's goodness cheers us. The very fact, that we have eyes to see the rainbow and rejoice in it, is a sign that we are children of God, that we share His favour, and are not an accursed race.

343. The Elohist, then, was right, when he viewed the rainbow as a pledge of God's continuing care for man; though he has limited and narrowed its meaning, by connecting it thus with the story of the Flood. To the eyes of all mankind, the appearance of the mild hues of the rainbow *after* a storm is very soothing and refreshing. As DELITZCH says, *p.*277:—

> Shining out upon the dark ground, which was just before discharging itself with lightning flashes, it images forth the victory of the Divine Love over the dark fiery Wrath. Caused by the effect of the sun's rays upon the gloomy mass of cloud, it is a figure of the willingness of the Heavenly, to penetrate and work upon the Earthly. Outspanned between Heaven and Earth, it announces peace between God and Man. Overspanning the horizon, it shows the all-embracing universality of the covenant of grace.

344. These metaphors may be multiplied to any extent, and they have their proper use, as imaginative expressions, setting forth broken images of the great eternal truth before our eyes. But we must not forget that a rainbow may herald a tremendous *coming* storm, as well as illumine the dark cloud that has passed.

And, indeed, HOMER speaks of it as a 'sign' (*τέρας*),* portending either war or winter-storms, *Il.*xi.27–28, xvii.547–48; and the Chinese also regard it as the prognosticator of calamity.

345. We may fall back with a sure, quiet, trust on the firmer ground of the comprehensive fact just mentioned, that He, who has made the rainbow and other things so grand and beautiful, and has given us eyes to see, and hearts to appreciate, the beauty and glory of His works, has surely kind and gracious thoughts towards us. He would not mock a world lying under the power of the wicked one,—a race, of whom (as some suppose) the vast majority are doomed to endless woe,—with these bright exhibitions of His Goodness: for 'as His Majesty is, so is His Mercy.' Ecclus.ii.18.

346. G.ix.25.

'Cursed be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.'

The other descendants of Ham, according to G.x.6, *viz.* the *Ethiopians* (Cush), *Egyptians* (Mizraim), and *Moors* (Phut), are not included with Canaan under this sentence of servitude; nor are the Babylonians and Assyrians, the descendants of Cush, x.8–12, or the different offshoots of Mizraim, *v.*13,14, as the Philistines. Only Canaan is doomed to be a 'servant of servants to his brethren.' This Scripture, therefore, though so often appealed to for this purpose, gives not the least sanction to the notion, that the African races, generally—as 'sons of Ham'—are doomed to be slaves.

347. Some explain the fact of the Canaanites alone being selected for this condemnation, by supposing that Canaan, Ham's youngest son, was the first to detect his grandfather's condition, and reported it scoffingly to his father,—though the Bible says nothing of this. DELITZCH writes, *p.*281:—

> Ἶριδες . . . ἃς τε Κρονίων,
> Ἐν νέφεϊ στήριξε, τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.
> Rainbows, . . . which Kronos' son
> Set in the cloud, portent to speaking men.

Noah's curse lights on Ham, not in the case of all his descendants, but solely in that of Canaan, the youngest of them; the others receive neither blessing nor curse; and that, too, has its meaning in reference to the world's history. But is it, then, reconcilable with the righteousness of God, that for Ham's sin Canaan should be punished, and not in person merely, but in the entire body of his descendants? Noah looks through the innermost machinery of the actions of his sons: the development, proceeding from these acts as first beginnings, is spread out before his prophetic eyes. His curse attaches itself to the descendants of Canaan, in so far as the sin of their father became the type of their moral condition; and between them and their sin arises a chain of consequences, occasioned through their tribal extension and national unity.

348. Supposing, however, that the Jehovist wrote in a far later age than the days of Moses, *e.g.* in Solomon's age, it would be obvious that these words contain no *prediction*, but rather, —like the 'Song of Moses,'— convey, most probably, an actual description of the state of things when the writer lived. The history of Samuel, Saul, and David, exhibits several obstinate struggles with the tribes, whom the migrating Hebrews found in possession of the land of Canaan. And many more such struggles must have preceded those times. The story before us seeks to find a justification for the manner in which the Canaanites were subdued, and subjected, as we find they were, for instance, in Solomon's days, 1K.ix.20,21:—

'All the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able to exterminate, upon these did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-service unto this day.'

349. Hence is explained the significant repetition of the fact, that Ham was the 'father of Canaan,' *v.*18,22. The vicious practices of the Canaanites are accounted for by their being supposed to inherit the shameless character of their progenitor. The other great Hamite nations, as the Egyptians and Babylonians, would in that case, probably, not be included with Canaan in the sentence of servitude, for the reason that, at the time when these words were written, there was no likelihood of those mighty nations being ever so reduced.

350. G.ix.20.

'And Noah began to be a man of the ground, and he planted a vineyard.'

Von BOHLEN observes, ii.*p.*148:—

It is well known that the finest vines grow over the whole of the Caucasus, and frequently in a wild state,—so abundantly, indeed, that in some parts the trees throughout whole forests are covered with vines. ELPHINSTONE, *Kabul*, i.409. The Grecian mythology also transfers hither the scene of the legend of Dionysus (or Bacchus).

SCHRADER, *p.*156, *note*, objects to the translation, 'And Noah began (to be) a man of the ground, and he planted, &c.,' as not being in accordance with the idiom of the Hebrew language, which requires that 'to be' should be expressed in such a case in the original; and he translates, 'And Noah, the (man of the ground) husbandman, began to plant, &c.': but see 1S.iii.2, וְעֵינָיו הֵחֵלּוּ כֵהוֹת, *vĕhenayv hekhelu chehoth*, 'and his eyes began (*to be*) dim.'

351. G.ix.27.

'And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.'

This appears to be the true rendering of this verse, and not—as some translate the words—

and he shall dwell in tents of renown,'—

or, as others,—

'but He (Elohim) shall dwell (*Targ. Onk.* 'make His Shechinah to dwell) in the tents of Shem.'

The Hebrew, indeed, will allow of this latter rendering: *comp.*Job xi.14,xviii.15. But there is no instance in Scripture where Jehovah is said to 'dwell in the tents' of Israel; while the phrase here employed is used of one people living upon the ground of other people, in 1Ch.v.10:—

'They made war with the Hagarites, who fell by their hand, and they *dwelt in their tents.*'

352. If 'Elohim' be the subject of the verb, the meaning of the passage is obvious: 'Elohim will bless and prosper Japheth; but He will make His abode with His people Israel.' If 'Japheth' be the subject, it is not so easy to explain the allusion. *Targ. Jon.* has, 'his sons shall be proselyted and dwell in the

schools of Shem.' But were the sons of *Ham* to be excluded from this privilege? Manifestly not: since the children of an *Egyptian* in the third generation might 'enter into the congregation of Jehovah,' D.xxiii.8. Still less can the words be explained of the reception of the Japhethites into the Church, as Augustine* and Jerome† understand them: since surely the enjoyment of *this* blessing would not have been limited to two-thirds only of the great human family.

353. There *may be* here, as some suppose, a reference to an introduction of Japhethites, by colonisation or conquest, into the district which belonged properly, in the writer's view, to the sons of Shem. The words in this case are thought to imply that the descendants of Japheth should be so numerous, that there should be no longer room for them in their old locations, and they would overflow into those of Shem. But if so, our want of sufficient acquaintance with the details of Israelitish history makes it impossible to conjecture with any degree of confidence the circumstances referred to,—more especially, as we have not yet arrived at any definite conclusion as to the age, in which this Jehovistic passage was most probably written.

354. Possibly, bodies of people of Japhetic origin, among whom are reckoned in x.2,4, the Cimmerians (*Gomer*), Scythians (*Magog*), Medes (*Madai*), Thracians (*Tiras*), Greeks (*Javan*), including Hellas (*Elisha*), and Cyprus (*Kittim*),—some, perhaps, for trading purposes, others, it may be, forced on by the increase of population,—had settled in some parts of the land of Canaan itself, which was reckoned as belonging of right

* Aug. *c. Faustum*, xii.24: *in tentoriis Sem, id est, in Ecclesiis, quas filii Prophetarum Apostoli construxerunt*, in the tents of Shem, *i.e.* in the Churches, which the Apostles, the sons of the Prophets, have built.

† Jer. *Trad. Heb.*: *quod autem ait, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem, de nobis prophetatur, qui in eruditione et scientiæ Scripturarum, ejecto Israel, versamur*, in saying, 'and let him dwell in the tents of Shem,' he prophesies concerning us, who engage ourselves in the study and science of the Scriptures, now that Israel has been cast out.

to the Hebrew tribes, and had been allowed to do so without opposition. It is not unlikely that, on the northern boundaries of Palestine, there was always a pressure from without: and we read in Is.ix.1 of 'the land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, *Galilee of the Gentiles.*' In the times of Josiah, a formidable horde of Scythians overspread Media, and almost all Asia. They then marched towards Egypt, and were diverted by presents from the King Psammetichus. Upon this they returned into Palestine; some of them plundered the temple of Astarte at Ascalon; others settled at Bethshan, in the tribe of Manasseh, which from them was called Scythopolis.

355. Something of this kind may have happened in earlier days.

Or the reference may be to the fact that the Medes, *Japhethites*, lived in close contact with the Assyrians and Mesopotamians, *Shemites*, or to the founding of *Greek* settlements upon the coast of *Asia*.

Or, perhaps, the words may be meant to express nothing more than this, that there was no bar to the existence of friendly relations between the Hebrews and the people of Japhetic descent, whereas a very different feeling was entertained by the former towards the Canaanites.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEN.X.1–X.32.

356. G.x.

In this chapter we have a very interesting record of the extent of the Jehovist's geographical and ethnological knowledge;—though it gives plain signs, of course, of the limited knowledge of the times. As DELITZCH notes, *p.*289 :—

> We cannot avoid the admission, that the horizon of the author of this tabular list of nations was only as wide as the relations of his time allowed. Hence it is explained why *e.g.* he leaves the Chinese unmentioned, who are probably named in Is.xlix.12, 'and these from the land of Sinim,' [?] but who in the time of Joshua [? Solomon], in which we place the composition of the Table, were as yet unknown in Western Asia. They were not known either to the Egyptians, whose ethnographical knowledge, as the monuments indicate more and more clearly, was, in consequence of the conquering expeditions of the Pharaohs, surprisingly extensive, or to the Phœnicians, although their ships went westward, as far as Spain, and eastward, as far as India.

357. We find here entered many names of countries, cities, and peoples, of which the writer had, doubtless, heard some rumour,—and especially, if he wrote in Solomon's days, through the closer intercourse which in that age existed between the people of Israel and the Phœnicians, 1K.v.1–12,x.22, and also the Egyptians, 1K.iii.1,x.28,29. Many of them are named in Ez.xxvii, as having commerce with Tyre, *e.g.* Kittim, Elisha, Arvad, Elam, Lud, Phut, Aram, Togarmah, Dedan, Sheba, Raamah, &c., *comp.* especially, 'Javan, Tubal, Meshech,' named in the same order in G.x.2,Ez.xxvii.13.

358. But about some of these he may have known little more than the bare name, or stories current among the common people. We have an instance of such popular talk in *v.*9, in the case of Nimrod :—

'He was a mighty one in hunting before Jehovah': wherefore it is said, 'Even as Nimrod, the mighty one in hunting before Jehovah.'

KNOBEL observes, *Gen.p.*103, thatt his account of nations—confines itself to Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia, and in particular reaches eastward only so far as to the people lying next beyond the Tigris. It includes consequently about the same extent of district, as was covered by the commerce of the Phœnicians at the time of its composition; and we may assume that the ethnological knowledge expressed in it is in a great measure derived from the connection of the Hebrew with the Canaanite Phœnician people.

359. No tribes are so fully described as those of Canaan, *v.*15–19. TUCH writes, *p.*199:—

In the plainest manner the *national* interest of the writer betrays itself in reference to the Canaanites, who, contrary to the actual relations, are derived from Ham, in order to exclude them from having anything in common with the Shemites, especially the Hebrews, for which preparation is already made in ix.25. While recognising in all these indications the *Hebrew*, who allows his feeling of interest to influence his combinations, we have at the same time gained a measure for the whole Table, which, accordingly, together with much correct data, confirmed also from other quarters, delivers much, which rests upon special modes of explanation and private speculations; and we have through the Table itself no certain guarantee for any statements, where other ancient authorities leave us in the dark,—to say nothing of those, which are contradicted by them.

360. The nations of Eastern Asia are not mentioned at all, having probably been unknown, even by name, to the Jehovist, who, however, as already observed (249), appears to have had some vague notion of the existence of distant Eastern nations, not reckoned among the descendants of Seth. In a later age, when these nations became better known, attempts were made to connect them with Noah through Japheth, whom Arabic*

* Some Rabbinical writers also make Shem to be the *youngest* son of Noah, upon these grounds:

(i) The order of the genealogy in G.x is (i) Japheth, (ii) Ham, (iii) Shem,—[but this appears to be thus arranged, in order to bring the family of Shem into connection with the account of his descendant Abraham, in the following chapters;]

(ii) If Noah begat a son at the age of *five hundred*, v.32, and entered the Ark at the age of *six hundred*, vii.11, and yet Shem was only a hundred years old, two years after the Flood, xi.10, he must have been the *youngest* son, and Japhet the eldest.

[This discrepancy, no doubt, exists: but it is evident that in the lists of G.v,xi, the ancestors of Abraham are, in every other instance, the first-born sons of their respective fathers,—(the Elohist knowing nothing of Cain and Abel),—and it is not likely that the case of Shem would be exceptional.]

writers describe as the *eldest*, not — as he is in the Bible — the *youngest*, son of Noah. Thus KALISCH writes, *Gen.p.*236 :—

They relate that Noah gave him (Japheth) a mysterious stone, long preserved in the possession of the Mongolians, on which the holy name of God was written, and which furnished him with power to call down rain from the skies at his pleasure. They consider him as an inspired prophet, and as the ancestor of the Turks, and call him, therefore, Aboulturk; and they ascribe to him *seven* sons, by whom he became the sire of as many tribes or nations, the most celebrated of which are the Chinese, the Goths or Scythians, the Russians, and the Turcomans.

361. Many names of peoples and places are here set down as names of individuals, such as Tarshish, *v.*4, Sidon, *v.*15, Ophir and Havilah, *v.*29. So Mizraim, *v.*13,14, which is merely the dual name of the Double Egypt, Upper and Lower, begets six sons, each of whose names is a Plural Proper Name, and evidently represents a tribe or people, *e.g.* 'Casluhim, out of whom came Philistim,' the Philistines. Thus the Arabs derive the Persians from *Pharis*, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, and the Romans from *Rûm*, the son of Esau, the son of Isaac. (LENGKERKE, *Kenaan*, *p.*xviii.) But from the occurrence of the above Plural Names and Patronymics it is plain that the writer was aware of the real nature of the account which he was giving,— that he himself did not *mean* these names to be taken as the names of individual men, — at least, not in all cases, — but wished to be understood as writing a *chorographic* description of the world as then known.

362. KNOBEL writes on this point, *p.*106 :—

As the Greeks assumed the mythical persons of Pelasgus, Lelex, Hellen, Æolus, Dorus, Achæus, Ion, Tyrrhenus, Iber, Kaltus, Scythes, &c., as progenitors of the peoples of like name, so the Hebrews referred back the different nations to separate progenitors having the same names. This appears also from the signification and form of the names. They are partly designations of *countries*, [Cush, Phut, Havilah, Mizraim, &c.] which passed over from the countries to their inhabitants, and then are applied to the assumed progenitors,—partly *plural* names, [Kittim, Dodanim, Ludim, &c.], which do not suit the progenitors, as single individuals, — partly *patronymics*, [Jebusite, Amorite, Girgashite, &c.,] which apply to races, not to single persons. In the last two cases, it seems almost as if the author himself had not thought on separate individuals as progenitors. Leaving out of consideration

the derivation of the peoples, this list of nations is an historical document, for the nations brought forward in it are historical: their existence was the occasion of the author's composing his description, and his knowledge enabled him to do so. We need not be surprised at this, if we realise the relation of the Hebrews to the Phœnicians, and their comprehensive commerce.

And KALISCH adds, *Gen.p.*235: —

The Hindoos also connected all the nations, of which they had the least knowledge, with their own history. But they traced the other nations to illegitimate alliances with the different castes, and regarded them all as impure rebels.

363. The word כְּנַעַן, *Kĕnahan*, 'Canaan,' *v.*15, means 'low,' *i.e. Lowlands*, in opposition to אֲרָם, *Aram*, 'high,' the *Highlands* of Syria. Mr. GROVE describes the district of Aram, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, i.*p.*98, as—

the great mass of that high table-land, which, rising with sudden abruptness from the Jordan and the very margin of the Lake of Gennesareth, stretches at an elevation of no less than 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, to the banks of the Euphrates itself, contrasting strongly with the low land bordering on the Mediterranean, the 'land of Canaan,' or the 'low country.'

And he writes of Canaan, *Ibid.* i.246: —

High as the level of much of the country west of the Jordan undoubtedly is, there are several things which must always have prevented, as they still prevent, it from leaving an impression of elevation. These are—

(i) That remarkable, wide, maritime plain, over which the eye ranges for miles from the central hills,—a feature of the country, which cannot be overlooked by the most casual observer, and which impresses itself most indelibly on the recollection;

(ii) The still deeper, and still more remarkable and impressive, hollow of the Jordan valley, a view into which may be commanded from almost any of the heights of central Palestine;

(iii) The almost constant presence of the line of the mountains east of the Jordan, —which from their distance have the effect more of an enormous cliff than of a mountain range,—looking down on the more broken and isolated hills of Canaan, and furnishing a constant standard of height, before which everything is dwarfed.

364. The above is, beyond a doubt, the true meaning of the word as expressing the country, though the Hebrew writer has introduced a *person*,—Canaan, the son of Ham,—and given him eleven sons, of whose names nine are tribal names, and one is the name of the ancient city, Sidon. The Canaanites were, in point of fact, the lowland tribes of that district, including the Phœnicians, who lived upon the coast, and who both called

themselves Canaanites, and are so denominated in the Bible; thus we read —

Is.xxiii.11, 'Jehovah hath commanded concerning Canaan [E.V. 'the merchant city' = Tyre] to destroy the strongholds thereof';

Zeph.ii.5, 'O Canaan, land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant.'

365. GESENIUS says of the name Canaan, *Heb. Gram. p.*8, *note* 1 —

It is the native name both of the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine, and of those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon, and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they are called כְּנַעַן, *Kĕnahan*, 'Canaan,' on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage gave themselves the same name.

The Hebrew tribes were originally Syrians, *i.e.* Aramæans or *Highlanders*, and probably, as we shall presently see, they were in reality kindred tribes with, and spoke the same language as, the Canaanites or *Lowlanders*, whence the Hebrew language is called in Is.xix.18, 'the (lip) language of Canaan.'

366. In all probability, the nations in this chapter are, as KNOBEL says, *historical*, that is, they had a real existence in the view of the writer, and are not, as some have supposed, in many cases, a mere fiction of his own imagination. There is, however, one point, in respect of which there is an indication of artificiality in the list, *viz.* that there are exactly *seventy* national names given in this register, if we omit the passage about Nimrod,* *v.*8–12, which has some appearance of being a later interpolation, whether by the same or another writer,—(since five sons of Cush are given in *v.*7, and it is strange that the story should begin again, *v.*8, 'and Cush begat Nimrod,')—and which at all events is concerned with the acts of an individual person, and not with a tribe or people. This number 'seventy' may have

* So writes Mr. BEVAN, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, p.545: 'It does not seem to have formed part of the original genealogical statement, but to be an interpolation of a later date. It is the only instance in which personal characteristics are attributed to any of the names mentioned. The proverbial expression, which it embodies, bespeaks its traditional and fragmentary character; and there is nothing to connect the passage either with what precedes or with what follows it.'

reference to the 'seventy' souls of the House of Jacob, which came into Egypt, G.xlvi.27: *comp.* also D.xxxii.8,—

'When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the *number* of the children of Israel.'

367. But there are several discrepancies in this account, which show some uncertainty in the traditions, reports, or theories, on which the writer relies; and there are other points, on which it is at variance with the ethnological science of the present day.

Thus the names of Sheba and Havilah,—doubtless, the names of countries,—occur both among the sons of *Ham*, *v.*7, and the sons of *Shem*, *v.*28,29; and again Sheba occurs among the grandsons of Abraham, xxv.3. There may have been *two* branches of each of these two tribes, one settled on the E. coast of Africa, the other in Arabia; and the first in each case may have been reckoned by the writer with the sons of Ham, and the other with the Shemites. But then the two branches of each name must really have been related to each other; they must have been *both* Shemitic, or *both* Hamitic. And so DELITZCH notes, *p.*307:—

It is impossible for us to keep asunder the Cushite Sheba, x.7, the Joktanite Sheba, x.28, and the Abrahamite Sheba, xxv.3.

368. But if so, then *both* Sheba and Dedan, who are reckoned together as grandsons of the *Shemite*, Abraham, xxv.3, must be connected with the *Hamite* Sheba and Dedan of x.7.

Again, Tarshish* (*Tartessus* in Spain), and Kittim (*Cyprus*),

* The Chronicler writes, 2Ch.ix.21, 'For the king's ships *went to Tarshish* with the servants of Hiram: every three years came the *ships of Tarshish* bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks,' to king Solomon. Here he has evidently meant to copy the corresponding datum in 1 K.x.22:—'For the king had at sea a *navy of Tarshish* with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the *navy of Tarshish*, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.' But the writer in Kings speaks only of a 'navy of Tarshish,' *i.e.* a fleet of *merchant-vessels*, the phrase 'ship of Tarshish' having become proverbial for 'merchantman,' Ps.xlviii.7,Is.ii.16,xxiii.1,14,lx.9,Ez.xxvii.25, from the great traffic which the Phœnicians had with Tarshish (or Tartessus) in *Spain*. The Chronicler, however, has understood the expression *literally*, and therefore writes of Solomon's ships going *to* Tarshish.

So we find in 1K.xxii.48, 'Jehoshaphat made *ships of Tarshish* to go to Ophir

which are known to have been Phœnician settlements, are classed among the *Japhethites*, *v.*4, though Sidon or Phœnicia itself is placed among the *Hamites*, *v.*15.

The *Medes* also (Madai) are separated as Japhethites from the probably kindred tribes of Asshur and Elam, who are reckoned as Shemites,—perhaps, because the territory of the Medes was supposed to extend indefinitely towards the north.

369. Again, there exists a discrepancy between *v.*11, as it stands in the E.V., and the statement in *v.*22, that Asshur was of the family of Shem; for we read in *v.*11—

'Out of that land (the land of Nimrod, a *Hamite*) went forth Asshur (a *Shemite*), and built Nineveh,' &c.

KALISCH adopts, as we do, the marginal reading—

'Out of that land he (Nimrod) went out to Asshur, and built Nineveh,' &c.

And he remarks further as follows, *p.*254:—

It was a general conviction among the Israelites, that the tribes of Assyria were kindred with those of Aramæa, from which Abraham had sprung. They were, therefore, to be placed among the children of Shem. But the language of the later Assyrians and Babylonians was strange and unintelligible to the Hebrews. It was

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for gold: but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber.' But in 2 Ch.xx.36,37, we read, 'And he joined himself with him to make ships to *go to* Tarshish; and they made the ships at Ezion-geber. . . And the ships were broken, that they were not able to *go to* Tarshish.' That is to say, the earlier writer says, very correctly, that Solomon built *merchant ships* at Ezion-geber, *at the top of the Red Sea*, to go to *Ophir*, on the S.E. coast of *Arabia*: whereas the Chronicler says that Solomon made ships on the *Red Sea* to go to a port in *Spain*. Some commentators have attempted to 'reconcile' the difficulty by supposing Tarshish to be in Asia: but there is no real ground whatever for this: *comp.* Is.xxiii.6, Jon.i.3, from which it is plain that Tarshish was directly accessible from the coast of Palestine. Mr. TWISLETON writes, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. *p.*1440: 'The compiler of the Chronicles, misapprehending the expression 'ships of Tarshish,' supposed that they meant ships destined to go to Tarshish; whereas, although this was the original meaning, the words had come to signify large Phœnician ships of a particular size and description, destined for long voyages, just as in England 'East Indiaman' was a general name given to vessels, some of which were not intended to go to India at all. . . . This alternative is in itself by far the most probable, and ought not to occasion any surprise.'

to them a barbarian tongue, without sense or meaning—a stammering speech, discordant to their ears. Is.xxxiii.19.xxviii.11. Further, the history of the Israelites teaches that they had no more powerful or more deadly foes than the kings of Assyria and Babylon. They were in almost constant conflict with, and in perpetual dread of, those insatiable princes. They entertained, therefore, towards them feelings far from fraternal. They believed that this antipathy was explicable only on the supposition that the *original* inhabitants of the countries near the Euphrates and Tigris had, at an early period, been subdued or expelled by bold invaders from the south, descended from the hateful stem of the Hamites, who included all the national enemies of the Hebrews.

This explanation removes the discrepancy, but leaves the historical fact, as stated by the Scripture writer, to be this,—that Nimrod and his people, *Hamites*, shifted entirely their original locality, and settled down permanently, building their great cities, Babylon, Nineveh, &c.; close to the settlements of the *Shemites*, Elam, Asshur, and Aram.

370. In point of fact, it does seem probable that there is some historical ground for the association of the Chaldees with Ham, —at least, with the Egyptians. Egyptian settlements have been traced, along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, to the mouth of the Indus. Chaldee tradition speaks of an *Oannes*, a fish-man, who came up the Persian Gulf, and taught astronomy and letters to the settlers at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes apply the names Cush and Phut to races bordering on Chaldea; *comp.*Ez.xxvii.10, where *Persia*, Lud, and Phut are linked together. The Greeks connected the names Cepheus and Memnon, sometimes with countries in Africa, sometimes with countries on the Euphrates, and state that the Phœnicians emigrated from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Lastly, some skilful Egyptologers consider the Egyptian as the *first*, and the Chaldee as the *second*, stage, in the development of the Phœnician or Semitic tongue. See RAWLINSON'S *Herod.*i.643–7, iii.241,248, BUNSEN'S *Egypten* (conclusion).

371. The town רְחֹבֹת עִיר, *Rĕkhoboth Hi'r*, lit. 'streets, city,' E.V. 'city of Rehoboth,' *v.*11, if the same as רְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר, *Rĕkhoboth*

han-Nahar, lit. 'streets of the River,' E.V. 'Rehoboth by the River (*i.e.* Euphrates),' may perhaps find its modern parallel in the town Aneh, described as consisting of two long streets, one on each side of the Euphrates, DELLA VALLE, i.187.

It has also been suggested that the clause at the end of *v.*12, 'that is the great city,' may refer to Nineveh in *v.*11, and that the four places, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen, formed a kind of Tetrapolis, which was collectively called Nineveh, 'the great city,' and may now be represented by the four mounds, Nebi Yunus, and Kuyundjik, near Mosul,—Nimrud, eight hours from Mosul,—and Khorsabad, five hours to the north. See DELITZCH, *p.*303.

It is usual to understand the phrase in *v.*12, 'that is the great city,' as referring to Resen just before named. But, if Resen was the *chief* city of those parts, it seems strange that it should be described as 'lying between Nineveh and Calah.'

372. On these verses KALISCH writes, *Gen.p.* 255:—

The whole import of this interesting passage has been perverted and contorted. The 'hero' Nimrod has been, [through a false interpretation of his name, as from מָרַד, *marad*, 'rebel,'] transformed not only into a giant, a tyrant, and a ravager, but into a rebel against the authority of God, into a proclaimer of wicked principles, teaching the docile people that they owe all their happiness to their own virtue and exertion, and not to the power and goodness of God,—that the Divine rule was an intolerable tyranny, which had inflicted a general flood, but which they could for the future escape by gathering around one great centre, the tower of Babel. He was regarded as a hunter of men, as well as of wild-beasts; his very name is believed to imply impious revolt; he has been identified with the fearful monster 'Orion,' [called כְּסִיל, *Kĕsil*, 'fool' or 'knave,' Job.xxxviii.31,] chained in the expanse of heaven with indestructible fetters, to warn and to terrify; he was, among the later Arabic writers, the subject of incredible fables, which (it is asserted) are hinted at in these verses. And all this because Nimrod is here called a 'hero' and a 'mighty huntsman'!

373. G.x.21.

'Shem . . . the father of all the sons of Eber.'

By 'sons of Eber (עֵבֶר *Hever*)' are evidently meant 'Hebrews (עִבְרִים, *Hivrim*)'; in other words, the writer here deduces from the name of an imaginary personal ancestor, as a patronymic, the appellative name, 'Hebrew,' which is most probably

derived from עֵבֶר, *hever*, 'across, beyond, on the other side of,' and was applied by the Canaanites to the people of Israel, as men who had 'crossed over,' *i.e.* had come originally from beyond the Euphrates. Hence the LXX express the word 'Hebrew' by περάτης; and exactly in the same way the natives of Natal speak of the thousands of fugitive Zulus, who have 'crossed-over' the boundary River Tugela into the British colony, for protection from their tyrannical kings, as *abawelayo*, it. 'crossed-over.'

374. Hence 'Eber' in this passage is not really the name of a man, but, as Mr. BEVAN says, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, iii.*p.* 1545,—

> represents geographically the district *across* (*i.e.* eastward of) the Euphrates. . . the country, which had been the cradle of their race, and from which they had emigrated westward into Palestine. *Ibid.*i.p.770.

The name 'Hebrew' is first used of Abraham, G.xiv.13, and is applied to his descendants, either in the mouth of foreigners, G.xxxix.14,17, xli.12, E.i.16, ii.6,7, 1S.iv.6,9, xiii.19, xiv.11, xxix.3, or when they are contrasted with foreigners, G.xl.15, xliii.32, E.i.15,19, ii.11,13, xxi.2, D.xv.12, 1S.xiii.3,7.

375. In *v.*22 there are numbered among the children of Shem the people of Elam (*Susiana*), Asshur (*Assyria*), and Aram (*Mesopotamia*); yet it is considered certain that the language of Elam, and very probable that the Assyrian tongue, has no affinities with the Shemitic family of languages. BLEEK writes on this point, *Einl.p.*39 :—

> In G.x.22 the sons of Shem are named Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Of these Arphaxad is made the grandfather of Eber, and Eber the father of Peleg and Joktan. From the latter of these two, many Arabic tribes are derived in the following verses. The former is made the great-great-grandfather of Terah, the father of Abraham; so that Arphaxad may be regarded as the ancestor of the Hebrews and other peoples of cognate language. To the same family of languages would Aram belong, as ancestor of the Aramæan tribes. But then Elam * certainly does not belong to it, but to the same as the Persians; probably also not Asshur,

* Archd. ORMEROD in SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, iii.1253, note, states, on the authority of Prof. MAX MÜLLER, that the name 'Elam,' is 'simply the pronunciation according to the organs of W. Asia of Iran = Airyama = Airjana.'

nor Lud, supposing with Josephus that this last represents the Lydians. However, it is not certain what language the Lydians had, and the question is still in dispute with regard to the Assyrians.

On the other hand, in x.15-19 the Canaanites and Phœnicians, and in *v.*6,7, Cush (the Ethiopians), and several Arabian peoples, are referred back to Ham, with respect to whom, however, it is certain that, according to their language, they belonged to the same root as the Hebrews and Aramæans. [See (370) for the possible origin of this apparent confusion.]

376. The Jehovist in this chapter has deduced the inhabitants of the countries with which he was best acquainted, whether through extended intercourse with Egypt, Phœnicia, and the East, or through other means, from the three sons of Noah,—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. In Hebrew, the name Ham, חָם, *kham*, would be derivable from the word חָמַם, *khamam*, 'be hot'; but its real origin appears to be the native designation for Egypt, *khemi*, 'the black country,'—PLUTARCH, χημία, (whence 'chemistry,' 'alchemy,')—which it received from the colour of its soil.

377. KALISCH observes on this point, *Gen.p.*247 :—

Ham (*Kham*) is the ancestor of all the southern nations of the globe. It is, therefore, natural that the name should be connected with the Hebrew root, חָמַם, *khamam*, 'to be warm,' and that the Hamites should be regarded as the inhabitants of the tropic zones. It is, however, certain, that the name Ham is not of Hebrew, but of Egyptian, origin. It was a very early name for Egypt, which was still in use in the time of JEROME. It occurs on the inscription of Rosetta under the form *chmé*; and it signifies 'the black country,' for the soil of Egypt is generally of that colour.

SHARPE writes, *Egyptian Mythology, p.*4 :—

Another great god [of the Egyptians] was their narrow valley, the country in which they lived, clearly divided from the yellow desert by the black Nile-mud, by which it was covered and made fertile, and hence called *chemi*, the *black* land, or, when made into a person, Chem or Ham.

PLUTARCH, *Is. et Osir.*xxxii, says that 'Ham' was the domestic name of Egypt. Hence we read of 'the tabernacles of Ham,' Ps.lxxviii.51, 'the land of Ham,' Ps.cv.23,27,cvi.22.

378. The name Japheth, יֶפֶת, *yepheth*, is supposed by some to be derived from יָפָה, *yaphah*, 'be fair, beautiful,' and to have

reference to the light colour of the European nations: while שֵׁם, *Shem*, means 'a name, renown,' vi.4,xi.4, and may imply the favour, with which the Hebrew branch of the Shemites was distinguished by Jehovah, or, more generally, the grandeur and fame, which, in the earliest historical times, was attached to the nations of Western Asia: *comp.* in modern Europe, 'la grande nation.' The Jehovist, however, in ix.27, connects the name Japheth with פָּתָה, *pathah*, 'enlarge,' though he does not profess to *derive* it from this word; and we have seen other instances already, where he has evidently referred a name to what is not its true root. Some, as BUTTMANN, connect it with the Greek *Iapetos*. The Targ. Jer. upon G.ii.7, says that God created man 'red, black, and white,'—showing that the idea of a triple partition of mankind, according to colour, was current among the Jews.

379. It is probable, however, that the *negro* races of Africa are not represented at all in the ethnographical table of G.x—possibly, not being yet known to the Hebrews at the time when this document was written. NOTT writes, *Types of Mankind*, *p.*84:—

Ethnology was no new science even before the time of Moses. It is clear and positive that at that early day (fourteen or fifteen centuries B.C.), the Egyptians not only recognised, and faithfully represented on their monuments, many distinct races, but possessed their own ethnographic systems, and already had classified humanity, as known to them, accordingly. They divided mankind into four species, *viz.* the *Red*, *Black*, *White*, and *Yellow* . . . Although the Red, or Egyptian, type was represented with considerable uniformity, the White, Yellow, and Black, are often depicted, in their hieroglyphic drawings, with different physiognomies,—thus proving that the same endless variety of races existed at that ancient day, that we observe in the same localities at the present hour.

The Egyptians, Canaanites, Nubians, Tartars, Negroes, Arabs, and other types are as faithfully delineated on the monuments of the xviith and xviiith Dynasties, [from 1671 B.C. downwards,] as if the paintings had been executed by an artist of your present age. *p.*88.

380. Those, who receive the Jehovist's account as a sufficient explanation of the origin of the different nations of antiquity, must be prepared to explain how such remarkable *permanent*

differences in the shape of the skull, bodily form, colour, physiognomy, as are exhibited on the most ancient Egyptian monuments, — where we see depicted the Mongol with his distinctive features, shaven except the scalp-lock on the crown, or else with long hair and thin moustache, and the Negro, black, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, woolly-haired, just exactly as now, the children even with the little tufts of woolly hair erect upon their heads, (see *Types of Mankind, p.* 252, *fig.* 173,) with corresponding peculiarities in other cases,— could have developed themselves so distinctly in the course of a few centuries, though no perceptible change has taken place in the negro face for 4,000 years to the present time. Nay, according to the Biblical accounts, the period allowed for the development of the physiological and linguistic differences in the races of men commences, not with Adam or even Noah, but with *Peleg,* in whose days mankind was dispersed, G.x.25; and Peleg was born (435) only 191 years before the birth of Abraham.

381. On this point writes Dr. PYE SMITH, *Geology and Scripture, p.*353:—

We have no instance of a white family or community acquiring the proper *negro* colour, nor of a negro family losing its peculiarity, and becoming of a proper, healthy, North-European white, where there are not intermarriages with fair persons, long continued in the favourable direction. This, I believe, must be admitted; and another fact of great importance must be added to it. The recent explorings of the Egyptian tombs and temples have brought to light pictures of native Egyptians' and of men and women of other nations, comprising *negroes,* who are distinguished by their characteristic form of face and their *completely black* colour. Some of these highly interesting representations are proved to be of the age of Joseph and earlier, and some, in which negro figures occur, are of the eighth century after the flood. Assuming, then, that the complexion of Noah's family was what I ventured to suppose as the normal brown, *there was not time for a negro race to be produced* by the operation of all the causes of change with which we are acquainted.

382. And so writes NOTT, *Types of Mankind, p.*58:—

We are told of the transmission from parent to child of club feet, cross eyes, six fingers, deafness, blindness, and many other familiar examples of congenital peculiarities. But these examples merely serve to *disprove* the argument they are

intended to sustain. Did anyone ever hear of a club-footed, cross-eyed, or six-fingered *race*, although such individuals are exceedingly common? Are they not, on the contrary, always swallowed up and lost? Is it not strange, if there be any truth in this argument, that no race has ever been formed from those congenital varieties which we *know* to occur frequently, and yet races should originate from congenital varieties, which cannot be proved, and are not believed, by our best writers, ever to have existed? No one ever saw a Negro, Mongol, or Indian, born from any but his own species. Has anyone heard of an Indian child born from white or black parents in America, during more than two centuries that these races have been living there? Is not this brief and simple statement of the case sufficient to satisfy anyone, that the diversity of species now seen on the earth, cannot be accounted for on this assumption of congenital or accidental origin? If a doubt remains, would it not be expelled by the recollection, that the Negro, Tartar, and Whiteman, existed, with their present types, at least one thousand years before Abraham journeyed to Egypt, as a supplicant to the mighty Pharaoh?

383. It is impossible to assign with any degree of confidence the situation of many of the places or peoples here named. Some of them, of course, are well-known from the later history, while others have been identified with considerable probability from a comparison of their *names*, and of the order in which they are here enumerated, with descriptions which occur elsewhere in sacred or profane authors. Thus JAPHETH represents the nations of the *north* and *west* (in Europe and W. Asia), HAM, those of the *south* (in Africa and W. Asia), SHEM those of the central parts of W. Asia,—comprising, probably, all those of which the writer had had some definite information, though it is not impossible that some may have been omitted or inserted, to make up the important number *seventy*. The Japhethites, being probably least known, are given only to *two* generations, the Hamites to *three*, the Shemites to *four* or *five*.

384. Among these may be noticed—

GOMER = κιμμέριοι (?); *comp. Cimbri, Cymry*, and his descendants—

Ashkenaz = the Germans (?);

Riphath = the Kelts (?), whom tradition connects with the *Rhipæan* or Car*path*ian mountains;

Togarmah = *Krim*-Tartars (?), or Armenia;

MAGOG = Scythians; Gog = *Khogh* (Indo-Germ.), 'mountain,' found in καύκ-ασος, *Cauc-asus*, 'mountain of the *Asi*,' from whom Asia is named;

MADAI = Medes;

JAVAN = Ionians, on the coasts of W. Asia, from whom are derived—(contrary to the Greek tradition, which makes Ion the descendant of Hellen)—

Elishah = Hellas or (?) Æolians;

Tarshish = Tartessus, in Spain;

Kittim = Cyprus;

Dodanim = Rhodes, *if* the reading of the *Sam. Vers.*, *Rodanim*, (as in 1 Ch. i. 7) is correct.

Tubal, *Meshech*, and *Tiras* (? Thrace) are very uncertain. Among the descendants of Ham and Shem are—

Lehabim = the Lybians;

Caphtorim = Cretans;

Arvadite = people of Aradus, an isle on the Phœnician coast;

Arphaxad = Arrapachitis, a district in Northern Assyria;

Hazarmaveth = Hadramaut.

For a complete discussion of all the seventy names, reference may be made to KALISCH, *Gen. p.* 231–287, KNOBEL, *Gen. p.* 103–124, TUCH, *p.* 185–266, von BOHLEN, ii. *p.* 210–254, GLIDDON, *Types of Mankind*, *p.* 466–556.

CHAPTER XXIV.

IDENTITY OF LANGUAGE OF THE HEBREWS AND CANAANITES.

385. We proceed now to the consideration of the *language* spoken by the Hebrew tribes. According to the traditionary view, Hebrew must have been the language of Paradise, since all the conversations are recorded in that tongue,—the words of Jehovah-Elohim, those of Adam and Eve, and of the serpent, and, especially, the two names given by the man to his wife, ii.23, iii.20, names given with express reference to their meaning in Hebrew. So, too, after the expulsion from Paradise, the names are pure Hebrew: and Noah is made to play upon the name of Japheth, ix.27, with reference to a Hebrew root of like sound.

Accordingly, there are some who have maintained that Hebrew was actually spoken in Paradise, and by all the inhabitants of the world before and after the Flood, without suffering any material modification, for 2,000 years (!), so that they remained still a people of 'one lip,' until, at the 'confusion of tongues,' the one primeval language was shattered into a variety of different languages, or, rather, a multitude of different languages were separated at that time from the parent Hebrew tongue,—which, however, was still maintained in its purity among the descendants of Peleg,—'in whose days the earth was divided,' x.25,—in the line of the eldest son till the time of Abraham. Delitzch, as we have seen (174), cannot conscientiously maintain this view, but believes that the transactions in Paradise were carried on in a different language, so that only

broken reminiscences of what then took place have been handed down to us by tradition.

386. But, however this may have been, we must suppose, it would seem, that Abraham, while living at Haran, xi.31,32, xii.4,5, in his 'father's house,'—which is elsewhere described as the 'city of Nahor, in Mesopotamia,' xxiv.10, *comp.* xxvii.43,—spoke the language of the country, the Aramaic. We are told, however, that when Laban, the grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother, gave an *Aramaic* name to the stone set up by himself and Jacob, xxxi.47, Jacob gave to the same stone a *Hebrew* name of like signification. From this, regarded as an historical matter of fact, we should infer that Jacob spoke Hebrew, as his mother-tongue, *before* he left his father Isaac's house, and that he retained his command of that language during the twenty years of his residence in Haran, (where, of course, Aramæan was spoken,) and adopted it again on his return to the land of Canaan.

387. But this would show also that Abraham's family, while living in the land of Canaan, had already *changed* their language from Aramæan to Hebrew; and it is natural to suppose that they did this, by adopting the tongue of the people among whom they dwelt. But, since the Hebrew and Aramaic are merely different forms of the same Semitic family of languages, this would imply that the Canaanites spoke the same tongue fundamentally as the Hebrews themselves, *before*, as well as *after*, the migration of Abraham,—in other words, that the Hebrew tribes were originally *kindred* tribes to those of Canaan, and were not, as they are represented in G.x, the sons of Shem, while the Canaanites were the children of Ham.

388. By those, who maintain Hebrew to be the original tongue of Paradise, or the nearest representative of the original tongue, it will be assumed that it was continued in its purity in the line of Abraham, while Aramaic was a deflection from it,—a dialectic variation. Admitting this, the difficulty will remain the same as before, to account for the fact of the *Canaanites* and

Phœnicians speaking Hebrew, or, at least, a language substantially the same as the Hebrew, *if* they were, indeed, descendants of Ham.

389. That they did this, is clearly implied in the narrative, where the Hebrews are represented as having had no difficulty at any time in communicating freely, by word of mouth, with the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan. In *Egypt* we find Joseph's brethren speaking with their brother, supposed to be an *Egyptian*, by means of an *interpreter*, xlii.23. The Hamite language of Egypt, then, was very different—as, of course, we know it was—from the Hebrew. But we find Abram conversing freely with the Canaanite King of Sodom, and with Melchizedek, the Jebusite King of Salem, xiv.19-24,—(who, however, has been supposed by some to have been no other than the Patriarch Shem, and who, in that case, of course, would speak Hebrew, if that was the original tongue,)—as also Lot with the people of Sodom, xix.5-9, Abraham and Isaac with the Philistine King of Gerar, xx.9-15,xxi.22-32,xxvi.7-10,26-29, Abraham with the *Hittites*, xxiii.3-16, Jacob, with the Hivites, xxxiv.8-12.

390. It may be suggested that these three Patriarchs had, perhaps, lived so long among the Canaanites, as to have acquired the power of speaking their tongue, supposed to be *Hamitic*, without having lost their own Aramæan, or that form of it, the Hebrew, into which it had become modified *among the members of their families*, who were originally, for the most part, also Aramæans. But then we find also the harlot Rahab in Jo.ii talking freely with the Hebrew spies, and the Hivites of Gibeon with Joshua, Jo.ix.6-13, and the man of Luz with the spies in Ju.i.24: so that these different natives of Canaan are represented as speaking a language substantially the same as that of the Hebrews.

391. Again, the names of the Philistine King, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, Abimelech, G.xx.2, and of the Jebusite Kings, מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, Melchizedek, and אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק, Adonizedek, G.xiv.18, Jo.x.1, are pure Hebrew,—

meaning, respectively, 'father of the king,' 'king of righteousness,' 'lord of righteousness', the last two being, in fact, identical. So the names of many of the Canaanite cities in Joshua, —*e.g.* 'Kirjath-sepher = city of the book,' Jo.xv.15, and see those in Jo.xv.21–62,—are pure Hebrew. Nay, in Isaiah's time, the Jews,—speaking *Hebrew*, of course, since their Prophets addressed them in that tongue,—did not generally understand the *Syrian* or Aramæan tongue, 2K.xviii.26, Is.xxxvi.11. Hence it is impossible to suppose that the Hebrew was merely such a slight modification of the Aramæan, as might have sprung up among the members of one particular family. And, in fact, we know that the two languages, though closely allied, are very different in form, and quite as distinct from each other, as Dutch from German, or Spanish from Portuguese; though, says Mr. TWISLETON, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, ii.*p*.863,—

It seems to be admitted by philologers that neither Hebrew, Aramaic, nor Arabic, is derived the one from the other, just as the same may be said of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

392. Mr. TWISLETON writes further on this point, *ibid.*:—

As this obviously leads to the conclusion that the Hebrews *adopted* Phœnician as their own language, or, in other words, that what is called the Hebrew language was, in fact, 'the language of Canaan,' as a prophet called it, Is.xix.18, and this not merely poetically, but literally, and in philological truth,—and, as this is repugnant to some preconceived notions respecting the peculiar people,—the question arises whether the Israelites might not have translated Canaanitish names into Hebrew. On this hypothesis, the names now existing in the Bible, for persons and places in the land of Canaan, would not be the original names, but merely the translations of those names. The answer to this question is:—

(i) That there is not the slightest direct mention, nor any indirect trace, in the Bible, of any such translation;

(ii) That it is contrary to the analogy of the ordinary Hebrew practice in other cases; as, for example, in reference to the names of the Assyrian monarchs, (perhaps of a foreign dynasty,) Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, Sennacherib, or of the Persian monarchs, Darius, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, which remain unintelligible in Hebrew, and can only be understood through other Oriental languages;

(iii) That there is an absolute silence in the Bible as to there having been any difference whatever in language between the Israelites and Canaanites, although in other cases, where a difference existed, that difference is somewhere alluded to, as in the case of the Egyptians, Ps.lxxxi.5,cxiv.1, [Gr.xlii.23,] the Assyrians,

Is.xxxvi.11, and the Chaldees, Jer.v.15. Yet in the case of the Canaanites there was stronger reason for alluding to it, and, without some allusion to it, if it had existed, the narration of the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua would have been singularly imperfect.

393. In short, there can be no doubt that the tribes of Canaan themselves spoke substantially the Hebrew language, which the descendants of Abraham adopted from them, and which is therefore called the 'language of Canaan,' Is.xix.18. And so writes BLEEK, *Einl. p.*61 :—

The geographical position also of Canaan, between the Aramaic and Arabian tribes, would lead one to assume beforehand that the Canaanites belonged to the same family of nations, and had a kindred speech, which, in respect of its character and dialectic peculiarities, would lie between the Aramaic and Arabian dialects, as in fact, the Hebrew does. That, however, the Canaanites—(that is, the people inhabiting the land before Abraham's arrival)—spoke one and the same tongue with the Israelites, or, at least, a tongue much more nearly related to the Hebrew than the Aramaic was, may be concluded from the fact, that, so numerous and intimate as were the relations of the Hebrews with these people, we find no indication whatever of any difference in their language, which either hindered them from mutually understanding one another, or made an interpreter necessary. Lastly, the Proper Names of Canaanitish persons and places are pure Hebrew, and expressed in Hebrew, not Aramaic, forms. It cannot be doubted, then, that the Canaanites spoke substantially the same language as the Hebrews. But it cannot be supposed that *they* adopted it from the solitary stranger, Abraham. Hence it is obvious that *he* must have adopted it from them, after settling in the country, having dropped gradually by disuse the Aramaic dialect, which he spoke in his father's house. This language must the Israelites have taken with them to Egypt, and brought back again into the land of Canaan.

394. But, besides the indications thus afforded, that the vernacular language of the Canaanites was substantially the same as the Scripture Hebrew, we have other positive proof in the case of the *Phœnicians*, who are spoken of as Canaanites in Obad. 20 :—

'And the Captivity of this host of the children of Israel shall possess that of *the Canaanites even unto Zarephath*,' *i.e.* 'Sarepta, a city of Sidon,' Luke iv.26.

So in Matt.xv.22 we read of the 'woman of Canaan,' who came 'out of the coasts of Tyre and Sidon'; and Sidon is named in G.x.15 as the first-born son of Canaan.

395. Accordingly, AUGUSTINE, speaking of the rural population of the Phœnician colony of Carthage, writes as follows, *Exp. Inchoat. ad Rom.*xiii:* —

* The whole passage is a wonderful instance of patristical reasoning. *Quo loco prorsus non arbitror prætereundum, quod pater Valerius animadvertit admirans, in quorundam rusticanorum collocutione. Cum enim alter alteri dixisset,* Salus *quæsivit ab eo, qui et Latinè nosset et Punicè, quid esset* Salus: *responsum est, Tria* (Heb. שָׁלוֹשׁ, *shalosh*). *Tum ille, agnoscens cum gaudio salutem nostram esse Trinitatem, convenientiam linguarum non fortuitu sic sonuisse arbitratus est, sed occultissimâ dispensatione divinæ providentiæ, ut, cùm Latinè nominatur* Salus, *a Punicis intelligantur* Tria, *et, cùm Punici linguâ suâ* Tria *nominant, Latinè intelligatur* Salus. *Chananæa enim—hoc est, Punica— mulier, de finibus Tyri et Sidonis egressa, salutem petebat filiæ suæ; cui responsum est a Domino, 'Non est bonum panem filiorum mittere canibus.' . . .* Tria *enim mulieris linguâ* Salus *vocantur; erat enim Chananæa.* (*Unde interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, Punicè respondentes, Chanani, corruptâ scilicet, sicut in talibus solet, unâ literâ, quid aliud respondent quam Chananæi?*) *Petens itaque salutem, Trinitatem petebat . . . Panem autem appellans Dominus id ipsum, quod a muliere petebatur, quid aliud quam Trinitati adtestatur? . . . Sed hæc verborum consonantia, sive provenerit, sive provisa sit, non pugnaciter agendum est, ut ei quisque consentiat, sed quantum interpretantis elegantiam hilaritas audientis admittit* (!)

In which place I think I must not by any means omit to mention what Father Valerius notices with admiration, in a conversation of certain rusties. For, when one had said to the other *Salus*, he enquired of him, who knew both Latin and Punic, what *Salus* meant: the answer was, *Three*. Then he, recognising joyfully that our *salus* (i.e. 'health or salvation') was the *Trinity*, considered that the coincidence of sound in the two languages did not occur thus by chance, but by a most secret dispensation of divine providence; so that, when in Latin *salus* (salvation) is named, by Punics should be understood *Three*, and, when Punics in their own tongue name *Three*, there should be understood in Latin *salus* (salvation). For the Canaanitish — that is, Punic—woman, who "came out of the coasts of Tyre and Sidon," kept asking the *salus* (salvation) of her daughter, to whom it was replied by the Lord, 'It is not good to cast the children's bread to dogs.' . . . . For in the woman's tongue *Three* are called *salus*: for she was a woman of Canaan. (Whence, our rustics being asked, who they are, answering in Punic, 'Chananites,' by the corruption of one letter, as is usual in such cases, what else do they answer than 'Canaanites'?) Asking therefore for *salus*, she was asking for the *Trinity* (!). The Lord also, calling that same thing for which she was asking by the name of *bread*, what else does He than testify to the *Trinity* (!)? . . . But this consonance of words, whether it have occurred by chance, or by providence, is not to be treated pugnaciously, as if every one must agree to it, but *so far as the pleased feeling of the hearer admits the ingenuity of the interpreter* (!).

Interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, Punicè respondentes, Chanani, quid aliud respondent quam Chananæi? Our rustics being asked who they are, answering in Punic 'Chananites,' what else do they answer than 'Canaanites'?

So, *Hept.*vii, *quæst.* 16, he writes :—

Istæ linguæ non multum inter se differunt, those tongues (Punic and Hebrew) do not differ much from one another.

And, *Tract. in Joh. Evang.*xv.27 :—

Cognatæ sunt linguæ istæ et vicinæ, Hebræa et Punica et Syra, those tongues are allied, and belong to neighbouring people, the Hebrew, and Punic, and Syrian.

And, *Locut.*i.24, *ad Gen.*viii.9,—

Locutio est, quam propterea Hebræam puto, quia et Punicæ linguæ familiarissima est, in quâ multa invenimus Hebræis verbis consonantia, it is an expression, which I consider to be Hebrew for this reason, that it is also very familiar to the Punic tongue, in which we find many words agreeing with Hebrew.

And *contr. lit.Petil.*ii.239,—

quod verbum (Messias) Punicæ linguæ consonum est, sicut alia Hebræa permulta et pæne omnia, which word (Messias) corresponds with the Punic tongue, as do very many other, and, indeed, almost all, Hebrew words.

JEROME, also, *Comm.*iii, *ad Is.*vii, says :—

Lingua Punica, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, the Punic tongue, which is said to be derived from the fountains of the Hebrews.

And, in *Comm.*v, *ad Jer.*xxv, he states that Carthage was a Phœnician colony,—

unde et Pœni, sermone corrupto, quasi Phœni, appellantur, quorum linguâ Hebrææ linguæ magnâ ex parte confinis est, whence also they are called Pœni, by a corrupt form of expression, as if Phœni, whose tongue has to a great extent affinity with the Hebrew tongue.

396. We have seen instances of this connection already (166), in the expressions out of the Phœnician creation-myth, which EUSEBIUS, *Præp. Ev.*i.10, ascribes to Sanchoniathon, *viz. Kolpia,* and his wife *Baau.*

But our actual knowledge of the ancient Phœnician tongue is far more extensive than this, and, as BLEEK notes, is derived from the following sources :—

(i) Words quoted by old authors as Phœnician or Punic, such as names of persons, places, &c., as well as many other words;

(ii) The passages produced by PLAUTUS, *Pœn.*v.1–10, ii.35, &c., as speeches of the Carthaginian Hanno in the Punic tongue;

(iii) Inscriptions on coins of the Phœnicians and their colonies;

(iv) Inscriptions on engraved stones and vessels, pillars, votive tablets, and sepulchral monuments;

(v) Especially the two very important, newly-discovered, Phœnician relics, viz. an altar of the fourth century B.C., discovered in June 1845, by the fall of part of a house in Marseilles, the ancient port Massilia, and the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king, Eschmunazar, with a very perfect inscription, discovered at Sidon, Jan. 15, 1855.

397. As instances of the substantial agreement of the Phœnician with the Hebrew language, we may quote the following: —

PLAUT. *Pœn.* v. 1, *yth alonim valonuth*, which PLAUTUS renders *deos deasque*, = אֶת אֱלֹנִים וְעֶלְיוֹנוֹת, *eth elonim vĕhelyonoth, superos superasque*, 'the gods, male and female,'—or, rather, according to the inscription of Eschmunazar, אֶת אֱלֹנִים וְאַלְנוֹת, *eth elonim vĕlonoth*.

Proper Names of Persons: —

(1) *Abdalonimus*, = עֶבֶד עֶלְיוֹנִים, *heved helyonim*, 'servant of the powers above,' the name of a king of Tyre in the time of Alexander;

(2) *Abdelemus*, = עֶבֶד אֵלִים, *heved elim*, 'servant of the gods,' JOSEPH. c. Ap. i. 21;

(3) *Anna*, = חַנָּה, *khannah*, 'Grace,' sister of Dido;

(4) *Dido*, = דִּידוֹ, *dido*, 'his darling;'

(5) *Eliza*, = עֲלִיזָה, *hălizah*, 'rejoicing,' another name of Dido;

(6) *Asdrubal*, = עֶזְרוּ בַעַל, *hazru bahal*, 'help ye Baal' or (?) 'help of Baal';

(7) *Hannibal*, = חַנִּי בַעַל, *khanni bahal*, 'favour or gift of Baal'; *comp.* Hanniel, Hananeel, Θεόδωρος;

(8) *Hamilcar*, = חַן מִלְכַּר, *khan melkar*, 'favour of Melcar' (Moloch).

Proper Names of Places: —

(1) *Zidon*, = צִידֹן, *tsidon*, 'fishing;'

(2) *Tyre*, = צוֹר or צוּר, *tsor* or *tsur*, 'rock';

(3) *Carthage*, = קֶרֶת חֲדַשָׁה, *kereth khădashah*, 'new-town,' so explained by SOLINUS and EUSTATHIUS, found also on a coin of Palermo;

(4) *Berytos*, a Phœnician town, so named, according to STEPH. BYZ., διὰ τὸ εὔυδρον· βὴρ γὰρ τὸ φρέαρ παρ' αὐτοῖς, 'because of its being well supplied with water, for *ber* means *well* in their language,' where βὴρ is plainly בְּאֵר, *bĕer*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת, *bĕeroth*, from which is formed 'Berytos';

(5) *Byrsa*, the citadel of Carthage = בָּצְרָה, *Botsrah*, 'fortress,' corrupted into the Greek Βυρσα, from which the myth of the 'bull's hide,' cut up into strips, was formed.

Other words which are quoted by old writers as Phœnician or Punic: —

(1) *alma* (JER.), 'virgin,' = עַלְמָה, *halmah*;

(2) *yar* (AUG.), 'forest,' = יַעַר, *yahar*;

(3) *salus* (AUG.), 'three,' = שָׁלוֹשׁ, *shalosh*;

(4) *sufes*, pl. *sufetes*, 'judges,' = שׁוֹפֵט, *shophet*;

(5) *messe* (Aug.), 'anoint,' = מְשַׁח, *mĕshakh*;
(6) *Baalsamen* (Aug., Eus.), 'lord of heaven,' = בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם, *bahal shamaim*;
(7) Ζωφασεμιν (Eus.), explained to mean *οὐρανοῦ κατόπται*, 'watchers of heaven,' = צֹפֵי שָׁמַיִם, *tsophe shamaim*.

The Phœnico-Punic inscriptions on coins and monuments exhibit Hebrew, and not Aramaic, forms, as בן, 'son,' not בר,—בת, 'daughter,' not ברת. Many other instances of this may be seen in BLEEK'S *Einleitung*, *p.*68,69.

398. Prof. RAWLINSON, however, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*269, maintains that the Phœnicians were an entirely different race from the other inhabitants of Canaan, and were, in fact, *Shemites*,—so that they might speak the same language as the Hebrews,—while the Canaanites, generally, were *Hamites*:—

As for the argument from the presumed identity of the Canaanites with the Phœnicians, though it has great names in its favour, there is really very little to be said for it. Phœnicia, as a country, is distinguishable from Canaan, in which it may, perhaps, have been included, but of which it was, at any rate, only a part. And the Phœnician people present in many respects a strong and marked contrast to the Canaanites, so that there is great reason to believe that they were an entirely different race.

But if, as seems probable (407), the Phœnicians were Shemites, what, then, becomes of the Scripture statement in G.x.15, that Sidon was the 'first-born' of Canaan, and brother of the Hittite, Jebusite, Amorite, &c.?

399. Prof. RAWLINSON seeks to confirm his view, by observing in a note,—

Whereas between the real Canaanites and the Jews there was deadly and perpetual hostility, until the former were utterly rooted out and destroyed, the Jews and Phœnicians were on terms of perpetual amity,—an amity encouraged by the best princes, who would scarcely have contracted a friendship with the accursed race.

But he here only draws attention to another of the difficulties, which embarrass the traditionary view. If the laws of the Pentateuch, as we now find them in E.xxiii.31-33—

'I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand, and *thou shalt drive them out from before thee*: *thou shalt make no covenant with them*, nor with their gods: *they shall not dwell in thy land*, lest they make thee sin against me:—

had really been in existence, and recognised as of Divine authority, in the days of David and Solomon, it can hardly be

believed that these, among the 'best princes,' would have contracted such close alliance with the Phœnicians, who are expressly named in Ju.iii.3, among the nations of Canaan not yet exterminated, but 'left' for a while 'to prove Israel'—

'five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in mount Lebanon,'—

or that,—even if Solomon could import horses for the 'kings of the Hittites,' 1K.x.29, as well as take wives of the 'Zidonians and Hittites,' 1K.xi.1,—the prophet Amos, two centuries later, would have threatened the Tyrians with punishment, because they '*remembered not the brotherly covenant with Israel*,' Am.i.9.

400. The conclusions, to which BLEEK arrives upon the whole subject, are as follows:—

(i) The Phœnicians spoke originally the same language as the other Canaanitish peoples, and substantially the same as the Hebrews, who borrowed their speech from the Canaanites.

(ii) It is probable that the language of the Phœnicians themselves was not identically the same in all parts of their territory, but, on the northern boundary, where they touched upon the Aramaic tribes, it became by degrees more and more affected with Aramaic peculiarities,—especially in later days, as was the case also with the Hebrew language.

(iii) There is still less reason to doubt that this common 'language of Canaan,' in course of time, developed itself somewhat differently (especially with reference to the modifications of the meaning of words) among the Hebrews, who were remarkably distinguished from their neighbours through their monotheism and many peculiarities, as well as through their whole character, from what took place among the heathen peoples, and especially the Phœnicians, who, as a wide-spreading trading nation, might appropriate much from other people, with whom they had intercourse.

(iv) So, in the Phœnician colonies, the common mother-tongue was in the course of time considerably modified, so that the Phœnician, in the mouth of the Carthaginians and Numidians, took many of the peculiarities of the Libyan tribes, as in later days, probably, it took also from the Latin. Hence says JEROME, *Ep. ad Gal., Præf. in lib.* ii, '*quum et Afri Phœnicum linguam nonnullâ ex parte mutaverint*,' since even the Africans have changed in some respects the language of the Phœnicians.

401. It is true that in Nehemiah's time, Neh.xiii.24, the speech of Ashdod differed materially, it would seem, from the Jews' language. But this was after their return from the Captivity,

and when it is highly probable that their speech—at least, that of the younger people—had become considerably modified by so long a residence in Babylon. As BLEEK observes,—

We have no means of knowing certainly what the Jews' language was at that time, whether the old Hebrew, or the Aramaic (Chaldee); nor do we know in what the difference consisted, perhaps only in a broader utterance.

402. The Semitic dialects are principally three,—

(i) The Northern or Aramaic, including the Chaldee, Samaritan, and Syriac;

The Chaldee passages in Scripture are Jer.x.11, Ezra,iv.8–vi.18,vii.12–26, Dan.ii.4–vii,28;

The earliest instance of the Aramaic dialect is in G.xxxi.47;

(ii) The Southern, including the Arabic and Ethiopic;

In G.x.26, we have, apparently, an Arabic form, אַלְמוֹדָד, *Almodad*, with the Arabic article אַל; *al*;

(iii) The Middle, including the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Canaanitish.

These dialects wonderfully agree. By far the greater number of the root-words, which exist in Hebrew, are found in the other Semitic dialects, and with the same, or very little modified, meanings. But the Arabic appears to be by far the richest of these dialects, partly because we have so many books written in this language on all subjects, poetry, philology, history, geography, mathematics, and especially astronomy. The Arabic grammarians produce one thousand different words for 'sword,' five hundred for 'lion,' two hundred for 'serpent,' four hundred for 'misfortune.' BLEEK, *p.*42.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE, WHENCE DERIVED.

403. It would seem, therefore, as we have said, that the language of the Canaanites and Hebrews was radically the same, from the earliest times, and that the former are incorrectly separated, as to their origin, from the latter, and referred to Ham, as their ancestor. DELITZCH, however, writes as follows, *p.*295 :—

The Semitic language of the Canaanites is not opposed to their Hamitic origin; they have, as other Hamites, become *Semitized.* It is possible that they adopted the language of the primeval inhabitants of the future Canaan; for, to judge from the remains of Proper Names, which have come down to us, these were Semitic. It it is possible also that, on their way from the East to the West, they dwelt long among the Semitic tribes of Arabia, whereas the settlement of the primitive Egyptians was comparatively sudden, and therefore may not have been attended with any important intermixture with foreign elements. The old Hamitic tongues have certainly succumbed to Semitic,—at last, even in Egypt,—where the use and knowledge of the Coptic have almost entirely died out. *The inability of the Hamitic, and especially of the Canaanitish, peoples, to maintain themselves in the possession of their natural tongue, corresponds to the absence of a blessing for Ham, and to the curse of servitude laid on Canaan* (!)

404. It is obvious to reply that the Hamite Egyptians retained the use of their mother-tongue, long after the Hebrew had ceased to be the vernacular of Palestine. GESENIUS says (see PARKER'S DE WETTE, *p.*457) :—

This only is certain that, in Nehemiah's time, the people still spoke Hebrew, and that, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, the Hebrew was still *written*, though the Aramæan was the prevalent language; whereas, about this time, and shortly after Alexander the Great, even the learned Jews found it hard to understand difficult passages in the old writings, because the language had ceased to be a living speech.

405. Again, NOTT writes, *Types of Mankind, p.*195 :—

It is no longer questionable, that the Gheez, or *Ethiopic*, idiom of the Ethiopic

version of the Scriptures, and other modern books, which constitute the literature of Abyssinia, is a *Semitic* dialect, akin to the Arabic and Hebrew.

'There is no reason to doubt,' says PRICHARD, 'that the people, for whose use these books were written, and whose vernacular tongue was the Gheez, were a Semitic race.' The Gheez is now extant merely as a *dead* language. The Amharic, a modern Abyssinian, has been the vernacular of the country ever since the extinction of the Gheez. . . It is not a dialect of the Gheez or Ethiopic, as some have supposed, but is now recognised to be, as PRICHARD affirms, 'a language fundamentally distinct.' . . It was, probably, an ancient *African* tongue, and one of the aboriginal idioms of the SE. provinces of Abyssinia. PRICHARD winds up his investigation with the following emphatic avowal, 'The languages of all these nations are essentially distinct from the Gheez and every other Semitic dialect.'

In other words, we have here the *Semitic* Gheez language becoming extinct, while the African or *Hamitic* Amharic is still spoken,—in contradiction to DELITZCH'S theory.

406. It is, of course, impossible to *dis*prove the assertion, that the whole body of Canaanites were Hamites, who once spoke the same language, substantially, as the Egyptians, but became Semitised, by dwelling among the (assumed) aboriginal Semitic tribes of the future Canaan, or by tarrying long among the Semitic tribes, through which they are supposed to have passed on their way from the eastern districts westward,—much longer than their brethren, the primary founders of the Egyptian race. But the assertion is supported by no evidence, and is altogether improbable.

407. There appear to have been traditions, to which HERODOTUS, vii.89, refers, of the *Phœnicians* having been settled originally in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, from which they migrated to the coasts of the Mediterranean. The *Philistines* also are expressed in the *Sept. Vers.* by Αλλόφυλοι, 'Emigrants,' and are believed to have come back to the main land, from the Phœnician settlements in Caphtor, *i.e.* Crete (Part III.599), of whom the Deuteronomist writes, ii.23,—

'As to the Avims, which dwelt in the villages unto Gaza,—the Caphtorims, which came out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead;'—

from which passage TUCH 'infers, *p.*244, that the clause in G.x.14, 'out of whom came Philistim,' may, perhaps, have been misplaced, and should stand properly *after Caphtorim*.

408. But the fact, that the Phœnicians had come originally from the Persian Gulf, would only make it more probable that they belonged to the Semitic family of nations, and spoke a Semitic tongue,—as did also, most probably, the other Canaanite nations, Hittite, Jebusite, &c., whatever may have been the case with the aboriginal tribes, whom they may have dispossessed.

409. But we must here notice another point bearing upon the question of the Mosaic authorship of the story of the Exodus. That story represents the people of Israel, when coming out of Egypt, after a residence there of, at least, two centuries, speaking *perfectly pure Hebrew*, without the slightest intermixture of either Aramaic or Egyptian idioms. Moses, throughout the Pentateuch—and not merely in the later book of Deuteronomy—speaks to the people always in the purest Hebrew,—makes his addresses, writes his song, E.xv.1–18, and delivers his laws, in pure Hebrew;—nay, the Ten Commandments, as recorded to have been uttered on Sinai, are expressed in pure Hebrew. Throughout the first four books, with the exception of one or two Aramæan words, as Laban's expression, יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, *yĕgar shahădutha*, 'heap of witness,' G.xxxi.47, and one or two Egyptian words, as אַבְרֵךְ, *avrech*, 'bow the knee,' xli.43,—introduced, however, with special reference to Aramæan or Egyptian circumstances,—the language is pure Hebrew, perfectly uncorrupted by Aramæan or Egyptian peculiarities.

410. Now let us consider for a moment the circumstances under which this perfectly pure Hebrew of the Pentateuch is supposed to have been written. We find Jacob, as we have said (386), on his return from Haran to the land of Canaan, returning also to the use of the Hebrew tongue, which we may suppose him to have been familiar with, as the language spoken in his father Isaac's house, during the first seventy-seven years of his life, and not to have lost, though he had but little opportunity of speaking it, during the twenty years of his sojourn with Laban. But his

four wives, and all the servants, male and female, which he brought with him into Canaan, must all have been Aramæans, —must all have spoken the same language as Laban, *viz.* the Syrian or Aramæan tongue; and we must suppose that the young children, of whom the eldest was not more than twelve years old, brought up with their mothers and these servants, must have spoken Aramæan also.

411. We may, indeed, assume that during the *thirty* years which they spent in Canaan, before going down to settle in Egypt, they may have *changed* their language, as Abraham did, and, dropping the Aramæan, have acquired the Hebrew tongue of the tribes of Canaan. But it is not easy to understand how they should have changed it so completely, as to have lost all *trace* of the Aramæan, or how, going down into Egypt, as they did, and living there, under the circumstances described in the book of Exodus, for *two hundred and fifteen* years *at least*, they should have retained the Hebrew tongue, if they took it with them, in *perfect purity*, without the slightest intermixture of any foreign element. As to the first point, the captives in Babylon, we know, had their tongue soon corrupted, so that Chaldaisms abound in later Hebrew. But Jacob's family (we must suppose) exchanged the Aramæan for the Hebrew *completely* in thirty years, although for every one of those, who came into Canaan, except Jacob himself,—for all the adult women and servants, as well as the young children,—the Aramæan was their mother-tongue, which they had spoken from their birth.

412. We will suppose, however, that Jacob's children, being so young, may have acquired the new tongue perfectly, through intercourse with Canaanites, as Hamor, Gen.xxxiv, and others. Thus Jacob, himself, and his sons and daughter, Dinah, may have spoken Hebrew, when they went down into Egypt. And, though his son's wives, unless taken from the Canaanites as Judah's, xxxviii.2, and Simeon's, xlvi.10—(both these two,

however, seem to be noted rather as exceptional cases)—would not have spoken Hebrew, we may assume that *their* children, brought up among Canaanitish servants, may have learned, from them and from their fathers, to speak the language of the land. And so the majority of the 'seventy souls,' who went down with Jacob, may be regarded as speaking Hebrew,—though scarcely, we should suppose, *pure* Hebrew.

413. But how could this small community of 70 souls, surrounded, as they were, by Egyptians, with whom they were continually in contact,—as friends, in the first instance, during the first *hundred* years of their sojourn,—as slaves, afterwards, for (at least) the last *eighty* years,—have maintained during all this time that perfect purity of language, which we find exhibited in the Pentateuch, uncorrupted by the slightest influx of Egyptian, or any other foreign, idioms? They may have intermarried among themselves, or taken wives from the Egyptians or other foreigners, or from their old Syrian home: but they could only have been reinforced, in respect of maintaining the *pure* Hebrew tongue among them, by marrying *Canaanites*. Some Hebrew women may have married Egyptians, 1Ch.ii.34,35, and their offspring would be reckoned as Hebrews: Moses himself married an Ethiopian woman, N.xii.1: a 'mixed multitude' went up with them out of Egypt, E.xii.38. The children and grandchildren of Joseph, we must suppose,—at least, during the 80 years of Joseph's dignity,—must have been brought up under Egyptian influences, and in intimate connection with the members of the high Egyptian family, to which Joseph's wife belonged, G.xli.45. And, indeed, the expression in G.l.23,—

the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were brought up on Joseph's knees,—

implies his close relations with them.

414. Under these circumstances, during all this time, for more than two centuries, it would indeed be strange if they could maintain their language identically the same pure Hebrew, as

that which their forefathers,—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—spoke, while living in daily contact with the tribes of Canaan. It may, perhaps, be alleged that the language of the Pentateuch is sufficiently explained, if Moses spoke and wrote Hebrew perfectly. Yet how should Moses,—who, for the first forty years of his life, was brought up in Pharaoh's house, 'in all the learning of the Egyptians,'—who may, of course, have spoken Hebrew, as well as Egyptian, but could only have learned it from the speech of his fellow-countrymen, when they had already been living in Egypt, under the circumstances above described, for 130 years to the day of his birth,—and who spent the next forty years of his life in the deserts of Midian,—have maintained all along the perfect Hebrew tongue, pure and simple, without the slightest adulteration from any foreign influences, neither vocabulary nor syntax being in the least degree modified?

415. What effect the residence of 150 years in Babylon had already upon the language of the captive Jews, notwithstanding the noble literature which they had among them, in the writings of their psalmists, prophets, and historians, may be seen, as we have said, in the numerous Chaldaisms, which distinguish the later Scriptures of the O. T. The natives of Natal, though they have lived only thirty years under European government, have already adopted many corruptions of English and Dutch words into their common language. Who can believe that the Hebrews, so small a community at first, only seventy souls, of whom many were mere children, and many others did not speak Hebrew as their original tongue,—and who at that time possessed no literature,—maintained their language, amidst the joys of their prosperous, and the oppressions of their miserable, days in Egypt, without adopting a single idiom, or a single term,—even the name of a common article of food or dress, tool, implement, &c.—from the Egyptians, or from those with whom they may have intermarried, when they did not marry Canaan-

itish women? Did these foreign mothers not affect in the slightest degree the speech of their children?

It may be said, 'a special miracle may have been wrought for this.' But wrought for what end? To maintain in its purity among the Hebrews the language—not of the primitive home of the Hebrew race, but—of the idolatrous tribes of Canaan!

416. Upon the whole, the simple fact, that the Pentateuch is written in such pure Hebrew, appears to us a strong confirmation—if we do not press it, as a positive direct proof—of its having been written,—not at a time when the tribes were just fresh from their long Egyptian sojourn,—but *at a much later period of their national history, when the language of Canaan had become, after several generations, the common tongue of the invading Hebrews*, as well as of the heathen tribes, whom they deprived of their possessions in Canaan, and whom they were unwilling to acknowledge as brethren, although, it is plain, the language of the Canaanites belongs to the same group, as that spoken by the collateral branch of the Hebrew family in the 'city of Nahor.' Thus, in those later days, conversation is supposed to pass without difficulty between the Philistine garrison and Jonathan, 1S.xiv.12, and between the Philistine Achish and David, 1S.xxix.6-10; and we do not read of any interpreter interfering in the colloquy between David and Goliath, 1S.xvii.43-47.

417. But what seems to demonstrate plainly the later authorship of one important passage, at least, of the Pentateuch, is this, that the prophecies of Balaam, who was 'brought from Aram, out of the mountains of the east,' N.xxiii.7, *comp.*D.xxiii.4, and who is represented as speaking in the ears of Balak, king of Moab, and of all the princes of Moab, *v.*6, are expressed in the purest Hebrew. His conversation with the Moabite messengers, and with the ass, which also speaks and, apparently, understands

Hebrew, may be supposed to have been modified; and to be merely described and reported in the 'language of Canaan.' But the prophecies, to be worthy of credence as historically true, must have been delivered in the form in which we now possess them, and in which we have an *Aramæan*, speaking in the purest Hebrew, to a company of Moabites.

418. By whom, it may be further asked, were these prophecies remembered, or written down, as Balaam uttered them, and communicated to Moses? Is it not plain that we have here a grand composition of a later age,—'profitable,' no doubt, 'for instruction in righteousness,' but not to be received as an infallible record of historical matter-of-fact, involving the obligation of believing in the story of the speaking ass, or imputing the massacre of 68,000 Midianitish women and children to a direct Divine Command?

What missionary, indeed, would not *shrink* from reading *either* of these passages, in the ears of an intelligent class of catechumens, as undoubted facts,—to the truth of which the Divine Veracity is pledged,—upon belief in which depend all 'our hopes for eternity,'—of which to express any doubt or disbelief, is to shake 'the very foundations of our faith,' to 'take from us all our nearest and dearest consolations'?

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEN.XI.1–XI.9.

419. G.xi.1.

'And the whole earth was of one lip, and of one language.'

The Jehovist—a person, evidently, of a very enquiring and philosophical mind, and, for the age in which he lived, singularly well-informed on geographical and ethnological matters—wishes, apparently, to account for the variety of languages, which he finds existing among the different families of the human race. He assumes that from the time of the Creation—for about 2,000 years—no diversities of language had yet arisen. Mankind was still of 'one lip,' and still spoke the same primeval tongue,—the Hebrew, we must suppose,—which was spoken by Adam, when he named his wife in Paradise, ii.23,iii.20—by Eve, after their expulsion from Paradise, when she gave names to her sons, Cain and Seth, iv.1,25,—by Lamech, shortly before the Flood, when he explained the name of Noah, v.29. And, indeed, it is obvious that the names of the whole series of Patriarchs, from Adam to Noah, in G.v, and from Noah onwards in G.xi.10–26, are, in almost every instance, *pure Hebrew* names. On the traditionary view, then, we must suppose that Hebrew was certainly the primitive tongue.

420. Thus WILLET writes, *Hexapla in Gen. p.*133:—

Now, if any be desirous to know what language this was, which before this confusion of tongues was used through the world, it is agreed by the most learned interpreters, that it was the Hebrew.

(i) AUGUSTINE'S reason is, *de civ. Dei*, xvi.11,xviii.39, because the Hebrew is so called of *Heber*, in whose family that, which was the common tongue before,

remained: that tongue, which Heber used before the division of tongues, was the common speech; but that was the Hebrew.

(ii) HIEROM's reason to prove the Hebrew to be *matrix*, the mother of all other languages, [is] because every tongue hath borrowed some words of the Hebrew.

(iii) TOSTATUS's reason is, because those names, which were first given, as of Adam, Eve, Cain, Seth, are Hebrew words, as may appear by their several derivations in that tongue.

421. DELITZCH, however, as we have already seen (174), finds himself unable to adopt this view, and writes as follows, *p.*315:—

The Synagogues, the Fathers of the Church, and many of our orthodox teachers, are, indeed, of opinion that Hebrew was the primitive tongue, maintained in the family of Eber, the tongue already used before the Flood, the tongue of Paradise. It is said that Noah, (who overlived the event), Shem, and those of kindred mind, certainly took no part in the godless undertaking, and, consequently, were not affected by 'the confusion of tongues.' Reference also is made to the names of the primeval history, with some of which the derivations are given, as 'Adam,' 'Ishah' = woman, 'Khavvah = Eve, 'Kain,' &c. But both these arguments want convincing power. The family, from which Abram proceeded, was certainly an *Aramaic*, not a Hebrew, family; it was a family speaking Aramaic, as the history of Jacob and Laban shows, G.xxxi.47,*comp.*D.xxvi.5. 'The Hebrew language,' says ASTRUC, and his view is incontestably correct,—'was the common language of the Canaanites; and Abraham, when he arrived among them from Chaldæa, needed to learn it, which was not difficult for him, because the language of the Chaldæans, which was his natural tongue, had considerable affinity with it, and was a sort of dialect of it.' Hence the assertion of Arabic and Persian writers, that the Syriac or Nabatæan tongue,—that which, after the confusion of tongues, was maintained at Babylon itself,—was the primitive tongue, is comparatively more probable. However, dialects are branches which imply a common stem. We should, therefore, in place of Hebrew or Aramaic, have to assume the existence of a Semitic fundamental language, which later, though at a very early age, branched into dialects. But in opposition to this stands the fact, that the Semitic family of languages, setting aside its peculiar honours, is inferior to others, as the Indo-Germanic, in richness and expressiveness, and does not by any means possess the completeness, which must have belonged to the primitive tongue,—as also the fact, that the family, from which Abram proceeded, had fallen away to idolatries just as the others, Jo.xxiv.2,14, and that the so-called 'Hebrew,' which we should rather call 'Canaanite.' Is.xix.18, although, as a sacred tongue, it has had a very peculiar course of development, appears originally as the language of Canaan, the curse-laden, to whom it had passed from the equally heathen aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

Also, the proof drawn from the names of the primeval history so little avails, that, in point of fact, the ante-Babylonic language cannot possibly have been the language of Paradise. Adam says in Dante, *Par.* xxvi.124–6:—

The speech, which once I spoke, was quite extinct,
Before that to th' impracticable work
The race of Nimrod set their energies.

How can it possibly have been otherwise? Certainly, the principle of the 'dispersion' was first *powerfully energetic* after the event in G.xi.1–9. But the Fall of Man must have changed their mode of *speech* as well as *thought*: it brought among them ever-spreading loss of spirituality, materialisation, and—since the nature of sin is false—self-seeking, the destruction of their unity, though, perhaps, at first, not yet to the extent of losing the power of mutual intelligence. 'The first man,' as DRECHSLER thence justly infers, 'was not called Adam, nor the first woman Eve, nor their sons Cain and Abel; only they are so-called in Hebrew; their names are all *true*, but only *relatively* true. With the occurrence of G.xi.1–9, the names of the old traditionary history degenerated also in, and with, the general language, without any damage thereby to the authenticity of these names and their etymologies; since it is the same thing, for example, whether I say that Adam's firstborn had a name, which corresponds to the name קַיִן, *Kain*, from קָנָה, *Kanah*, 'acquire,' or to the Greek name Κτησίας, from κτᾶσθαι, 'acquire.' The veracity of the Law, which imparts to us here the tradition, viewed in the light of the spirit, which was inherited to Abraham and Israel, through Shem from the family of Noah, is not a verbal, but a living, veracity,—it stands not in the letter, but in the spirit.' So it is. . . The derivation of all languages from one primeval tongue *we hold fast upon the authority of the Scripture.* But the possibility of demonstrating such a primeval language, out of a more or less close relationship of all existing tongues,—this possibility, before maintained by us, we now dismiss, as though awakened from a dream.

422. It is manifest that DELITZCH'S great difficulty is this—to account for the fact that the primeval Hebrew tongue, spoken in Paradise, and by all before, and in Noah's family after, the Flood, should have been retained amidst the 'curse-laden' tribes of Canaan, and not in the family of Abraham,—so that the latter must actually first have learned it, when he came into contact with them. Not being able to allow the possibility of this, he falls back upon the notion that the names, Adam, Ishah, Eve, Cain, Abel, Nod, Noah, are all *translations* of the original forms, into words of similar meaning in Hebrew,—a theory, which requires also to be swelled by the assumption, that all the conversations, recorded in G.i.1–xi.9, are only translations, and that all the names in G.v are, in like manner, modified from the original forms into pure Hebrew words,

expressing literally the same meaning, and not only these, but also the names in G.xi.10–25,—at least, till we come to Peleg, in whose time 'the earth was divided.'

423. The extravagance of these assumptions, to which this able writer is driven in attempting to maintain the traditionary view, makes it unnecessary to discuss them at further length. It is sufficient to remark that, if the authority of Scripture is sufficient to prove the fact of a primeval language, it must also prove that this language was Hebrew. We have no right to assume a process of translation, to which the original documents make no allusion.

424. KALISCH notes on this point as follows, *Gen.p.*318: —

The linguistic researches of modern times have more and more confirmed the theory of one primitive *Asiatic* language, gradually developed into various modifications by external agencies and influences. Formerly, the Hebrew tongue was, by many scholars, advocated as the original idiom: for it was maintained, both by early Jewish and Christian authorities, that, as the race of Shem were no partners in the impious work of the Tower, they remained in possession of the first language, which the fathers of the earliest age had left to Noah. But this view,—like the more recent one, that a child, if left alone without human society, would speak Hebrew,—is now classed among popular errors. At present, the scale of probability inclines more to the Sanscrit, although the disquisition is far from being concluded or settled.

According to Prof. MAX MÜLLER and Baron BUNSEN, the Sanscrit and Semitic tongues are alike modifications of an 'agglutinative' language, that is, of a form of speech, in which the original compound roots had not been rubbed down into affixes and suffixes.

425. But KALISCH'S observation applies only to the different languages of *one race*, as the Caucasian or the Mongolian. No one would say that there was any affinity between the Chinese tongue and the Indo-European family of languages, or between these and those of the North-American Indians. Card. WISEMAN, Lect. ii, *Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, admits a 'radical difference' among languages:—

As the radical difference among the languages forbids their being considered dialects, or offshoots of one another, we are driven to the conclusion that, on the

one hand, these languages must have been originally united in one, whence they drew their common elements, essential to them all (?), and on the other, that the separation between them, which destroyed other and no less important elements of resemblances, could not have been caused by any gradual departure or individual development,—*for these we have long since excluded*,—but by some violent, unusual, and active force, sufficient alone to reconcile these conflicting appearances, and to account at once for the resemblances and the differences.'

426. G.xi.4.

'And they said, Come, let us build for us a city, and a tower with its head in heaven.'

The story of the 'dispersion of tongues' is connected by the Jehovistic writer with the famous unfinished Temple of Belus, (*Birs Nimroud*), of which, probably, some wonderful reports had reached him, in whatever age we may suppose him to have lived. The language and actions, here ascribed to the Divine Being, are strangely anthropomorphic. But the derivation of the name בָּבֶל, *Babel*, from the Hebrew בָּלַל, *balal*, 'confound,' which seems to be the connecting point between the story and the Tower of Babel, is, as we have already noticed (75), altogether incorrect,—the word being compounded either of 'Bel,' so as to mean 'House of Bel,' 'Court of Bel,' 'Gate of Bel,' &c., or, perhaps, as some suppose, of 'El' or 'Il,' in which case 'Bab-El' means 'Gate of God.' This is sufficient to show that the story before us is not historically true. It does not, however, necessarily imply, as TUCH and KNOBEL assume, that the Jehovist himself originated the story, as he may have received it in this form from others.

427. Upon the name 'Babel' DELITZCH writes as follows, *p.*312:

As the name 'Jerusalem' gains its proper sense in the light of prophecy, so is the name, which Babylon has received, *whether with or without the intention of him who first named it*, a significant character, marking the Divine judgment interwoven into the origin of the world-city, and of the tendency, at all times peculiar to it, to a God-resisting unity. *That the name, in the view of the world-city itself, signified something different, does not contradict this.* Already the *Etymol. Magn.* derives it ἀπὸ τοῦ Βήλου, 'from Belus,' and so do Persian and Nabatæan scholars. According to this it has been explained as meaning 'Gate of Bel,' or 'House of Bel,' or, lastly, 'Castle of Bel' (בָּ, *Bâ*, = בָּב, *Bab*, 'gate,' or = בַּיִת, *Beyth*, 'house,'

or = בַּר, *Bar*, for בִּירַת, *Birath*, 'castle'). SCHELLING'S remark, that *bab*, in the sense of 'gate,' is peculiar to the Arabic dialect, is unfounded: it is just as much true in Aramaic as in Arabic, that בָּב, *bab*, 'enter,' is a primitive development of בָּא, 'go in.' RAWLINSON, however, and OPPERT have shown, upon the ground of inscriptions, that the Divine Name—*i.e.* of the Babylonish-Phœnician Kronos (Saturn)—is not בֵּל, *bel*, but אֵל, '*El*,' and thus בָּבֶל, *Babel*, denotes the 'Gate of El.'

Professor RAWLINSON says, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, i.*p.*149:

The name is connected in Genesis with the Hebrew root, *balal*, 'confundere,'—'because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth.' But the native etymology is *Bab-Il*, 'the gate of the God Il,' or, perhaps, most simply 'the gate of God.' And this, no doubt, was the original intention of the appellation as given by Nimrod, though the other sense *came to be attached to it* after the 'Confusion of Tongues.'

428. The following account of *Birs Nimroud* is given by KALISCH, *Gen.p.*315: —

The huge heap, in which bricks, stone, marble, and basalt, are irregularly mixed, covers a surface of 49,000 feet; while the chief mound is nearly 300 feet high, and from 200 to 400 feet in width, commanding an extensive view over a country of utter desolation. The Tower consisted of seven distinct stages or square platforms, built of kiln-burnt bricks, each about twenty feet high, gradually diminishing in diameter. The upper part of the brickwork has a vitrefied appearance; for it is supposed that the Babylonians, in order to render their edifices more durable, submitted them to the heat of the furnace; and large fragments of such vitrefied and calcined materials are also intermixed with the rubbish at the base. This circumstance may have given rise to, or at least countenanced, the legend of the destruction of the Tower by heavenly fire, still extensively adopted among the Arabians. The terraces were devoted to the planets, and were differently coloured in accordance with the notions of Sabæan astrology,—the lowest, Saturn's, *black*, the second, Jupiter's, *orange*, the third, Mars's, *red*, the fourth, the Sun's, *yellow*, the fifth, Venus's, *white*, the sixth, Mercury's, *blue*, the seventh, the Moon's, *green*. Merodach-adan-akhi is stated to have begun it B.C. 1100. It was finished five centuries afterwards by Nebuchadnezzar, who has left a part of its history on two cylinders, which have lately been excavated on the spot, and thus deciphered by RAWLINSON. 'The building, named the Planisphere, which was the wonder of Babylon, I have made and finished. With bricks, enriched with lapis lazuli, I have exalted its head. Behold now the building, named 'the Stages of the Seven Spheres,' which was the wonder of Borsippa, had been built by a former king. He had completed forty-two cubits of height: but he did not finish the head. From the lapse of time it had become ruined. They had not taken care of the exit of the waters; so the rain and wet had penetrated into the brickwork. The casing of burnt brick lay scattered in heaps. Then Merodach, my great lord,

inclined my heart to repair the building. I did not change its site, nor did I destroy its foundation-platform. But, in a fortunate month, and upon an auspicious day, I undertook the building of the raw-brick terraces, and the burnt-brick casing of the Temple. I strengthened its foundation, and I placed a titular record on the part which I had rebuilt. I set my hand to build it up, and to exalt its summit. As it had been in ancient times, so I built up its structure. As it had been in former days, thus I exalted its head.'

429. If the Jehovist lived in Solomon's days, about B.C.1015–975, and the Temple of Belus was begun, as KALISCH has just said, by Merodach-adan-akhi in B.C.1100, not more than a century would have elapsed to his time, hardly long enough for the unfinished building, however wonderful, to have become the subject of a legend. But, as the *tower* was apparently an observatory, and the fact of its being dedicated to the seven ancient planets shows that astronomical observations had made considerable progress among the Chaldæans at the time when it was built, the traditions connected with it may have embodied stories of a much earlier date, to which the new building gave fresh currency.

430. Prof. RAWLINSON, however, says, SMITH'S *Dict.*i.*p.*159:—

The supposed date [of the building of the Temple of *Mughcir*] is B.C. 2300—a little earlier than the time commonly assigned to the building of the Tower [of Babel]. Probably, the erection of the two buildings was not separated by a very long interval, though it is reasonable to suppose that, of the two, the tower was the earlier. If we mark its date, as perhaps we are entitled to do, by the time of Peleg, the son of Eber and father of Reu, we may perhaps place it about B.C. 2600.

But it is evident that the above reasoning is very loose, and based almost entirely on traditionary prepossessions. And here the date of the building of the Tower is carried up beyond 2348 B.C. the date which the *Hebrew* Scriptures fix for the Deluge, though it is still below that fixed by the LXX,—on which point see (444).

431. Mr. BEVAN also gives from OPPERT, in SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible,* iii. *p.*1554, another version of the inscription, agreeing substantially with the above; but instead of the passage,—

Behold now the building, named 'the stages of the Seven Spheres,' which was the wonder of Borsippa, had been built by a former king. *He had completed forty-*

two cubits of height: but he did not finish the head. From the lapse of time it had become ruined—

OPPERT translates:—

This edifice, the house of the seven Lights of the Earth, the most ancient monument of Borsippa,—a former king built it, (*they reckon forty-two ages*), but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time people had abandoned it, *without order expressing their words.*

And this is quoted as 'mentioning the Tower in connection with the Confusion of Tongues,'—though OPPERT says,—

This allusion to the 'Tower of the Tongues' is the *only* one that has as yet been discovered in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The reader must judge for himself as to the degree of support afforded to the probability of the historical reality of the Scripture story by the above translation.

432. KALISCH describes also the latter fates of the Temple, as follows, *Gen.p.*316:—

The temple of Jupiter Belus with its tower was regarded as one of the most gigantic works of antiquity, and attracted the curiosity of travellers from every country. Herodotus, who saw it himself, dwells upon it with emphasis, i.181. . . It was partially destroyed by Xerxes, when he returned from Greece, B.C. 490; upon which the fraudulent priests appropriated to themselves the lands and enormous revenues attached to it, and seem, from this reason, to have been averse to its restoration. A part of this magnificent edifice still existed more than five centuries later, PLIN.vi.30. But the other part was, in the time of Alexander the Great, a vast heap of ruins. The ambitious Macedonian determined to rebuild it, and issued his orders accordingly. But, when the work did not proceed with the vigour and result which he had anticipated, he resolved to undertake it himself with his whole army. He lacked, however, the perseverance of the oriental despots; for, when 10,000 workmen were unable to remove the rubbish within two months, he abandoned his pretentious designs. ARR.vii.17,iii.16, STRAB.xvi.738–9. However, the portion of the structure, which was in existence in PLINY'S time, was imposing enough to be still called the Temple of Belus. And Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, described it as a brick building, the base measuring two miles, and the breadth 240 yards; he adds, that a spiral passage, built round the tower, in stages of ten yards each, led up to the summit, which allows a wide prospect over an almost perfectly level country; and concludes with the old tradition, that the heavenly fire, which struck the tower, split it to its very foundation. PLIN.H.N.vi.30, B. TUDELA,*p.*107. More than six hundred years, the ruins of *Birs Nimroud* remained unnoticed and unknown. They were first rediscovered by NIEBUHR, in 1756,—then more accurately described by KER PORTER,

RICH, BUCKINGHAM, &c.: but their examination, and the discovery of some of the monumental records they contain, were reserved to the last decennium, 1848–58.

433. KALISCH also observes, *Gen.p.*313: —

'Most of the ancient nations possessed myths concerning impious giants, who attempted to storm heaven, either to share it with the immortal gods, or to expel them from it. In some of these fables, the confusion of tongues is represented as the punishment inflicted by the deities for such wickedness. And even JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*I.iv.3, quoted a similar tradition [in the words of the Sibyl, probably of very late date, and copied from the Scriptural story, 'the gods sent storms of wind, and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language: and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylon'].

DELITZCH adds, *p.*314: —

Actually the Mexicans have a legend of a tower-building, as well as of a Flood. Xelhua, one of the seven giants rescued in the flood, built the great pyramid of Cholula, in order to reach heaven, until the gods, angry at his audacity, threw fire upon the building, and broke it down, whereupon every separate family received a language of its own. 'We will not lay much stress upon it, since the Mexican legend has experienced much colouring at the hands of the narrators,—chiefly Dominicans and Jesuits; and we lay still less upon the point, that the Mexican terrace-pyramid has a great resemblance to the construction of the Temple of Belus: but both these points deserve to be noticed.

434. And upon the credibility of the whole story, as a matter of history, he writes as follows, *p.*314: —

We have, however, other and incomparably more important remains of the event than those uncertain ruins,—[*uncertain*, only in respect of the question whether the mound, *Birs Nimroud*, does represent the ruins of the Temple of Belus—it is certain that such a Temple, as above described, once existed,—] or these scanty reminiscences. They exist in the *languages* themselves, standing in more or less remote connection of consequences with that event. Each of these languages is, no doubt, the production and expression of the spiritual and natural constitution of the people, to which it naturally belongs. . . . Certainly, if this wonderful divine influence had not occurred, the one primeval tongue would not have remained in stagnating immobility. It would, by virtue of the rich abundance of the gifts and powers, vouchsafed to man, have gone through a process of continual self-enrichment, and have gained in spirit and uniformity. Now, however, when the lingual unity of the race was lost, together with their unity in God, together also with the unity of their all-defining [*allesbestimmenden*] religious consciousness, instead of a manifoldness in unity, there came a splitting-up with loss of unity, a cleaving-asunder with utter loss of connection,—such, however, as points back with a thousand fingers to the fact of the original unity.

If the last statement be true, yet how does it prove the historical truth of the narrative in G.xi.1–9?

CHAPTER XXVII.

GEN. XI. 10-XI. 26.

435. THE following Table exhibits the variations from the Heb., of the *Sept.*, *Sam.*, and *Josephus*, in respect of the numbers which express the parent's age at the eldest son's birth, in the list of the Post-Diluvian Patriarchs:—

	Heb.	Sept.	Sam.	Josephus
Shem (after the Flood) . .	2	2	2	12
Arphaxad	35	135	135	135
Cainan (not in Heb.) . .	—	130	—	—
Salah	30	130	130	130
Eber	34	134	134	134
Peleg	30	130	130	130
Reu	32	132	132	130
Serug	30	130	130	132
Nahor	29	79	79	120
Terah	70	70	70	70
Abraham's migration . .	75	75	75	75
Total from Flood . . .	367	1,147	1,017	1,068

436. The Scripture story, then, represents that in Abraham's time, not four centuries after the Deluge, the descendants of Noah's three sons, (who had no children *before* the Flood, xi.10), had so multiplied, that there were already in existence the four kingdoms of *Shinar* (Babylon), *Elam*, &c. mentioned in G.xiv.1, as engaged in a joint campaign against five kings of Canaan, and those of *Egypt*, G.xiii, and *Gerar*, G.xx. Besides these, however, there were the *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Emims*, *Horites*, who were smitten by the king of Elam, G.xiv.2,5,6, and the multitude of other nations, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, &c., who are referred

to in G.x, as already existing *before* the time of Abraham,—as appears from the fact, that 'the earth was divided' in the days of Peleg, the *fourth* in descent from Shem, and Abraham was in the *ninth*, whereas all the other nations are described as being in the *first* or *second* from one or other of the sons of Noah, except the Arabian tribes in *v.*26-29, mentioned as the sons of Joktan, Peleg's brother. Nay, the small district of Canaan was already occupied by many powerful nations, x.15-19.

437. And some of these nations had already attained a very high state of civilisation.

When Egypt first presents itself to our view, she stands forth not in childhood, but with the maturity of manhood's age, arrayed in the time-worn habiliments of civilisation. Her tombs, her temples, her pyramids, her manners, customs, and arts, all betoken a full-grown nation. The sculptures of the ivth Dynasty, the earliest extant, show that the arts at that day, some 3,500 B.C., [date of Menes, more than 3,400 B.C. (HUMBOLDT)—3,643 B.C., (BUNSEN)—3,892 B.C., (KENRICK)—3,893 B.C. (LEPSIUS)—3,895 B.C., (HINCKS)—in each case more than 1,000 years before the Usherian date of the Deluge,] had already arrived at a perfection little inferior to that of the xviiith Dynasty, which, until lately, was regarded as her Augustan age. NOTT, *Types of Mankind, p.*211.

Bas-reliefs, beautifully cut, sepulchral architecture, and the engineering of the pyramids,—reed-*pens*, *inks* (red and black), papyrus-*paper*, and chemically-prepared *colours*,—these are grand evidences of the civilisation of Memphis 5,300 years ago, that every man with eyes to see can now behold in noble folios, published by France, Tuscany, and Prussia. *Ibid. p.*237.

The glimpse which we thus obtain of Egypt, in the fifth century after Menes, according to the lowest computation, [still 1,000 years before the Deluge,] reveals to us some general facts, which lead to important inferences. In all its general characteristics, Egypt was the same as we see it a thousand years later, [and for how many centuries before?]—a well organised monarchy and religion elaborated throughout the country,—the system of hieroglyphic writing the same, in all its leading peculiarities, as it continued to the end of the monarchy of the Pharaohs. KENRICK'S *Ancient Egypt, p.*131.

438. Moreover, as before observed, in this short interval, the most marked differences of physiognomy must have become stamped on the different races, since we find on the most ancient monuments of Egypt precisely the same negro face, head, hair, form, and colour, fully-developed, as we observe in our own days. In three or four centuries—not of the *primeval*

time before the Flood, but when that deteriorating change, whatever it may have been, which is intimated in G.vi.3, had already passed upon the race—the complete change of colour, form of skull, and general physical character, had been effected, which seems not to have been modified in the least, from that time to this, during the lapse of four thousand years. Archd. PRATT says, in reference to this, *Scripture and Science, p.55* :—

There is no evidence (!) that Shem, Ham, and Japheth had not in them elements differing as widely, as the Asiatic, the African, and the European, differ from each other (!) They may have married, too, into different tribes, and their wives have been as diversified as themselves.

439. DELITZCH notes on this point, *p.290* : —

Thus far the *possibility* of the derivation of the peoples from one family is established by Natural Science. Meanwhile, we do not wish to be silent as to the fact, that the maintenance of the contrary is becoming more and more prevalent. The distinguishing characteristics, it is said, of the races, lie not only in the colour of the hair, but also especially in the form of the skeleton and particularly of the skull. This difference is in the case of the principal races so great, that it is impossible to account for the variation through any kind of climatic or other ordinary influence. And, even if such a variation were possible, yet, in any case, a space of time of about 400 years, (from the Flood to the patriarchal times, in which the race-development is already an accomplished fact,) is besides far too short; so that both Natural Science and Chronology give positive proof of manifold division of the human race from the very first. As regards the first proof, however, no account is here taken of the incalculably great, and, in correspondence with the character of the primeval time, doubly intensified, influence of the spiritual and moral tendency of that age upon the bodily development. And as regards the second, we await complacently the final results of the investigation of the monuments, especially the Egyptian, and of such enquiries as that about the age of the by-gone American—especially, Mexican—civilisation. Perhaps, the chronological net of the Biblical primeval history really requires an extension. . . Allowing, however, that the Scripture has in fact leapt over hundreds, or even thousands, of years, would that be sufficient to throw our thoughts into confusion about it? The Bible history is the history of salvation: the history of salvation is, however, the heart of the world-history. And, as the heart is smaller than the man, although it determines his life, so, perhaps, the Bible-chronology is more contracted than the world-chronology, although this is raised upon the scaffold of the other (!). For the sacred history, that of the Gospel as well as of the Pentateuch, is complex, *i.e.*, it steps from one main-point of the history of salvation to the next, without drawing marked attention to the interval between them.

440. As DELITZCH observes, the difficulty lies not so much in the question whether the derivation of all the races of the earth from one family is *possible*. Mr. DARWIN'S recent investigations, on the origin of species, have shown us that such derivation is, perhaps, not scientifically inconceivable, *provided only that a sufficient lapse of time be allowed for it*. But then this theory would require *thousands* or *tens of thousands* of years, instead of *four hundred*, which is all the Bible allows us for the development of seventy distinct nations from the three sons of Noah: since, at the time when Abram came into the land of Canaan, we are told, 'the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelled then in the land,' G.xii.6,xiii.7.

441. Accordingly, Prof. RAWLINSON writes, *Aids to Faith*, *p.*282:—

> Were we bound down to the numbers of the Hebrew text, in regard to the period between the Flood and Abraham, we should, indeed, find ourselves in a difficulty. Three hundred and seventy years would certainly not seem to be sufficient time for the peopling of the world, to the extent to which it appears to have been peopled in the days of Abraham, and for the formation of powerful and settled monarchies in Babylonia and Egypt. But the adoption of the *Septuagint* numbers for this period, which are on every ground preferable, brings the chronology into harmony at once with the condition of the world, as shown to us in the account given in Scripture of the times of Abraham, and with the results obtainable from the study, in a sober spirit, of profane history. A *thousand* years is ample time for the occupation of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, by a considerable population, for the formation of governments, the erection even of such buildings as the Pyramids, the advance of the arts generally to the condition found to exist in Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty, and for almost any amount of subdivision and variety in languages.

442. In another place he writes, *p.*259:—

> The date of the Deluge, which we are most justified in drawing from the sacred documents, is not, as commonly supposed, B.C. 2348, but rather, B.C. 3099, or even B.C. 3159. The modern objectors to the chronology of Scripture seek commonly to tie down their opponents to the present Hebrew text. But there is no reason why they should submit to this restriction. The LXX version was regarded as of primary authority during the first ages of the Christian Church; it is the version commonly quoted in the N.T.; and thus, when it differs from the Hebrew, it is, at least, entitled to equal attention. The larger chronology of the LXX would, therefore, even if it stood alone, have as good a claim as the shorter one of the Hebrew text, to be considered the chronology of Scripture. It does not, however,

stand alone. For the period between the Flood and Abraham, the LXX has the support of another ancient and *independent* (?) version, the Samaritan. It is argued that the LXX numbers were enlarged by the Alexandrian Jews, in order to bring the Hebrew chronology into harmony with the Egyptian. But there is no conceivable reason why the *Samaritans* should have altered their Pentateuch in this direction, and no very ready mode of accounting for the identity of the numbers in these two versions, but by supposing that they are the real numbers of the original.

443. However, even if we adopt Prof. RAWLINSON'S extreme estimate, and suppose the Flood to have occurred B.C. 3,099, yet still this is not sufficient (437) to bring the Scripture narrative into agreement with scientific fact. And thus we have LEPSIUS writing, *Briefe aus Egypten, p.*35 :—

We are still busy with structures, sculptures, and inscriptions, which are to be classed, by means of the now more accurately-determined groups of kings, in an epoch of highly-flourishing civilisation, as far back as the *fourth millennium before Christ.* We cannot sufficiently impress upon ourselves and others those hitherto incredible dates. The more criticism is provoked by them, and forced to serious examination, the better for the cause. Conviction will soon follow angry criticism; and finally those results will be attained, which are so intimately connected with every branch of antiquarian research.

444. But the whole argument, which Prof. RAWLINSON derives from the identity of numbers in the *Septuagint* and *Samaritan* versions of the Pentateuch, falls to the ground at once, when we take account of the fact noticed in (19.ii.), that the *Samaritan Pentateuch* was most probably formed from a copy of the Pentateuch obtained from *Alexandria,* not from *Jerusalem,* and, therefore, probably agreeing generally with that, from which the *Septuagint version* itself was made. It *is* easy to understand why the Alexandrian interpreters *may* have altered the numbers, either for the reason above mentioned, or, perhaps, because they already saw the difficulty, which the smaller numbers occasioned. But can any good reason be conceived for the *Hebrews* corrupting *their* Scriptures, and changing the numbers in their Pentateuch, if they had originally the same numbers as are now found in the Septuagint?

445. HALES, indeed, *Elements of Hist. Chronology,* i.*p.*278, says:—

The motive, which led the Jews to mutilate the Patriarchal genealogies, is most clearly exposed by *Ephrem Syrus*, who died A.D. 378. 'The Jews,' says he, 'have subtracted 600 years from the generations of Adam, Seth, &c. in order that their own books might not convict them concerning the coming of Christ, He having been predicted to appear for the deliverance of mankind after 5,500 years.'

He quotes also ABULFARAGIUS to the same effect,—the corruption being supposed to have been made after the Christian era, in order to give more time for the appearance of the Messiah, who was expected by tradition to come in the sixth millenary age of the world.

446. But the authority is very slight for the above statement. And, as only 4,000 years had elapsed from the Creation to the Christian era, and the Messiah was not expected for 1,500 years, there would seem to have been hardly sufficient reason for the Jews making the alteration in question at so *early* a time,—if ever they desired to make it. Mr. POOLE says, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, i.*p.*320 :—

With respect to probability of accuracy arising from the state of the text, the Hebrew certainly has the advantage. There is every reason to think that the Rabbins have been scrupulous in the extreme in making alterations. The LXX, on the other hand, shows signs of a carelessness that would almost permit change, and we have the probable interpolation of the second 'Cainan,'—[whose name is inserted between Arphaxad and Salah in the LXX, but is rejected by all commentators as an interpolation into the original text.]

Besides which, it would seem (251), that, according to the *Septuagint* chronology, Methuselah did not die till fourteen years after the Deluge. *This* would be a plain irreconcilable contradiction in *matter of fact*: whereas the difficulty, arising from the smaller ages of the Post-Diluvian Patriarchs, as given in the Hebrew, are only *scientific* difficulties, which would not be likely to be felt by a writer of so early an age.

447. Prof. RAWLINSON adds further, *p.*264 :—

Whether the chronology of these versions admits of further expansion (!)—whether, since the chronologies of the Hebrew Bible, the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, and the LXX differ, we can depend on any one of them (!),—or whether we must not consider that this portion of Revelation has been lost to us, by the mistakes of copyists, or the intentional alterations of systematisers (!),—it is not necessary at present to determine. 'Our treasure,' as before observed, 'is in earthen vessels.'

The revealed Word of God has been continued in the world, in the same way as other written compositions, by the multiplication of copies. No miraculous aid is vouchsafed to the transcribers, who are liable to make mistakes, and may not always have been free from the design of bending Scripture to their own views. *Still, at present, we have no need to suppose that the numbers have in every case* (!) *suffered.*

448. It is difficult to see what could be the object of a miraculous *revelation* of *numbers*, if there was not to be a miraculous *preservation* of them. But, as regards the numbers now under consideration, it is plain, from the Table given in (435), that the numbers in the genealogy to the birth of Terah '*have* in every case suffered,' and been *designedly* altered, either by the Hebrews *diminishing*, or the LXX *increasing*, each age by a century. There is no indication in these lists of any other than '*intentional* alterations of systematisers.' The question is, who are most likely to have corrupted the original numbers, the Hebrews or the Alexandrians?

449. Upon the general question of the possibility, that all human beings may have been derived from one pair, and that all the now-existing varieties of the race may have been gradually developed during a prodigious lapse of time, through a long succession of ages, the following remarks of Dr. NOTT, tending to show that there may have been different centres of creation for the human race, are well worthy of consideration, *Types of Mankind, p.*273-5.

These authorities, in support of the extreme age of the geological era to which man belongs, though startling to the unscientific, are not simply the opinions of a few; but such conclusions are substantially adopted by the leading geologists everywhere. And, although antiquity so extreme for man's existence on earth may shock some preconceived opinions, it is none the less certain that the rapid accumulation of new facts is fast familiarising the minds of the scientific world to this conviction. The monuments of Egypt have already carried us far beyond all chronologies heretofore adopted; and, when these barriers are once overleaped, it is in vain for us to attempt to approximate, even, to the epoch of man's creation. This conclusion is not based merely on the researches of such archæologists as LEPSIUS, BUNSEN, BIRCH, HUMBOLDT, &c., but on those also of such writers as KENRICK, HINCKS, OSBORN, and we may add, of all theologians, *who have really*

mastered the monuments of Egypt. Nor do these monuments reveal to us only a *single* race, at this early epoch, in full tide of civilisation, but they exhibit faithful portraits of the same African and Asiatic races, in all their diversity, which hold intercourse with Egypt at the present day.

'Now the question naturally springs up, whether the aborigines of *America* were not contemporary with the earliest races, known to us, of the eastern continent. If, as is conceded, 'Caucasian,' 'Negro,' 'Mongol,' and other races, existed in the Old World, already distinct, what reason can be assigned to show that the aborigines of America did not also exist, with their present types, 5,000 years ago? The naturalist must infer that the fauna and flora of the two continents were contemporary. All facts, and all analogy, war against the supposition, that America should have been left by the Creator a dreary waste for thousands of years, while the other half of the world was teeming with organised beings. This view is also greatly strengthened by the acknowledged fact, that not a single animal, bird, reptile, fish, or plant, was common to the Old and New Worlds. No naturalist of our day doubts that the animal and vegetable kingdoms of America were created where they are found, and not in Asia.

The races of *men* alone in America have been made an exception to this general law. But this exception cannot be maintained by any course of scientific reasoning. America, it will be remembered, was not only unknown to the early Romans and Greeks, but to the Egyptians; and, when discovered, less than four centuries ago, it was found to be inhabited, from the Arctic Sea to Cape Horn, and from Ocean to Ocean, by a population displaying peculiar physical traits, unlike any races in the whole world,—speaking languages bearing no resemblance in structure to other languages,—and living everywhere among animals and plants, specifically distinct from those of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica.

Further, in reflecting on the aboriginal races of America, we are at once met by the striking fact, that their physical characters are wholly independent of all climatic or known physical influences. Notwithstanding their immense geographical distribution, embracing every variety of climate, it is acknowledged by all travellers, that there is among this people a prevailing *type*, around which all the tribes (north, south, east, and west) cluster, though varying within prescribed limits. With trifling exceptions, all American Indians bear to each other some degree of family resemblance, quite as strong, for example, as that seen at the present day among full-blooded Jews; and yet they are distinct from every race of the Old World, in features, language, customs, arts, religions, and propensities. In the language of MORTON, who studied this people more thoroughly than any other writer, 'All possess, though in various degrees, the long, lank, black, hair,—the heavy brow,—the dull, sleepy, eye,—the full, compressed, lips,—and the salient, but dilated, nose.' These characters, too, are beheld in the most civilised and the most savage tribes, along the rivers and sea-coasts,—in the valleys, and on the mountains,—in the prairies, and in the forests,—in the torrid and in the icebound regions,—amongst those that live on fish, on flesh, or on vegetables.

The only race of the Old World, with which any connection has been reasonably

conjectured, is the *Mongol*. But, to say nothing of the marked difference in physical characters, their languages alone should decide against any such alliance. No philologist can be found to deny the fact, that the Chinese are now speaking and writing a language substantially the same as the one they used five thousand years ago,—and that, too, a language distinct from every tongue spoken by the Caucasian races. On the other hand, we have the American races, all speaking dialects indisputably peculiar to this continent, and possessing no marked affinity with any other. Now, if the Mongols have preserved a language entire, in Asia, for 5,000 years, they should likewise have preserved it *here*, or, to say the least, some trace of it. But, not only are the two linguistic groups radically distinct, but no *trace* of a Mongol tongue, dubious words excepted, can be found in the American idioms. If such imaginary Mongolians ever brought their Asiatic speech into this country, it is clear that their supposed descendants, the Indians, have lost it, and *the latter must have acquired, instead, that of some extinct race, which preceded a Mongol colonisation.* It will be conceded that a colony or nation could never lose its vocabulary so completely, unless through conquest and amalgamation,—in which case they would adopt *another* language. But, even when a tongue ceases to be spoken, some trace of it will continue to survive in the names of individuals, of rivers, places, countries, &c. . . The appellatives, Mississippi, Missouri, Orinoko, Ontario, Oneida, Alabama, and a thousand other Indian names, will live for ages after the last Red Man is mingled with the dust. They have no likeness to any nomenclature in the Old World.

450. He adds also on *p.*281 :—

The following conclusions were advanced by Mr. Duponceau, as early as 1819, in substantially the following language:—

(i) The American languages, in general, are rich in words and grammatical forms; and in their complicated construction the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail;

(ii) These complicated forms appear to exist in all these languages from Greenland to Cape Horn;

(iii) These forms differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the Old Hemisphere. We have no reason to believe that a race would ever lose its language, if kept aloof from foreign influences. It is a fact that in the little island of Great Britain the Welsh and the Erse are still spoken, although for 2,000 years pressed upon by the strongest influences, tending to exterminate a tongue. So with the Basque in France, which can be traced back at least 3,000 years, and is still spoken. Coptic was the speech of Egypt for at least 5,000 years, and still leaves its trace in the languages around. The Chinese has existed equally as long, and is still undisturbed. . . The language of Homer lives in a state of purity, to which, considering the extraordinary duration of its literary existence (2,500 years at least), there is no parallel, perhaps, on the face of the globe.

Although the nations of Europe and Western Asia have been in constant turmoil for thousands of years, and their languages torn to pieces, yet they have been

moulded into the great heterogeneous Indo-European mass, everywhere showing affinities among its own fragments, but no resemblance to American languages.

451. This question, however, of the Plurality of Races, is independent of that of the reliance to be placed on the accounts here given of the Patriarchs after the Flood. And that these are unhistorical is sufficiently shown by the following Table, where the numbers express the *years after the Flood* of the respective events.

Noah			died	350	years after the Flood.
Shem			„	502	„
Arphaxad,	born	2	„	404	„
Salah	„	37	„	470	„
Eber	„	67	„	531	„
Peleg	„	101	„	340	„
Reu	„	131	„	370	„
Serug	„	163	„	393	„
Nahor	„	193	„	341	„
Terah	„	222	„	427	„
Abraham	„	292	„	467	„
Isaac	„	392	„	572	„
Jacob	„	452	„	599	„

452. According to the above, Noah, Shem, Arphaxad, &c.—in fact, *all* of Abraham's progenitors—were living during many years of Abraham's life, and Shem, Salah, and Eber, outlived him. Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, Serug, Terah, were living at the birth of Isaac; and Shem and Eber lived, the one during fifty, and the other during nearly eighty, years of the life of Jacob. Yet we do not find the slightest intimation that either Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, paid any kind of reverence or attention to any of their ancestors, more especially to their great ancestor Shem, who had gone through that wonderful event of the Deluge,—(except, indeed, on the strange supposition that Melchizedek was Shem),—or that Abraham ever paid a visit to Noah, who, however, is supposed by some (without the slightest warrant from Scripture) to have colonised the extreme East, China, &c., and so to have gone out of his reach.

453. Again, it will be found that at the time of Isaac's birth, —when Sarah is represented as 'bearing a son to Abraham *in his old age*,' G.xxi.2,—when Abraham and Sarah were 'old and well-stricken in age,' G.xvii.17, and Abraham 'laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born to him that is a *hundred* years old?' as if that were an extraordinary and surprising age for a man to beget children,—there were actually living, as above, Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, Serug, Terah, aged 580, 390, 355, 325, 229, 170 years respectively, and Eber lived 139 years longer. Must we suppose that none of these had children at the age of a hundred? But of Shem himself we are told, G.xi.10,11—

'Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the Deluge; and Shem lived, after his begetting Arphaxad, five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.'

454. It is plain, then, that Shem's children were *all* born *after* he was a hundred years old; and Shem himself, and, we may suppose, these children, or some of them, were still living at the birth of Isaac. As to the other patriarchs, we are only told their ages at the birth of the firstborn son in each case, and these ages range from 29 to 35 years, except in the case of Abraham's father, who appears to have begotten Abraham at the age of 70, G.xi.26. This last, however, is not certain: as the text may only mean that Terah's *three* sons were born before he was 70. In all the other cases it is merely said that they 'begat sons and daughters,' and it may be supposed that none, except Shem, had children at the age of a hundred, or near it. But this would involve the incongruity that Arphaxad, Salah, and Eber had no children born to them, during three-fourths or even four-fifths of their lives, which is out of all proportion to the state of things in the present day, and conflicts with the notion, usually entertained, of a remarkable fecundity in these early times, by which the human race was replenished so soon after the Flood.

455. It will be observed also that the more ancient progenitors, according to the above list, survived the later ones. Thus Noah died ten years *after* Peleg, and therefore he was living at the time of the 'dispersion of tongues.' So also were Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, and, perhaps, also all the *other* forefathers of Abraham, *viz.* Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah, since Peleg died first of them all, and we are not told in what year of his life the dispersion took place. It is impossible to say whether the writer supposed that all these Patriarchs, or any of them, took part in the project of building the tower. We may suppose that Noah and Shem did not: but, as to the others, the Scripture only informs us that Terah and his family were idolators a hundred years before the death of Shem, Jo.xxiv.2; see also Judith v.6,7.

456. The following remarks are quoted from Dr. HALES by KITTO, *Hist. of the Jews*, *p.*17:—

> Upon this supposition, idolatry must have begun and prevailed, and the patriarchal government have been overthrown by Nimrod and the builders of Babel, during the life-time of Noah himself, and his three sons. If Shem lived unto the 110th year of Isaac, and the 50th year of Jacob, why was not he included in the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham and his family? Or why is he utterly unnoticed in their history? How could the earth have been so populous in Abraham's days? Or how could the kingdoms of Assyria, Egypt, &c. have been established so soon after the Deluge? This last difficulty was strongly felt by Sir W. RALEIGH, who in his *History of the World* remarks,—'In this patriarch's time, all the then parts of the world were peopled; all nations and countries had their kings; Egypt had many magnificent cities, and so had Palestine, and all the neighbouring countries, yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as India, and these not built with sticks, but of burnt stone and with ramparts, which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men have supposed.' In another place he forcibly observes, 'If we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abraham's time, yea, before his birth, we shall find it were very illdone, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between the Flood and Abraham; because in cutting them too near the quick, *the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed.*'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SCRIPTURE REFERENCES TO THE CREATION, THE FALL, AND THE DELUGE.

457. It becomes now an interesting, and, for the supporters of the traditionary view, a very important, question, to consider what notice has been taken by the later Scripture writers of these early portions of the Pentateuch.

Do the Psalmists and Prophets refer to the story of the *First Man*,—to that of the *Garden*, the *Forbidden Fruit*, the *Serpent*, the *Fall*, and the *Deluge*,—as undoubted facts, the truth of which had been attested by Divine authority? Do they speak of these subjects, or any one of them, as if they were well-known and familiar to their own thoughts, and to the thoughts of all around them? Do they quote them freely, as a modern devout poet or preacher would do,—as any earnest student of the Bible, holding the traditionary view, would do,—as if they *believed* in them, as truths divinely revealed and infallibly certain?

458. The reply is easy to be given. They do nothing of the kind. The story of the first man is scarcely even once referred to at all, and only, *if* at all,—which, as we shall presently see, is exceedingly doubtful,—with a slight passing notice, enough just to show that the story was written (as we suppose it was), and in some measure known to the writer and his readers. None of its details are ever mentioned. As Lengkerke observes, *Kenaan*, *p.*xvii: —

> One single certain trace of the employment of the story of Adam's Fall is

entirely wanting in the Hebrew Canon. Adam, Eve, the Serpent, the woman's seduction of her husband, &c., are all images, to which the remaining words of the Israelites never again recur.

At all events there is not the slightest indication that, in the teaching of the Hebrew Prophets, the account of the Fall was quoted and dwelt upon, as we must certainly believe it would have been,—at least, occasionally,—if they had believed in the Divine authority of the narrative.

And as to Noah, his name is never once mentioned, nor is any reference made to the Deluge by any one of the Psalmists and Prophets, except in the latter part of the book of Isaiah, *Is.*liv.9, and in Ez.xiv.14,20, by writers undoubtedly living after the Captivity.

459. KURTZ, however, i.*p.*87, endeavours to prove that there is, at least, *some* reference to the story of the Fall in the later writings of the O.T., though he admits that—

it is indeed remarkable that special references to these events occur so rarely.

But the following are the only instances of this kind which he is able to produce, and they include all which Dr. M'CAUL has produced.

(i) *The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock, and dust shall be the serpent's meat.* Is.lxv.25.

But these words, instead of referring in any way to the curse pronounced in G.iii.14, express quite another idea. In the passage of Genesis, it is pronounced, as part of the curse upon the serpent, that it should 'eat dust,' while the venomous creature itself was to retain all its power to sting and injure,—to 'bruise the heel' of man. But the Prophet's language implies that the serpent then, in the Messianic time, like the wolf and lion, shall be no longer hostile and deadly to other creatures or to man, but shall feed contentedly on 'dust' as they upon straw. The Prophet merely refers to the common notion of those times, that the serpent lived partially, if not wholly, on the sustenance which it drew from the dust through which it wriggled. See the note of KALISCH quoted above in (203).

(ii) '*They shall lick the dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like creeping things of the earth; they shall be afraid of Jehovah our Elohim, and shall fear because of Thee.*' Mic.vii.17.

The cause must have been a desperate one, indeed, which compelled Dr. KURTZ to quote this passage,—which merely describes men wriggling along in terror, like

worms, upon the ground, (just as the Zulus used to do, when approaching their dreaded king Chaka, and as people still do, when appearing before an Oriental despot,) as having any reference whatever to the curse pronounced upon the serpent in G.iii.14.

Dr. M'CAUL, however, goes yet further, and says, *p.*176 :—

'We have here not only a reference to G.iii.14, but a quotation of certain words from D.xxxii.24. The Hebrew word for 'creeping-things' (זֹחֲלֵי, *zokhălē*) occurs only here, in Deut., and in Job xxxii.6.'

That is to say, because in D.xxxii.24 we find 'creeping-things of the *dust*,' and in Mic.vii.17, 'creeping-things of the *earth*,' and the two phrases used in totally different connections, therefore Micah has made a 'verbal quotation of certain *words*' (N.B. *one* word at the most) from Deuteronomy! The allegation reminds one of the ingenious critic, who adduced, as a proof of SHAKESPEARE's acquaintance with Latin, the verbal agreement between the sentence, '*I præ, sequar*,' to be found in TERENCE, and the corresponding sentence, 'Go before, I'll follow,' to be found in SHAKESPEARE. If there is any copying in the case, which appears to us most improbable, we apprehend that it is the later Deuteronomist, who must have imitated his predecessor Micah.

(iii) *Thou hidest Thy face, they are troubled; Thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust.* Ps.civ.29.

(iv) *His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.* Ps.cxlvi.4.

All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Ecc.iii.20.

Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto Elohim who gave it. Ecc.xii.7.

There *may* be a reference in these verses to G.iii.19. But, surely, the sight or the burial of a corpse might suffice of itself to awaken in any pious mind such reflections as these,—even, as we have seen (212), in the mind of a heathen. And, in any case, Ps.civ,cxlvi, are two strongly Jehovistic Psalms, and were, perhaps, written long after the Captivity. And the book of Ecclesiastes does not contain the name Jehovah at all; which fact combines with other internal evidence to show that it was not written by Solomon, as is generally supposed, but composed (as most critics agree) in a much later age, long after the Captivity, when the name was disused altogether, it would seem, for superstitious reasons. There is no doubt that the present Pentateuch was in existence and well-known in those days, and therefore might have been referred to by any writer; but it cannot be pronounced with any confidence that there is actually any reference to it in the above passages.

But even these passages speak only of the *mortality* of man. There is no reference whatever to the *Temptation*, the *Sin*, the *Fall*, as an article of the Hebrew Faith, either here or elsewhere.

460. KURTZ, however, says: —

Equally clear is the reference in Job xxxi.33, and Hos.vi.7, to the history of the Fall.

With the limitation '*equally* clear' the statement may be admitted; for neither in these passages, nor in the former, is there, as it appears to us, the slightest reference to the Fall, though, in the case of Hos.vi.7, we have Dr. M'CAUL'S opinion confirming that of Dr. KURTZ.

In the first of the above texts, Job.xxxi.33, the E.V. reads:—

'If I covered my transgressions *as Adam*, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom.'

In the second, Hos.vi.7, we find:—

'But they, *like men*, have transgressed the covenant.'

461. The Hebrew is the same, כְּאָדָם, *kĕAdam*, in both the expressions italicised; though our translators have rendered it differently in the two cases. It is clear that, in the second instance, the word can hardly be translated 'Adam,' since Adam had not transgressed any 'covenant,' unless it be supposed (with some commentators) that he transgressed a 'covenant of works'; and, certainly, in any case, the sudden allusion to him would be very abrupt,—the more so, as the other Prophets do not refer to him freely in this way, nor, indeed, do they ever once mention his name at all under any circumstances. Our translators, therefore, have understood the phrase to mean 'like men,' 'after the manner of men,' as in Ps.lxxxii.7,—

'But ye shall die *like men* (כְּאָדָם), and fall like one of the princes.'

462. And this is, no doubt, the meaning in the other passage also, as will be seen by the following instances of translation.

In Job xxxi.33, the *Vulg.* has, 'Si abscondi, quasi homo, peccatum meum,'—the *Syr.* (Walton), 'Si celavi, ut homines, peccata mea,'—the *Sept.*, Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμαρτῶν ἀκουσίως ἔκρυψα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μου,—the *Chald. Par.* (Walton), 'Si operui, sicut Adam, peccatum meum,'—CAHEN, 'Si comme les hommes j'ai caché mes péchés,'—DIODATI, 'Come sogliono far gli huomini,'—SCHMIDT, 'Num texi sicut homo prævaricationes meas,'—JUNIUS and TREMELLIUS, 'Si texi more hominum defectiones meas,'—LUTHER, 'Habe ich meine Schalckheit wie ein Mensch gedeckt.'

In Hos.vi.7, the *Vulg.* has, 'Ipsi autem, sicut Adam, transgressi sunt pactum,'—the *Syr.*, 'Ipsi tamen, ut filius hominis, transgressi sunt fœdus meum,'—the *Arab.*,

'At isti sunt similes homini fœdus illic prævaricanti,'—*Targ. Jon.*, 'At ipsi, sicut generationes priscæ, transgressi sunt pactum meum,'—the *Sept.*, Αὐτοὶ δέ εἰσιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραβαίνων διαθήκην,—CAHEN, 'Mais ils ont, comme le vulgaire, transgressé l'alliance,'—SCHMIDT, 'Et illi, ut homo, transgressi sunt fœdus,'—JUNIUS and TREMELLIUS, 'At isti tanquam homines transgressi sunt fedus;' but LUTHER has, 'Sie übertreten den Bund wie Adam.'—And further, on this passage see Dr. DAVIDSON'S *Introduct. to Old Test.* vol.iii.*p.*241.

463. KURTZ further proceeds to say:—

The same remark applies to Is.xliii.27, where the expression, 'thy first father hath sinned,' can only refer to Adam, as the best commentators have shown. However, HOFMAN views the latter passage as an allusion to Abraham.

But, if we consider the whole verse,—

'Thy first father hath sinned, and thy teachers have transgressed against me,'—

it is clear that the reference cannot possibly be to *Adam*, whoever may be meant by it. What had Adam to do particularly with the people of Israel? The reference is manifestly to the people of Israel itself, when on its march out of Egypt, which is here personified as the 'first father' of the present generation. And, accordingly, the LXX has οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν πρῶτοι, which LUTHER follows, 'Deine voreltern haben gesundiget.'

464. KURTZ adds,—

Let it also be remembered that all the sacrificial services of the O.T. are based on G.iii (!). Nor can we be mistaken in finding in the expression 'surely die,' which so frequently occurs in the Mosaic criminal legislation, a reference to the 'surely die' of the first legislation in G.ii.17(!).

If any inference could be drawn from the occurrence of such a phrase both in Leviticus and in G.ii.17, it would only be this, that the *same* writer was concerned in both cases.

465. Finally, KURTZ sums up, as follows:—

If any doubt should still remain, we submit that the facts, recorded in these chapters, *are chronicled with a childlike simplicity*, and that hence the manifold deep bearing of this narrative required a lengthened training, before it could be perfectly apprehended in the consciousness of the individual, [even of such a Prophet as Isaiah or Jeremiah, or of any one of the Psalmists, after a 'lengthened training' of so many centuries!] So rich and deep is always the *commencement* of a development, that the *continuation* of it is not sufficient fully to bring its treasures to light. It is only at its completion, that all which had lain concealed in it appears.

466. We thus see how very slight, if any, is the reference to this part of the Pentateuch, in the writings of the most devout men of later days; though we find distinct references to the Fall in the apocryphal book of Wisdom, ii.24, where also the 'Serpent' is for the first time identified with the Evil Spirit, after the Hebrews had come into close contact with the later Persian mythology:—

'Through envy of the Devil came death into the world.'

And so we read in Ecclus.xxv.24:—

'Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.'

467. TUCH observes, *p.*54:—

This later revival [of the ancient myth in G.iii] explains itself through the acquaintance, which, while in exile, the Israelites made with the religion of the Parsees, the influence of which shows itself plainly in this, that the serpent is explained to mean Satan, now incorporated into the Jehovah-worship . . . Thus the old Hebrew form of the myth is brought nearer to the Persian (225). The essential difference of the two myths ought to be a sufficient proof *against* the derivation of the Hebrew from the Persian, maintained by von BOHLEN and others, who deduce 'from this the later [rather, *very* late] origin of Gen.iii. *For why should not, in that case, Satan appear in action,* [*i.e.* in *person*, not in the form of a serpent,] *which the later form of the Hebrew religion allowed?* Certainly, however, these myths stand in a sisterly relation, having proceeded from one primary legend, which in different forms has spread itself over the whole Orient.

468. But in the older Canonical Scriptures we find no such references,—no allusion of any kind to the story of Adam and Eve and the Fall, or to that of Noah and the Deluge, except, as we have said, in *Is.*liv.9, Ez.xiv.14,20.

Mention, indeed, is made in the Proverbs of the 'tree of life' in four passages,—

'She is a *tree of life* to them that lay hold upon her,' iii.18;
'The fruit of the righteous is a *tree of life*,' xi.30;
'When the desire cometh, it is a *tree of life*,' xiii.12;
'A wholesome tongue is a *tree of life*,' xv.4;—

and of the 'fountain of life' in four others,—

'The mouth of the righteous is a *fountain of life*,' x.11;
'The law of the wise is a *fountain of life*,' xiii.14;
'The fear of Jehovah is a *fountain of life*,' xiv.27;
'Understanding is a *fountain of life* unto him that hath it,' xvi.22:—

and so too we read, Ps.xxxvi.9,—

'With Thee is the *fountain of life.*'

But these expressions are evidently proverbial, and drawn at all events from some other source than G.ii,iii, which makes no mention at all of the 'fountain of life.'

469. It is very difficult to explain this silence on the traditionary view, as it is stated by Dr. M'CAUL, *Examination*, &c. *p.*208, *viz.* that—

there never was a time in Israel, from the days of Moses on, when the Pentateuch was unknown.

It seems, in fact, with only the above evidence before us, impossible to believe, that the devout Prophets, Priests, and Kings, and pious people all along, were thoroughly conversant with the written Law, were deep in the study of it, and practising its precepts daily,—were reminded annually of its existence by the sacred ordinances, which the more religious minds among them faithfully observed, and were also summoned once in seven years to hear the whole Law read at the Feast of Tabernacles, D.xxxi.9–13.

470. But it is easy to account for this phenomenon, if we suppose that the story of the Fall was, as we have seen already some reason to believe, written by the Jehovist, not earlier than the latter part of David's reign, and was known to the great and good of that time as only a narrative, written for the edification of the people, by some distinguished man of the age. Probably, one or two copies may have been made of it, or, perhaps, only one, which remained in the charge of the Priests, and may have been added to from time to time. But the existence of this was so little known in after days,—in other words the book, in the form which it had then assumed, was allowed, even by the best Kings, Priests, and Prophets, to drop so completely into oblivion,—that in the time of Josiah, when the 'Book of the Law' was found in the Temple, the very idea of any such book being *still* in existence seemed quite strange to the king and to his people.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

471. We have now completed the analysis and examination of the First Eleven Chapters of Genesis. The analysis has clearly shown that this portion of the Pentateuch, at all events, is not the work of one author,—that the hands of (at least) two distinct writers can be traced throughout in it, one of whom, as far as present appearances indicate, must have written subsequently to the other, and with the older document before him, —though it still remains to be considered whether the later of the two wrote merely to fill up the blanks, which appeared to his mind to exist in the older story, or whether he composed originally a complete separate narrative, which was afterwards, in a later age, incorporated with the older work. It is possible also, as we have seen (98), that some of the Jehovistic passages in these chapters may be due to the hand of a later compiler. But to any one, who has followed carefully the train of reasoning in Chap.iii viii, by which the above main result has been obtained, it will be evident, as we believe, that it does not rest on mere fancy or conjecture,—that it is an undeniable fact.

472. If this be true, there is no room for the supposition of Dr. Pye Smith (25), that these are merely fragments of older documents, handed down from Jacob, Abraham, Noah,— even from Adam,—worked in by Moses himself into the narrative, which he was composing in the wilderness for the instruction of the people of Israel in all future ages. Even were

this supposition well-founded, the historical value of this part of the Bible would be seriously weakened, and its (supposed) infallible accuracy impaired, not only by the contradictions, which it presents, as we have seen, throughout to innumerable facts of Modern Science, but also by the discrepancies which are observed to exist, when separate statements of the different authors, whose writings are here put together, are compared with one another.

473. But the supposition itself is inadmissible,* because the

* Still less is there any room for the strange notion of Prof. KINGSLEY, who, however, feels himself obliged to abandon some part of the traditionary view, but writes as follows, *Gospel of the Pentateuch*, p.5: —

'All I shall say about the matter is, that the first chapter of Genesis and the three first verses of the second, [*i.e.* our *first* Elohistic section, G.i.1-ii.3,] may be the writing of a prophet *older* than Moses, because they call God 'Elohim,' which was His name before Moses's time; and that Moses may have used them, and worked them into the book of Genesis; while he, in the part which he wrote himself, called God at first by the name 'Jehovah Elohim,' the Lord God, in order to show that Jehovah and El were the same God, and not two different ones; and, after he had made the Jews understand that, went on to call God simply 'Jehovah,' and to use the two names, as they are used throughout the rest of the Old Testament, interchangeably. [On further consideration Prof. KINGSLEY, I think, will perceive unmistakable signs of, at least, two distinct authors in Genesis, as is shown by our analysis, from which it appears (77) that about *half* of G.i-xi is due to one writer, and *half* to another.] . . . That, I think, is the probable and simple account, which tallies most exactly with the Bible. As for the first five books of the Bible,—the Pentateuch,—having been written by Moses, or at least by far the greater part of them, I cannot see the least reason to doubt it. . . . The tradition of the Jews, (who really ought to know best), has always (!) been that Moses wrote either the whole or the greater part. Moses is far the most likely (!) man to have written them, of all of whom we read in Scripture. [What do we know of Moses, except from the Pentateuch itself?] We have not the least proof (!), and, what is more, never shall or can have (!!), that he did not write them. And, therefore, I advise you to believe, as I do, that the universal tradition of both Jews and Christians is right, when it calls these books the books of Moses,'—[and when it assigns to Moses certainly G.i.1-ii.3, as well as the rest.]

But, indeed, Prof. KINGSLEY's mode of defending the historical truth and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is very peculiar. As to the former he says, *p.*222, 'I know *no stronger proof* of the truth of the book of Deuteronomy, and of the whole Pentateuch (!), than—*its ending so differently from what we should have*

same two hands can be traced distinctly, not only throughout the rest of the book of Genesis, but also in the later part of the history, where Moses himself in person comes upon the scene. Thus all critics allow that in E.vi.2–4 we have a portion of the Elohistic document, written undoubtedly by the selfsame hand which wrote G.i. If, therefore, it be supposed that Moses himself was the writer of E.vi.2–4,—and it would seem that Moses *must* have written it, if he wrote any part of the Pentateuch, since no other but Moses *could* have given an account, from actual *personal* knowledge, of the revelation of the name 'Jehovah' contained in this passage,—it must be admitted that this older document, by the hand of the great Lawgiver himself, has been greatly enlarged and materially modified, by the introduction of a number of important passages by a later hand.

474. But, whether Moses wrote the Elohistic document or not,—a question which we must leave to be discussed in a future Part of this work,—it is plain, from what we have had before us, that not only is the Elohistic matter of this part of Genesis at variance in some important points with the Jehovistic, but they both conflict repeatedly, in the strongest manner, with the undoubted facts of Science, and neither, therefore, of the two narratives can be regarded as throughout historically true. For, as already observed, the Light of Revelation cannot be at variance with the Light of Science: the real Word of God cannot either contradict itself or contradict the real Work of God. It follows from this that we must not look for the real Word of God in these contradictory statements of matter of fact, —in the mere outward shell, the letter, of the Scriptures. The Word of God, in the high and proper sense of this expression, is *that* in the Bible—the living Word—which speaks to the

expected, or indeed wished.' (!) And as to the latter he asks, *p.*185, 'If Moses did not write it, *who did?*' As well might Boyle have asked in the famous controversy, 'If Phalaris did not write the letters of Phalaris, *who did?*'

hearts and consciences of living men,—which stirs within them divine thoughts, kindles devout feelings, impels to faithful action, awakens holy desire, reveals to the longing eye and the pure heart the Living God.

475. As Prof. OWEN has admirably said, *Inaugural Address at Leeds*, Dec. 16, 1862, *p.*8 :—

Those who contend that such religious truths rest essentially on the basis of the literal and verbal accuracy and acceptability of every physical proposition in the Pentateuch, hazard much, and incur grave responsibilities. . . When a physical fact is demonstrated, and contradicts a canonical statement, it is sometimes objected that the contradiction is apparent, not real; or, if the propositions are too plainly and diametrically opposed, it is next said that 'the truth, as it is manifested in the works, and as it is affirmed in the Word, of God, must be one, must ultimately harmonize.' But here the very point at issue is assumed, *viz.* whether the ancient statement of a physical fact be truly, as alleged, a direct verbal inspiration from above, a literal Word of God. . . whether, I say, the alleged inspired statements as to these phenomena, in their plain sense, be conformable to the certain knowledge, which it has pleased the Author of all Truth to put us in possession of, by the exercise of the powers He has given for that purpose, and at the times when, in His Providence, it was proper that such truths should be communicated to mankind.

When the canonical statement and the scientific demonstration do concur, who rejoices more than the Christian philosopher? When they do not, and the opposing statements are irreconcilable, who is more bound than the Christian philosopher [or the Christian minister] to deliver the truth and declare the error, and *fling from him the sophism by which the error is salved or veiled, that it may still be reverently cherished, notwithstanding the admitted demonstration of its erroneous nature*?

476. It is only, however, an analysis, such as that conducted in Chap.iii–vi, which can dispel effectually from the minds of many even intelligent persons, well read in science, the lingering remains of that fancy, with which, perhaps, they have been thoroughly imbued in their youth, that the Bible cannot be a Teacher—a Divinely-given Teacher—for us in spiritual things, unless we regard it as a part of our religious duty to receive, with submissive, unquestioning, faith, all its statements of fact, as indisputable, infallible, words of historical truth, to the accuracy of which the Divine Veracity itself is pledged. So strong, indeed, is the force of habit, that,

while the Pentateuch is regarded as wholly or chiefly the work of Moses, men will still cling to the notion,—or the notion will still cling to them,—that it may be possible in some way to reconcile its statements with fact. It is only, when the work is resolved into its separate elements, that the charm is broken,—the delusion passes off,—and the power ceases to act, which binds men to the mere letter of the Scripture as the revealed Word of God.

477. And then comes the danger—the result of all this erroneous teaching, which insists upon maintaining that—

the very foundations of our faith, the very basis of our hopes, the very nearest and dearest of our consolations, are taken from us, when one line of that Sacred Volume, on which we base everything, is declared to be unfaithful or untrustworthy.

It is this,—that, when men's eyes are opened to the real facts of the case, in an age like this of great scientific activity, they may lose their reverence for the Scriptures altogether, and cease to regard the Bible with that true, devout, intelligent, affection, —with that deep sense of the blessings, of which in God's Providence it has been the minister to man, and that living faith in the Divine Truths, which it has been the means of maintaining and propagating through the world,—which every true Christian will feel, and which it is the desire and aim of such critical labours as these to develope and foster.

478. Nay, even in the case of those, who, having been steeped to the lips in Bibliolatry of this kind from their infancy, have gradually worked their way out of it through the greater part of a life, not without help in various degrees from this teacher and that,—even in their case there may come at length a crisis, when the apologies, the explanations, the transcendental meanings, the looking for the clearing up of some hitherto dark mysteries, from which light is to fall on all other disputed points,—when all these are seen to be needless, mere cobwebs of men's brains, spun to bridge over a chasm, which does not

really exist between the Scriptures and other writings. And when this crisis arrives, it is not surprising that there should often come with it at first a danger of some revulsion of feeling against that which has been treated as an idol, and before which so much anxious thought, so much painful feeling, has been offered as incense. Even before the *crisis*, it is probable that the study of that book will have been growing less and less general, and the parts most dwelt upon confined to certain more favourite passages.

479. But what is the case even now, practically, with the more intelligent clergy,—nay, with the clergy generally? For *practice* is always a surer guide to the real opinions of men than mere *theory*. The *theory* of very many clergymen of the Church of England is this, that every line of Scripture is 'given by inspiration of God,' and is therefore '*profitable* for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' But the *practice* of all of them is to select for the texts of their sermons only such passages, as *seem to them* to be 'profitable' for any of the above purposes, or, to use the modern phrase, 'edifying.' Yet, if the Bible is in every part of it 'the Word of God,' what right have we, as 'ministers and stewards of God's Word,' to hold back any portion of that Word from our congregations? How can we say to our people, as the Apostle Paul said to the elders of Ephesus, that we 'have not shunned to declare unto them *all* the counsel of God,' when we pass over scores of verses, and even whole chapters, of the Bible, in the choice of subjects for our addresses to them from the pulpit?

480. The opinion that the Bible is the 'Word of God,' and special vehicle of the knowledge of His Will, only so far as it *contains* the Word of God, is viewed with alarm by very many of the clergy, because they say that it constitutes each individual the judge to decide what *is* the Word of God, and what is not. No doubt it does: the responsibility *must* lie

on every living man to know when he feels in his heart the penetrating force of God's living Word,—

'quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart,' Heb.iv.12,—

to know when he *hears* the 'Word of God,' that he may receive and obey it. But, every time that a clergyman sits down to choose a text for a sermon, he constitutes himself a judge of God's Word unconsciously. He picks out certain portions of the Bible, because he *feels* that they embody a certain amount of 'moral and religious truth,' and, *as such*, are especially fitted to *come home to the hearts and consciences of his hearers.* He passes over certain other portions of the same book, because he *feels* that they would *not* be 'profitable,'—neither 'for doctrine,' nor 'for reproof,' nor 'for correction,' nor 'for instruction in righteousness.'

481. Yet this is the New Testament test of an inspired writing, that is to say, of one containing the Word of God. Our own moral instincts warn us off from some passages of the Bible, as being not only unprofitable, but contrary to the spirit and letter of Christ's Gospel. Our own common-sense also tells us that certain other passages would not be 'profitable' to our congregations, as containing only mere lists of places or genealogies. Another class of passages we leave untouched, because we feel that, though profitable in times past to those for whose instruction they were written, they are no longer profitable in the altered circumstances of our own age, and do not therefore contain that 'moral and religious truth,' which, as being of *eternal* and *universal* application, we may safely proclaim, at all times and to all persons, as the 'Word of God.' In all such cases, then, we *do*, as a matter of fact, judge for ourselves, what parts of Scripture we will make use of in the pulpit, as speaking from God to us, and invested with divine authority.

482. But many of the clergy go much further. They dwell

on certain *favourite* texts of Scripture, because they fall in, or seem to fall in, with their own doctrinal prepossessions, and never preach on certain other texts, which are, or seem to be, opposed to those prepossessions. Surely, these, at least, are in the habit of judging for themselves what is (to them) the 'Word of God,' and what is not,—what is 'the Gospel,' and what is not. It is possible that the sermon-registers of some of the clergy, holding extreme views on either side of well-known controversies, would yield some remarkable statistics on this point.*

483. It will by this time, however, I trust, be apparent to any, who will thoughtfully consider the evidence produced in these chapters, that, whatever may have been the case in times past, our religious duty now,—our duty to obey the Truth, and to follow the revealed Will of our Creator,—so far from requiring us to receive any longer the stories, which we have been considering, as true, unquestionable, facts of history —on the contrary, requires us to *reject* them *as such*. It requires us all,—instead of forcing the Scripture narrative, in these first chapters of Genesis, to yield to us lessons, which it would not naturally teach us, or trying to evade the conclusions, which *may* naturally be drawn from these and other passages, †—

* For proofs of the truth of the above remarks, I need only refer to the very useful *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, Part I, compiled by Mr. DARLING, and containing the texts and titles of an enormous number of sermons, carried through every book of the Old and New Testament. An analysis of this stupendous work would be most interesting and instructive, with reference to the above subject; but it would show that there are very many passages of the Bible, *i.e.* as some say, of the revealed 'Word of God,' which are never *preached on*, as also there are many which in some Churches are never *read* to the congregation.

† As the justification of *slavery* from N.xxxi.40, 'of which Jehovah's tribute was thirty and two persons,' or of the execution of *witches* from E.xxii.18,L.xx.27, 'they shall stone them with stones, their blood shall be upon them.' How can the New-Zealand natives be blamed for 'punishing cursing, adultery, and witchcraft, by stoning,' because they believed the Levitical Law to be the best of laws, since that Law, they were told, was Divine (see Part II.*p.*170, *note*)? Or why should we wonder if the Essex villagers believed that, in murdering a wretched

to be ready to receive, with devout faith and humble adoration, that wondrous Revelation of Himself, which God is manifestly making in these our days, by giving us the glorious Light of Modern Science,—those grand lessons of Eternal Truth, which that Light displays to us.

484. Why should not our clergy be the first to teach these lessons to their flocks, varying the dry routine of dogmas, or the stereotyped 'improvements' of Scripture texts, to which the discourses of so many of them are now exclusively confined, by bringing before them freely the ennobling and strengthening, yet, at the same time, sobering, humbling, solemnizing views, which the great scientific discoveries of our own time unfold to us? There are, indeed, many among the clergy, who are themselves distinguished in scientific pursuits, and who are so constituted mentally, that they do not heed the restraints imposed on such studies by dogmatic theology, or do not feel them. It is far otherwise with many others. They *dare* not entertain some of the great questions of the day, or face for themselves, much less for their congregations, some of the most interesting and certain conclusions, at which scientific men have unanimously arrived.*

old man, who professed to be a wizard, on Sept. 27, 1863, they were only doing what the State neglected to do, and 'working out the righteousness of God,' who had commanded Moses, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live'?

* Brydone writes, *Tour through Sicily and Malta, p.*92: 'Recupero has made use of this, as an argument to prove the great antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain (Etna) . . . He tells me, he is exceedingly embarrassed by these discoveries, in writing the history of the mountain,—that Moses hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for enquiry; for that really he has not the conscience to make his mountain so young, as that prophet makes the world . . . . The Bishop, who is strenuously orthodox, has already warned him to be on his guard, and not to pretend to be a better natural historian than Moses, nor to presume to urge anything that may in the smallest degree be deemed contradictory to his sacred authority.'

But, even in our own days, we have had some remarkable instances of the deference paid, even by scientific laymen, to the popular notion of the infallibility of all Scripture statements, as in the case mentioned in Part I, *p.*xxiv, *note*, or in the following passage from Sir J. G. Wilkinson, who wrote in 1835: 'I am aware that

485. Brought up in that narrow school of theological training, which ignores altogether the plainest results of Biblical criticism,—taught to regard every word and letter of the Scripture as infallibly true and unspeakably Divine,—they dare not, for their own peace of mind, discuss with any freedom such questions as that of the 'Antiquity of Man,' or the possible existence of different races of mankind, not all derived from one pair of ancestors, but corresponding to different centres of creation, as the animals among which they are found. They shrink from examining into the historical credibility of the accounts of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, from discussing the Scripture account of the formation of woman, of her temptation, of the entrance of death into the world, of the sentence passed on the dust-eating serpent, the childbearing woman, the labouring man,—of the curse passed upon this blessed Earth, blooming now as (Geology tells us) it did of old, when there was no man upon the Earth to till it, no one to see its beauty, and to tell out the Greatness and Goodness of God.

486. Or, if any one dares to do this, he is in danger of falling at once under the 'thunders of censure,' threatened by Bishop WILBERFORCE in his recent Charge, or under the weight of his dictum, *Guardian*, Nov. 25, 1863—

the era of MENES might be carried back to a much more remote period than the date I have assigned it. But, as we have as yet no authority further than the uncertain accounts of MANETHO'S copyists, to enable us to fix the times, and the number of reigns intervening between his accession and that of Apappus, I have not placed him earlier, *for fear of interfering with the date of the Deluge of Noah*, which *is* 2348 B.C.' Yet when treating *geologically* a few years afterwards, on the antiquity of the Delta, he makes the following scientific assertions: 'We are led to the necessity of allowing an immeasurable time for the total formation of that space, which, to judge from the very little accumulation of its soil, and the small distance it has encroached on the sea, since the erection of the ancient cities within it, would require ages, and throw back its origin *far beyond* the Deluge, or *even the Mosaic era of the Creation*.' And, in 1851, he too carries MENES up above the Deluge to B.C. 2700, [and he says, '*many ages of civilization* must have *preceded* the accession of their first monarch,' *Anc. Egypt.* iv. 12, 131.] See *Types of Mankind*, p. 671, 683.

The Church requires of a man a solemn declaration of his belief in that which he is to teach, and that engagement must last so long as he continues to exercise his office. If he ceases to believe,—[*e.g.* in the literal, historical, truth of the account of Noah's Flood or the numbers of the Exodus,]—he is bound, in common honesty, to resign his office; and, if the dulness of his spirit does not allow him to apprehend that necessity, the Church is bound to remove him.

If the Bishop of OXFORD means the 'belief,' which he speaks of, to include belief in the literal, historical, truth of all Scriptural narratives, he is distinctly at variance with the Court of Arches, which has now expressly declared that *that* is not the law of the Church. Dr. LUSHINGTON said:—

To put a particular construction on a part of Holy Scripture, cannot be deemed a contradiction of the Deacon's declaration of his belief in Holy Scripture. *Judgment in* Bishop of SALISBURY v. WILLIAMS.

As to the right claimed by Mr. WILSON, to deny the reality of any of the facts contained in the Scriptures, it is one thing to deny that the narratives are contained in Holy Scripture, and a very different thing to maintain that such narratives are to be understood in a figurative sense. *Judgment in* FENDALL v. WILSON.

487. Dean HOOK has said very justly, *Manchester Church Congress*, 1863, that 'the principle of the Reformation (as distinguished from Mediævalism),' is—

the necessity of asserting the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

And he added,—

The Mediævalist did not deny the necessity of maintaining the truth; nor does the Protestant deny that the principle of love is a principle enforced in the Scriptures of the New Testament. But the difference is here,—that the Mediævalist, in his desire to enlist the affections in the cause of religion, could, when the assertion of the truth was likely to promote discord, postpone the true to the expedient; whereas the Protestant is prepared to sacrifice peace to the maintenance of truth, or what he believes to be such.

488. We, then, Ministers of the Church of England,—Ministers, not of a mediæval, but of a Reformed Protestant Church,—are at once both exercising our right, and discharging our duty, in declaring to our people, as opportunity shall offer, 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' on these matters, so far as we already know it. And, when all Europe is moving on with the advance of the age, we must refuse, as the clergy of a great National Institution, to be held

in fetters by the mere word of any man, or to be forbidden to search out thoroughly the truth, in respect of these questions of science and criticism, and to speak out plainly the truth which we find.

489. For instance, while drawing from these first chapters of Genesis such religious lessons as may be fairly and naturally drawn from them (161), we may proceed to show how we here possess, by the gracious gift of God's overruling Providence, a precious treasure in these most ancient writings, some parts of which are, beyond all doubt, as we believe, among the *most* ancient now extant in the world. For we have here preserved to us a most deeply interesting and instructive record of those first stirrings of spiritual life among the Hebrew people, which prepared the way for the fuller Revelation, in God's due time, of His Fatherly Love, in the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST,—from which also, by the quickening influences of the Spirit of Grace, has been developed by degrees our modern Christianity,—not without contributions from the gifts bestowed on other portions of the great Human Family, as the same good Spirit has been revealing all along the Name of their Creator to the hearts of men, 'at sundry times and in divers manners,' by different means, in different measures, among the various races of mankind.

490. And then, too, while tracing in these chapters the first imperfect beginnings among the Hebrew people of cosmological, astronomical, geographical, ethnological, science, we may say plainly that the accounts of the Creation, &c. there given, cannot possibly be regarded as historically true, since the results of Modern Science emphatically contradict them. But we may go on to say also that Science itself is God's precious gift, light coming from the Father of Lights, and specially coming in greater splendour in this very age in which we live, and given to us by His Grace in order that, by means of it, we may see more clearly than before His Glory and His Goodness.

491. Such teaching as this, which I venture to quote in con-

clusion from a small book, *First Lessons in Science*, written by me for the use of Zulus and others, though not published, is surely not so very unsound and 'dangerous,' that it needs to be 'inhibited' in all the pulpits of the land.

(i) 'Standing on the threshold of this Science (Geology), we feel almost overwhelmed, at first, with the awful sense of the enormous lengths of time which have passed, since first the world in which we live was called into being. We obtain from it such an idea of *immeasurable duration*, or what is popularly called *eternity*, as we have never, perhaps, realised before. We look in, as it were, into a dim vaulted chamber, and see arch after arch, reaching away before us, till we can see no farther. We follow, trembling with emotion and dread, through the still, solemn, halls; and when we have at length stepped on into the gloom, far from the light of day and the converse of our kind, we see the interminable range of arched pillars, stretched out as before, age after age, into the infinite Past. Such is the feeling, with which any thoughtful person must read the records of the Earth's past history, written upon the rocks.

(ii) 'And man has been living for a few thousand years at most upon the Earth. We know this certainly, because, though we find traces innumerable of other living creatures, buried up in the older strata of the Earth's crust, we find none whatever of man, except in those of comparatively modern date. Surely, then, we cannot say that the earth was made exclusively for Man. When we think of the ages full of glory and beauty and life, which have passed away before Man was, and of the very small portion of the Earth's surface—still less of the Earth's thin crust—which we can even see and examine, we cannot presume to say that the whole huge Earth was made only for Man. As well might we say that the Sun was made only to give him warmth by day, and the Moon and the Stars to give him light by night.

(iii) 'Yet, if not made *only* for Man, these things have certainly been made, in the Great Creator's scheme, with express and most gracious reference to Man. The Sun, that, hundreds of thousands of years ago, gave light and heat, under which the forests grew in those primeval swamps, where the coalbeds were formed, must have shone *with some express reference to such a being as Man*, who should be able to make use of such stores as these of hidden treasure, to draw them out of the depths in which they had so long been buried, to turn them to his uses, to extract from them metals and medicines, to obtain from them supplies of light and heat, to contrive the mighty engines, that minister so vastly to the comforts of his daily life, and afford the means of intercourse and communion with his fellows?

(iv) 'Who but a creature like Man could have turned to account the coal, and the lime, and the slate, and the building-stones of various kinds,—the iron, copper, tin, and lead, and a multitude of other substances, mineral and vegetable, which the care of the Creator has provided? How plainly does the simple fact, that these things are, and that Man alone is capable of using them, prove to the reasoning mind, that whatever may be the case *hereafter*, whatever may become of the Earth, whatever creatures may be placed upon it in the ages yet to come, yet Man was *intended* from the first to inhabit this world in his own appointed time, and all the ages that have past, whatever else they have done, have done this also, to fit the Earth to be the home for a time, and the working-place, of Man!

(v) 'Ah, yes! Man's working-place—a place, where we must work out that which accords with the spiritual nature given to us,—a work unto life, or a work unto death. We are sure that, in the sight of Him who is a Spirit, spiritual beings, such as we are, must have a value very different from that of creatures who have merely soul and body, who have merely bodily life and those lower instincts, which distinguish the brute beast from the plant. *They* cannot know the right from the wrong, the good from the evil. *We* have the Law of God written within our hearts by the finger of our Maker. We have the gracious teachings of His Spirit, the whisperings of His Love, the sense of His Displeasure. We have within us the faint reflexions of His glorious excellences. We know His perfect Truth, and Purity, and Goodness, by that very power which He has given us, to take delight in Truth, and Purity, and Goodness,—ay, to love and honour and glorify it in our very heart of hearts, even when we are giving way to some vile temptation, and consent to do what we know to be evil. And there is that within us which tells us, as plainly as the Bible tells us, that "the wages of sin is death," that "he who soweth to the flesh shall reap corruption." And there is something too which tells us that to do the Will of God is life, such life as spirits need and long for,—the life Eternal, which comes from knowing Him more truly, from whom all Light and Life are flowing.

(vi) 'If we had not the Bible to teach us,—wherein we find the utterances of men's hearts in other days, breathed into by the Spirit of God, and answering to that which we feel within ourselves, breathed by the One and selfsame Spirit—yet the contemplation of the works of God shows us an Order, also, in His universe—a steady, constant sequence of cause and effect—the permanence of fixed laws, from the very first age of the world's existence until now. Those, who first begin to study the formation of the Earth's crust, may be led, as many have been, to imagine, that only by wild, irregular, convulsive efforts, unlike any which we now see in nature, the rocks were

made, and the mountains raised, and the valleys sunk. They may fancy that such immense results as these could only have been brought about by a succession of violent earthquakes, by mighty volcanic action, such as might speak, indeed, of Power and Wisdom, of a Will working all things to an end, but would leave upon the mind a painful bewildering sense of disorder, confusion, insecurity.

(vii) 'But true Science teaches us otherwise. It tells us that there is, indeed, a Living Ruler of the Universe, who has made His actual Presence felt, and shown forth His Might and Wisdom, in calling into existence, from time to time, new races of living creatures, differing in size, and form, and character, in wonderful number and variety, to fill up their part in His stupendous whole. But it tells us also that all things are under Law. It tells us that even the volcano and the earthquake, the hurricane and thunderstorm, are all under Law to God, are all governed by laws such as even we can turn to account for a thousand daily uses, when we bind the giant Steam to do our work by land and by sea, and bid the Lightning carry our messages. It teaches us also that far greater results than these, which have been wrought by the hidden action of fire and flood, have been produced by slow, long-continued, action of God's laws, ceaselessly working with unwavering, unfailing certainty.

(viii) 'In one word, it makes us sure that all things are ruled by Law and Order, under the government of God, in the *natural* world; and this tells us that the same also is true in the *moral* world. We are made to feel that, if we break God's Order, or lead others to break it, by acts of sin and fleshly self-indulgence, we shall surely reap the fruit of our doings,—that the results of our actions, whether good or evil, are sure and certain, each answering to its kind, whether completed by some sudden stroke at once, or long delayed, to be brought about, after a greater lapse of time, by the same Eternal Laws.

'Some men's sins are open beforehand, leading the way to judgment; and others they follow after. Likewise also the good deeds of some are manifest beforehand; and they which are otherwise cannot be hid.'

(ix) 'This thought makes us feel safe and happy under the government of God. It would be a miserable world to live in, if we could be left alone in sin,—if sin did not surely find us out with judgment,—if we were not sure of this, that things do not go on at random, by caprice and arbitrary choice, under God's government, but by fixed, unerring, immutable Laws, the Laws of Righteousness and Truth, administered, not by mere Sovereign Authority, but by Fatherly Love.

(x) 'And the worlds around us—are these inhabited? We know not yet; nor, perhaps, will it ever be given to man to know this certainly in this life.

And one wise man of our own days has taught us to remember this, that we do not know,—that, as far as we *do* know, the Moon and other Planets are probably *not* inhabited,—that the moon, at all events, presents no conditions of life, analogous to those needed for animal and vegetable life on Earth,—that this Earth, therefore, *may* be the only body of our system, *may* be the only body of the Universe, wherein is placed a creature gifted with reason and conscience, such as Man. We dare not say that this is so: nor is it easy to suppose that all the host of Stars were made to give us light by night, when a single Moon would give more light than all the Stars, or only to gladden our eyes with their glory and beauty, when few can ever see the visible multitudes of the starry heavens, or know the awful wonders which they even now reveal to us, while none can count the number of Suns which make up the star-dust of a single nebula.

(xi) 'But this we know, that for millions of years the Earth was formed, before Man was placed upon it. Hosts upon hosts of living creatures were brought into being, and died, and passed away: their very kinds appear no more on Earth. But there was no human eye to note their forms, or take account of their doings. The forest-tree tossed its branches; the meadow-flowers bloomed; bright colours beamed on every side. The Lord God 'gave rain from heaven and fruitful seasons' for the multitudes of living things, who then looked up to Him for food and blessing, as they do now. Sweet scents were spread abroad on every side; sweet sounds were heard. And God was there, to see the works which He had made, and "behold! they were very good."

(xii) 'Yet one living soul—one child of Man, made in God's image—is worth more in the eyes of a Spiritual Being, than all the Suns, however grand and glorious,—than all mere systems of unreasoning, unconscious matter. Our happy privilege as Christians is, to know and believe this—to be able to look up and say "our Father," to Him who made this mighty whole, taking with us the words, which CHRIST Himself has taught us, and believing that He, who has given us the powers which we have, for seeing and feeling the Greatness and Goodness of His works, has *meant* us thus to use them, and will bless us of a truth, while we devoutly "ponder these things," and seek to "understand the loving-kindness of the Lord." Meanwhile, from each inmost recess of the great Temple of the Universe, into which, while here on Earth, we are permitted to gaze, we may hear, if our hearts are pure and humble, the same solemn utterance:—

'STAND IN AWE AND SIN NOT;
COMMUNE WITH YOUR OWN HEART, AND IN YOUR CHAMBER, AND BE STILL.
OFFER THE SACRIFICES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS,
'AND PUT YOUR TRUST IN THE LORD.'

APPENDIX.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

1. IN the 'General Epistle of JUDE,' *v.*14,15, we find the following well-known reference to the 'Book of Enoch':—

'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his Saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard [speeches] which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.'

It seems plain that the author of this Canonical Epistle believed that the 'Book of Enoch,' in which the above passage occurs as Chap. ii, was actually written by 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam,' or, at least, contained the record of his prophecies, just as confidently as he and others of his time, *e.g.* St. PAUL, believed that the Pentateuch was either actually the work of Moses, or, at all events, contained a true record of his doings.

It may be said, indeed, that the words are really Enoch's, handed down by tradition from the years beyond the Flood, and quoted by St. Jude from this tradition, and not from the 'Book of Enoch.' But it is unnecessary to reply to such an extravagant supposition, more especially, when we consider the influence, which the 'Book' undeniably had upon the minds of other writers of the New Testament, as will be seen presently.

2. Yet there is no doubt that the 'Book of Enoch' is a fiction; and, according to Archbishop LAURENCE, *Book of Enoch, Prel. Diss.* p.xliv, it was composed *within about fifty years immediately preceding the birth of Christ*:—

It may, perhaps, be remarked as a singularity, that a book, composed at less than one hundred—perhaps, at less than fifty years—before St. Jude's Epistle was written, should in so short a space of time have so far imposed upon the public, as to be reputed by any the genuine production of the Patriarch Enoch.

And he adds in a note,—

The Epistle of St. JUDE is generally supposed to have been written about A.D. 70. If, then, we place the composition of the Book of Enoch in the eighth year of Herod, that is, thirty years before Christ, its date will precede that of the Epistle by an exact century.

Many excellent critics, however, maintain that the internal evidence of the Epistle of Jude makes it nearly—if not quite—certain, that it was not written till the middle of the Second Century, at the earliest.

3. But the facts connected with the 'Book of Enoch' are of so great interest and importance, in relation to the present controversy, as to the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, that we must dwell more at length upon them,—more especially, as they will, probably, not be familiarly known to many readers. It will be observed that three points are at once determined by the manner in which this Book is quoted—as being as authentic and authoritative as any other part of Holy Scripture,—in this Canonical Epistle, which is recognised in the Church of England as having been written by one of the Apostles.

(i) It appears that a spurious book like this could, even in so late and advanced an age, acquire among the Jews in a very short time,—within, perhaps, fifty, or, at most, a hundred and eighty years,—the reputation of a veritable authentic document, really emanating from the antediluvian Patriarch, and either written originally by his own hand, or, at least, handed down by tradition from those who lived before the Deluge. In the face of this fact, is there any reason to doubt that the Pentateuch also, though not written by Moses, may yet have been received by the Jews, in the dark and troubled times of the Captivity as being really and truly the work of the Great Law-

giver, and have been implicitly believed to be such by those who lived in yet later days?

(ii) It is plain that, if St. JUDE was the writer of this Epistle, even an Apostle could be mistaken in such a matter, and could actually use, as a powerful argument, a quotation from the prophecies of 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.' Is there any reason why the same, or any other Apostle, as St. Paul, should not be equally in error in quoting words, as words of Moses, which had never been written by him?

(iii) On the other hand, if St. JUDE was *not* the author of the Epistle, it would follow that a book (that ascribed to St. Jude) received in the Church as Canonical, could be regarded also as Apostolical, under a mistaken opinion as to its authorship, and, therefore, that the fact of other books (as the books of the Pentateuch) having been received as Canonical, and ascribed to a certain author (as Moses), is no guarantee of their having been really written by him.

4. The following extract from KALISCH, *Gen.p.*165, will give the reader some idea of the nature and general contents of the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch insists, with the earnestness of the old Prophets, upon the renewal and restoration of the pure Biblical faith; it combats with equal energy against the corruptions of Rabbinical interpretation and the inroads of Greek philosophy, against superstition and paganism. The author deduces all his truths from no other source but the written holy books, and rejects traditional exaggerations and embellishments. He gives enthusiastic descriptions of the world of angels; he delineates their respective rank and glory; he introduces men into the abode of these pure spirits, and elevates them to their light, and peace, and wisdom. He furnishes the most elaborate and most detailed descriptions of the future life in such completeness, that no later time has been able to enlarge them. He gives a clear picture of the Sheol, its different divisions, and the preliminary judgment there held,—of the hell (gehenna) where the wicked are doomed to receive their punishment,—of the place where the fallen angels and contumacious powers of nature are fettered. He describes in full outlines the resurrection of the dead, and the Messianic judgment over the dead and living. But one of the most remarkable features of the Book of Enoch is its very elaborate and clear description of the person and the times of the Messiah. It does not only comprise the scattered allu-

'sions of the O. T. in one grand picture of unspeakable bliss, unalloyed virtue, and unlimited knowledge; it represents the Messiah, not only as the King, but as the Judge of the world, who has the decision over everything on earth and in heaven. In the Messiah is the 'Son of Man, who possesses righteousness, since the God of all spirits has elected him, and since he has conquered all by righteousness in eternity.' But he is also the 'Son of God,' the Elected One, the Prince of Righteousness; he is gifted with that wisdom, which knows all secret things; the Spirit in all its fulness is poured out on him; his glory lasts to all eternity; he shares the throne of God's Majesty; kings and princes will worship him, and will invoke his mercy: he preexisted before all time; 'before the sun and the signs were made, and the stars of heaven were created, his name was already proclaimed before the Lord of all spirits'; 'before the creation of the world he was elected'; and although still unknown to the children of the world, he is already revealed to the pious by prophecy, and is praised by the angels in heaven. Even the dogma of the Trinity is implied in the book. It is formed by the Lord of the spirits, the Elected One, and the Divine Power: they partake both of the name and of the omnipotence of God.

5. Upon the latter point, the recognition of a Trinity in the Book of Enoch, Archbp. LAURENCE writes as follows, *Book of Enoch*, *p.*lii:—

Neither is allusion thus only made to the Elect One or the Messiah, but also to another Divine Person or Power, both of whom, under the joint denomination of *the Lords*, are stated to have been 'over the water,'—that is, as I conceive, over the fluid mass of unformed matter,—at the period of Creation. 'He (the Elect One),' it is stated, 'shall call to every power of the heavens, to all the holy above, and to the power of God.' The Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanim, *all the angels of power*, and *all the angels of the Lords*,—*viz.* of the *Elect One*, and of the *Other Power*, who was upon earth over the water on that day,—shall raise their united voice, &c.' In this passage, an obvious reference, I conceive, occurs to the first verse of Genesis, in which it is said, 'the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters.' As, therefore, the more full description of the Son of Man here given may be considered as the Jewish comment of the day upon the vision of Daniel, so also, I apprehend, must the last quoted allusion to the Book of Genesis be considered as a comment of the same nature upon that account of Moses, which describes the commencement of Creation. Here, then, we have not merely the declaration of a *Plurality*, but that of a precise and distinct *Trinity*, of persons, under the supreme appellation of *God* and *Lords*; *the Lords* are denominated *the Elect One*, and *the Other* (divine) *Power*, who is represented as engaged in the formation of the world on that day, that is, on the day of Creation. And it should be added that upon [each of] these a particular class of angels is mentioned as appropriately attendant.

And again he writes, *p.*lvi:—

Here there is nothing cabbalistical; here there is no allegory; but a plain and clear, though slight, allusion to a doctrine, which, had it not formed a part of the

popular creed at the time, would scarcely have been intelligible. *Three* Lords are enumerated, the Lord of spirits, the Lord the Elect One, and the Lord the Other Power,—an enumeration which evidently implies the acknowledgment of three distinct Persons, participating in the name and in the power of the Godhead.

6. In En. lxxi.18,19, we read as follows:—

'At that period the day is longer than the night, being twice as long as the night, and becomes twelve parts; but the night is shortened, and becomes six parts.'

From this it would seem that, at the place where the author lived, or, perhaps, where he supposes Enoch to have lived, the longest day was twice as long as the night, *i.e.* was *sixteen* hours long; and from this it may be inferred that it was a place in about 45° to 50° North Lat., and, consequently, very far to the north of Palestine (31°–33½°). Archbishop LAURENCE supposes that he may have been—

one of the tribes which Shalmaneser carried away, and 'placed in Halah and Habor by the river Goshan, and in the cities *of the Medes*,' 2K.xvii.6, and who never returned from captivity.

He adds, *p.*xlvii:—

Composed, therefore, in the assumed name and character of Enoch, and having been brought into Judæa from a distant country, it could not have been well known or quoted under any other title than that of the Book of Enoch; and although the generality must, from its incongruities, have deemed its contents apocryphal, yet might there have been some who, deceived by its external evidence and pretensions, ignorantly esteemed it to be the genuine production of the patriarch himself, [as plainly did the writer of Jude14,15.]

7. It may be mentioned, as a fact of interest with reference to our present discussion, that the numerous names of angels which occur in this book, are in very many instances compounded with 'Elohim' or 'El,' as Urakabarame*el*, Akibe*el*, Tami*el*, Ramu*el*, Dan*el*, Azke*el*, Asa*el*, Samsave*el*, Erta*el*, Tu*rel*, Yomya*el*, En.vii.9, (names of the 'prefects' of the 'two hundred angels,' who took wives of the daughters of men, G.vi.1,2,)—none apparently, with Jehovah.

8. KALISCH adds the following information (condensed from Archbp. LAURENCE) as to the fortunes of the book, *p.*166:—

We may add, with regard to the history of this extraordinary book, that, when it appeared, it was evidently received and read with eager interest; that it was

soon translated into Greek, and from this language into the Ethiopian dialect,—that most of the Fathers of the Church, down to the time of AUGUSTINE and JEROME, used and quoted it; that, however, from this period, it fell into almost entire oblivion. . . . The MS., which AUGUSTUS MAI deposited in the library of the Vatican, remained unnoticed. But the celebrated traveller, JAMES BRUCE, brought, in 1773, three copies of the Ethiopian version to Europe; and, since this time, translations and valuable commentaries have been published. . . . This remarkable apocryphal production, which, if we are not mistaken, will one day be employed as a most important witness in the history of religious dogmas, deserves the most careful study; and it is accessible to the English reader in the editions of LAURENCE, whose interesting 'Preliminary Dissertation' commands especial attention.

9. It would appear—not only from its being quoted in the epistle of St. Jude—but from the very many passages of the N.T., which so strikingly resemble it in language and imagery, that the Book of Enoch must have exerted considerable influence upon the minds of devout persons in the first age of Christianity, and must have helped to fashion many of the ideas which prevailed at that time, especially as regards the popular conceptions about Hell, and the endless torment of the wicked. We shall here produce, from the translation of Archbishop LAURENCE,—which, though in some respects defective, is sufficiently accurate for our present purpose,—a series of passages out of the book itself, which closely correspond with many familiar passages of the N.T. writers. They will be found also to illustrate many notices in the first chapters of Genesis.

(i) En.ii, 'Behold, He comes with ten thousands of His saints to execute judgment upon them, and destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against Him.'

Comp. Jude, 14,15, 'Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of His saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard [speeches], which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.'

(ii) En.vi.9, 'The elect shall possess light, joy, and peace, and *they shall inherit the earth.*'

Comp. Matt.v.5, 'Blessed are the meek, for *they shall inherit the earth*': but *comp.* also Ps.xxv.13,xxxvii.9,11,22, &c.

(iii) En.ix.3, 'Then they said to their Lord the King: Thou art Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings. The throne of Thy glory is for ever and ever, and for ever and ever is Thy name sanctified and glorified. Thou art blessed and glorified. Thou hast made all things; Thou possessest power over all things; and all things are open and manifest before Thee. Thou beholdest all things, and nothing can be concealed from Thee.'

En.lxxxiii.2–4, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, the King, great and powerful in Thy greatness, Lord of all the creatures of heaven, King of kings, God of the whole world, whose reign, whose kingdom, and whose majesty endure for ever and ever. From generation to generation shall Thy dominion exist. All the heavens are Thy throne for ever, and all the earth Thy footstool for ever and ever. For Thou hast made them, and Thou reignest over all. No act whatever exceeds Thy power. With Thee wisdom is unchangeable, nor from Thy throne and presence is it ever averted. Thou knowest all things, seest and hearest them; nor is anything concealed from Thee.'

Comp. Heb.iv.13, 'Neither is there any creature, that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him with whom we have to do.'

Rev.iv.11, 'Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are, and were created.'

Rev. xv.3, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of saints. Who shall not fear Thee, O Lord, and glorify Thy Name? for Thou only art holy; for all nations shall come and worship before Thee; for Thy judgments are made manifest.'

Rev.xvii.14, xix.16, 'King of kings and Lord of lords.'

(iv) En.x.15,16, 'To Michael, also, the Lord said, Go, and announce his crime to Samyaza and to the others who are with him, who have been associated with women. . . Bind them for seventy generations underneath the earth, even to the day of judgment and of consummation, until the judgment, which will last for ever, be completed. Then shall they be taken away into the lowest depths of the fire in torments, and in confinement shall they be shut up for ever.'

En.xii.5, 'Then He said to me, Enoch, scribe of righteousness, go, tell the watchers of heaven, who have deserted the lofty sky, and their holy, everlasting station, who have been polluted with women, and have done as the sons of men do, by taking to themselves wives, and who have been greatly corrupted on the earth, that on the earth they shall never obtain peace and remission of sin.'

Comp. Jude 6, 'And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, He hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the Great Day.'

2Pet.ii.4, 'God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.'

[Thus the 'fall of the angels,' alluded to in Jude 6 and 2Pet.ii.4, was not, it would seem, *previous* to the creation of man.]

Rev.xiv.4, 'These are they, which were not defiled with women, &c.'

Rev.xx.2, 'And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, &c.'

Rev.xx.10, 'And the devil, that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, . . . and shall be tormented, day and night, for ever.'

(v) En.xiv.17–24, 'Attentively I surveyed it, and saw that it contained an exalted throne. . . and there was the voice of the cherubim. From underneath this mighty throne rivers of flaming fire issued; to look upon it was impossible. One great in glory sat upon it, whose robe was brighter than the sun, and whiter than snow. No angel was capable of penetrating to view the Face of Him, the Glorious and the Effulgent; nor could any mortal behold Him. A fire was flaming around Him. . . so that not one of those who surrounded Him was capable of approaching Him, among the (myriads of myriads) ten thousand times ten thousand who were before Him. . . Yet did not the sanctified, who were near Him, depart from Him, either by night or by day.'

En.xxxix.12, 'There my eyes beheld all who, without sleeping, stand before Him and bless Him, saying, Blessed be Thou, and Blessed be the Name of God for ever and for ever!'

Comp. Rev.iv.2, 'Behold a throne was set in heaven, and One sat on the throne, and He that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone.'

Rev.iv.8, 'And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy! Holy! Holy!'

Rev.v.11, 'And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne. . . and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands.'

Rev.vii.15, 'Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple.'

(vi) En.xxiv.9–11, 'And that tree of an agreeable smell, not one of a carnal odour . . . there shall be no power to touch until the period of the great judgment. When all shall be punished and consumed for ever, this shall be bestowed on the righteous and humble. The fruit of this tree shall be given to the elect. For life shall be planted towards the north in the holy place, towards the habitation of the everlasting King. Then shall they greatly rejoice and exult in the Holy One. The sweet odour shall enter into their bones; and they shall live a long life on the earth, as thy forefathers have lived, neither in their days shall sorrow, distress, trouble, and punishment afflict them. And I blessed the Lord of Glory, the everlasting King, because He has prepared this tree for the saints, formed it, and declared that He would give it to them.'

Comp. The 'tree of life,' G.ii.9, iii.22, 'Lord of glory,' James ii.1.

Rev.ii.7, 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.'

Rev.xxii.2, 'In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.'

Rev.xxii.14, 'Blessed are they that do His commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life.'

(vii) En.xxxi.2–5. 'From thence I passed on above the summits of those mountains to some distance eastwards, and went over the Erythræan sea. And when I was advanced far beyond it, I passed along above the angel Zatcel, and arrived at the garden of righteousness. . . The tree of knowledge also was there, of which if any one eats, he becomes endowed with great wisdom. . . . Then holy Raphael, an angel who was with me, said, This is the tree of knowledge, of which thy ancient father and thy aged mother ate, who were before thee; and who, obtaining knowledge, their eyes being opened, and knowing themselves to be naked, were expelled from the garden.'

Comp. the 'tree of knowledge of good and evil,' G.ii,iii.

(viii) En.xxxviii.2, 'Where will the habitation of sinners be, and where the place of rest for those who have rejected the Lord of spirits? It would have been better for them, if they had never been born.'

Comp. Matt.xxvi.24, 'It had been good for that man, if he had not been born.'

(ix) En.xl.1, 'After this I beheld thousands of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, and an infinite number of people, standing before the Lord of spirits.'

Comp. Rev.v.11, 'And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, . . . and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands.'

Rev.vii.9, 'After this I beheld, and lo! a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne.'

(x) En.xlv.3–5, 'In that day shall the Elect One sit upon a throne of glory, and shall choose their conditions and countless habitations, [*comp.* the 'many mansions,' St. John xiv.2,]—while their spirits within them shall be strengthened, when they behold my Elect One,—for those who have fled for protection to my holy and glorious Name. In that day I will cause my Elect One to dwell in the midst of them. I will change the face of the heaven: I will bless it and illuminate it for ever. I will also change the face of the earth; I will bless it, and cause those whom I have elected to dwell upon it.

Comp. Matt.xxv.31–33, 'When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations, &c.'

2 Pet.iii.13, 'Nevertheless, we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

Rev.xxi.1, 'And I saw a new heaven, and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.'

(xi) En.xlvi.1–2, 'Then beheld I the Ancient of Days, whose head was like white wool, and with Him another, whose countenance resembled that of Man. His countenance was full of grace, like that of one of the holy angels. Then I enquired

of one of the angels who went with me, and who showed me every secret thing concerning this Son of Man, who he was, whence he was, and why he accompanied the Ancient of Days. He answered and said unto me: This is the Son of Man, to whom righteousness belongs, with whom righteousness has dwelt, and who will reveal all the treasures of that which is concealed; for the Lord of spirits has chosen him, and his portion has surpassed all before the Lord of spirits in everlasting uprightness.'

Comp. Dan.vii.13, 'I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before Him.'

Rev.i.14, 'His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow.'

Col.ii.3, 'In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.'

(xii) En.xlvii.1,2, 'In that day the prayer of the holy and the righteous, and the blood of the righteous, shall ascend from the earth into the presence of the Lord of spirits. In that day shall the holy ones assemble, who dwell above the heavens and with united voice petition, supplicate, praise, laud, and bless the name of the Lord of spirits, on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed; that the prayer of the righteous may not be intermitted before the Lord of spirits, that for them He would execute judgment, and that His patience may not endure for ever.'

Comp. Rev.vi.9,10, 'I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?'

(xiii) En.xlvii.3, 'At that time I beheld the Ancient of Days, while He sat upon the throne of His glory, while the book of the living was opened in His presence, and while all the powers which were above the heavens stood around and before Him.'

En.l.1–5, 'In those days shall the earth deliver up from her womb, and hell deliver up from hers, that which it has received, and destruction shall restore that which it owes. He shall select the righteous and holy from among them; for the day of their salvation has approached. And in those days shall the Elect One sit upon his throne, while every secret of intellectual wisdom shall proceed from his mouth; for the Lord of spirits has gifted and glorified him . . . And all the righteous shall become angels in heaven; their countenance shall be bright with joy, for in those days shall the Elect One be exalted. The earth shall rejoice, the righteous shall inhabit it, and the elect possess it.'

Comp. Rev.xx.11–13, 'And I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat on it . . . and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened, and another book was opened, which is the book of life, and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them.'

Luke xxi.28, 'Your redemption draweth nigh.'

Rom.xiii.11, 'Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.'

Matt.xiii.43, 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.'

(xiv) En.xlvii.4, 'Then were the hearts of the saints full of joy, because the consummation of righteousness was arrived, the supplication of the saints heard, and the blood of the righteous appreciated by the Lord of spirits.'

Comp. Rev.xviii.20, 'Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.'

Rev.xix.1,2, 'I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia! Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God! For true and righteous are His judgments; for He . . . hath avenged the blood of His servants at her hand.'

(xv) En.xlviii.1–7, 'In that place I beheld a fountain of righteousness, which never failed, encircled by many springs of wisdom. Of these all the thirsty drank, and were filled with wisdom, having their habitation with the righteous, the elect, and the holy. In that hour was this Son of Man invoked before the Lord of spirits, and his Name in the presence of the Ancient of Days. Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, his name was invoked in the presence of the Lord of spirits. A support shall he be for the righteous and the holy, to lean upon without falling; and he shall be the light of nations. He shall be the hope of those whose hearts are troubled. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, shall bless and glorify him, and sing praises to the name of the Lord of spirits. Therefore *the Elect* and *the Concealed One* existed in His presence, before the world was created and for ever. In His presence he existed, and has revealed to the saints and to the righteous the wisdom of the Lord of spirits; for he has preserved the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and rejected this world of iniquity, [*comp.* Gal.i.4, 'this present evil world,' 1John ii.15, 'love not the world,'] and have detested all its works and ways, in the name of the Lord of spirits. For in His Name shall they be preserved, and His Will shall be their life.'

Comp. Rev.vii.17, 'He shall lead them unto living fountains of waters.'

Rev.xxi.6, 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.'

Rev.xxii.1, 'And he showed me a pure river of water of life.'

Rev.xxii.17, 'And let him, that is athirst, come, and, whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.'

(xvi) En.liii.1–6. 'Then I looked and turned myself to another part of the earth, where I beheld a deep valley burning with fire . . . And there my eyes beheld the instruments which they were making,—fetters of iron without weight. Then I enquired of the angel of peace, who proceeded with me, saying, For whom are these fetters and instruments prepared? He replied, These are prepared for the host of Azazeel, that they may be delivered over and adjudged to the lowest condemnation, and that their angels may be overwhelmed with hurled stones, as the Lord of

spirits has commanded. Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, shall be strengthened in that day, and shall then cast them into a furnace of blazing fire, 'that the Lord of spirits may be avenged of them for their crimes; because they became ministers of Satan, and seduced those who dwell upon earth.'

En.lxvi.5-8. 'I beheld that valley in which there was a great perturbation, and where the waters were troubled. . . . There arose a strong smell of sulphur, which became mixed with the waters; and the valley of the angels, who had been guilty of seduction, burned underneath its soil. Through that valley also rivers of fire were flowing, to which those angels shall be condemned, who seduced the inhabitants of the earth.'

Comp. Matt.xiii.42, 'And shall cast them into a furnace of fire.'

Matt.xxv.41, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels.'

Rev.xix.20, 'These both were cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone.'

Rev.xx.1-3, 'And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, . . . and cast him into the bottomless pit, . . . that he should deceive the nations no more.'

Rev.xx.10, 'And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.'

(xvii) En.lviii.7,8, 'In that day shall be distributed two monsters, a female monster, whose name is Leviathan, dwelling in the depths of the sea, above the springs of waters, and a male whose name is Behemoth, which possesses the invisible wilderness. His name was Dendayen, in the east of the garden [? in the garden eastward], where the elect and the righteous will dwell; where he received it from my ancestor, who was man,—from Adam the first of men, whom the Lord of spirits made.'

Comp. the 'beast rising out of the sea,' and 'another beast coming out of the earth,' Rev.xiii.1,11.

Comp. also 'the great whore that sitteth upon many waters,' and 'the beast that carried her,' Rev.xvii.1,7, in 'the wilderness,' *v.*3.

(xviii) En.lx.13-16, 'He shall call to every power of the heavens, to all the holy above, and to the power of God. The Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanim, all the angels of Power, and all the angels of the Lords,—namely, of the Elect One, and of the Other Power, who was upon earth over the water on that day,—shall raise their united voice, shall bless, glorify, praise, and exalt with the spirit of *faith*, with the spirit of *wisdom* and *patience*, with the spirit of *mercy*, with the spirit of *judgment* and *peace*, and with the spirit of *benevolence*, [*comp.* 'the seven spirits which are before His throne,' Rev.i.4;iii.1,iv.5,v.6,] all shall say with united voice, Blessed is He, and the name of the Lord of spirits shall be blessed for ever and ever: all, (who sleep not) sleeping not, shall bless it in heaven above. All the holy in heaven shall bless it, all the elect who dwell in the garden of life; and every spirit of light, who is capable of blessing, glorifying, exalting and

praising, thy holy name, and every mortal man, more than the powers of heaven, shall glorify and praise thy name for ever and ever. For great is the mercy of the Lord of spirits; long-suffering is He, and all His works, all His power, great as are the things which He has done, has He revealed to the saints and to the elect in the name of the Lord of spirits.'

Comp. Rev.v.13, 'And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.'

Rev.xix.5, 'And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye His servants, and ye that fear Him, both small and great.'

(xix) En.lxi.4–9, 'The word of his mouth shall destroy all the sinners and all the ungodly, who shall perish at his presence . . . Trouble shall come upon them, as upon a woman in travail, whose labour is severe, when her child comes to the mouth of the womb, and she finds it difficult to bring forth. One portion of them shall look upon another: they shall be astonished, and shall abase their countenance; and trouble shall seize them, when they shall behold this Son of Woman sitting upon the throne of his glory.'

Comp. 2Thess.i.9, 'Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power.'

1Thess.v.3, 'Then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape.'

2Thess.ii.8, 'That Wicked, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth.'

Matt.xix.28, 'In the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory.'

Matt.xxv.31, 'When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory.'

Rev.i.16, 'Out of His mouth went a sharp two-edged sword.'

Rev.ii.16, 'I will fight against them with the sword out of my mouth.'

Rev.xix.15, 'Out of His mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it He should smite the nations.'

Rev.xix.21, 'And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which [sword] proceeded out of His mouth.'

(xx) En.lxi.12–17, 'All the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who rule over the earth, shall fall down on their faces before Him, and shall worship Him. They shall fix their hopes on this Son of Man, shall pray to him, and petition for mercy. Then shall the Lord of spirits hasten to expel them from His presence. Their faces shall be full of confusion, and their faces shall darkness cover. The angels shall take them to punishment, that vengeance may be inflicted on those who have oppressed His children and His elect . . . But the saints and the elect shall be safe in that day . . . The Lord of spirits shall remain over them: and with this Son of Man shall they dwell, eat, lie down, and rise up, for ever and ever.'

Comp. Rev.vii.15, 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.'

Rev.vi.15, 'And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, . . . hid themselves in the dens and rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth upon the Throne.'

Rev.xix.18, 'That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, &c.'

Rev.xxi.3, 'Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God.'

(xxi) En.lxx.1–13, 'I beheld the sons of the holy angels, treading on flaming fire, whose garments and robes were white, and whose countenances were transparent as crystal . . . . Then I fell on my face before the Lord of spirits. And Michael, one of the archangels, took me by my right hand, raised me up, and brought me out to where was every secret of mercy and secret of righteousness . . . There I beheld, in the midst of that light, a building raised with stones of ice [? crystal]. . . . The Seraphim, the Cherubim, and the Ophanim, surrounded it; these are those who never sleep, but watch the throne of His glory. And I beheld angels innumerable, thousands of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, who surrounded that habitation. Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel went out of that habitation, and holy angels innumerable. With them was the Ancient of Days, whose head was white as wool, and pure, and His robe was indescribable. Then I fell upon my face, while all my flesh was dissolved, and my spirit became changed.'

Comp. Rev.iv.8, v.11.i.14,17.

(xxii) En.lxxxii.4,5, 'I was lying down in the house of my grandfather Malalel, when I saw in a vision heaven purifying and snatched away; and, falling to the earth, I saw likewise the earth absorbed by a great abyss.'

En.xcii.17, 'The former heaven shall depart and pass away, a new heaven shall appear.'

Comp. 2Pet.iii.10, 'The heavens shall pass away,' 'the earth also shall be burned up.'

Rev.xxi.1, 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.'

(xxiii) En.lxxxv.2, 'And, behold, a single star fell from heaven.'

En.lxxxvii.1–3, 'Then I looked at that one of the four white men, who came forth first. He seized the first star, which fell down from heaven. And, binding it hand and foot, he cast it into a valley, a valley narrow, deep, stupendous, and gloomy.'

Comp. Rev.viii.10, 'There fell a great star from heaven.'

Rev.ix.1, 'I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth.'

(xxiv) En. xciii.6–xciv.6, 'Woe to those who build up iniquity and oppression, and who lay the foundation of fraud! for suddenly shall they be subverted, and never know peace.

'Wo to those who build up their houses with crime! for from the very foundations shall their houses be demolished . . .

'Wo to you who are rich! for in your riches have ye trusted, but from your riches you shall be removed, because you have not remembered the most High in the days of your prosperity.

'You have committed blasphemy and iniquity, and are destined to the day of the effusion of blood, to the day of darkness, and to the day of the great judgment . .

'Wo to you, who recompense your neighbour with evil! for you shall be recompensed according to your works.

'Wo to you, ye false witnesses, you who aggravate iniquity! for you shall suddenly perish.

'Wo to you, ye sinners! for ye reject the righteous.'

En. civ.1,2, 'I swear to you, ye righteous, that in heaven the angels record your goodness before the glory of the Mighty One. Wait with patient hope; for formerly you have been disgraced with evil and with affliction; but now shall you shine like the luminaries of heaven. . . Your cries have cried for judgment; and it has appeared to you; for an account of all your suffering shall be required from the princes, and from everyone who has assisted your plunderers. Wait with patient hope, nor relinquish your confidence; for great joy shall be yours, like that of the angels in heaven.'

Comp. Luke vi.24–26, James v.1–8.

10. These are only a few instances of the influence, which this remarkable book seems to have exercised upon the minds of devout men in the first age of Christianity. In the language attributed to our Lord Himself,—in that of St. Paul, especially in his *early* epistles,—in that of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude,—we can distinctly trace an intimate acquaintance with it, and recognise its forms of expression. But, above all, this is true of St. John in the Revelation, where, it is plain, very much of the imagery has been directly adopted from that of the book of Enoch. And, though the apostolic authorship of some of the above writings may be doubted, yet the fact remains as before, that the writers of these Scriptures, whoever they were, appear to have been well-acquainted with this book, and more or less imbued with its teaching.

11. And, certainly, some of the language above quoted must be admitted to be very grand and impressive;—especially if we consider that the version, from which we have quoted, is a recent

translation of a translation, and has to recommend it, neither the prestige of *early* association, nor the flavour of antiquity, which modify insensibly our judgment of the translation with which it is compared. We cannot wonder at the effect which it seems to have produced upon the minds of readers in that age, and in still later days,—more especially when it was actually believed to be the authentic record of the prophecies of 'Enoch the seventh from Adam,' who, therefore, must have been supposed to have *originated*, and not imitated, the imagery of the book of Daniel, and that remarkable expression, 'the Ancient of Days.' Nevertheless, mixed up with all these noble utterances, is a great mass of matter of the most fantastic and fabulous character, which has probably prevented the book being handed down to us, stamped with the high authority, which it had in those first centuries of Christian teaching.

12. Archbishop LAURENCE says, *p.*lvi:—

Upon the whole, then, if this singular book be censured, as abounding in some parts with fable and fiction, still should we recollect that fable and fiction may occasionally prove both amusing and instructive, and can then only be deemed injurious, when pressed into the service of vice and infidelity. Nor should we forget that much—perhaps, most—of what we censure was founded upon a national tradition, the antiquity of which alone, independent of other considerations, had rendered it respectable. That the author was uninspired, will scarcely now be questioned. But, although his production was apocryphal, it ought not therefore to be stigmatised, as necessarily replete with error. Although it be on that account incapable of becoming a rule of faith, it may nevertheless contain much moral as well as religious truth, and may be justly regarded as a correct standard of the doctrine of the times in which it was composed. *Non omnia esse concedenda antiquitati*, 'that not everything is to be allowed to antiquity,' is, it is true, a maxim founded upon reason and experience. But, in perusing the present relic of a remote age and country, should the reader discover much to condemn, still, unless he be too fastidious, he will find more to approve; if he sometimes frown, he may oftener smile; nor seldom will he be disposed to admire the vivid imagination of a writer, who transports him far beyond the flaming boundaries of the world,—

extra
Processit longè flammantia mœnia mundi,
'Past the world's flaming walls has far advanced,'—

displaying to him every secret of Creation,—the splendours of heaven, and the terrors of hell,—the mansions of departed souls,—and the myriads of the celestial

hosts, the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim, which surround the blazing throne, and magnify the Holy Name of the great Lord of Spirits, the Almighty Father of men and of angels.

GFRÖRER also writes, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, *p.*105,109 : —

I salute our Enoch as in a certain sense a fore-announcer of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,—not as if he had a perception of the truth, for his Messias is, as in the case of other Jews, enveloped in a cloud of ambition and false hopes ; — but he is still an evidence to show with what kind of feeling, and with what glowing earnestness, twenty or thirty years before Christ, the Anointed of the Lord was expected. . . . There is no better source, from which may be derived a knowledge of the state of the Jewish form of faith before, and in the days of, Jesus Christ.

13. But especially it deserves notice that almost all the language of the New Testament, in which the judgment of the last day is described,—the *eschatology*, as it is called, of the N.T., —appears to have been directly derived from the language of the Book of Enoch, as will be seen from the passages quoted above, (iv), (xiii), (xvi), (xix), (xx). The 'everlasting chains,' in which the fallen angels are 'kept under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day,'—the 'everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels,'—the 'Son of Man sitting upon the throne of his glory,' choosing for the righteous their 'countless habitations,' and destroying the wicked with the word of his mouth,—the 'book of life opened' before the judge,—earth, hell, and the grave, 'giving up their dead,'—the joy of the righteous, the shame and confusion of the wicked, who are led off by the angels to punishment, —the 'new heaven' and the 'new earth,' old things having passed away,—the 'furnace of fire,' and the 'lake of fire,'—all these appear in the Book of Enoch, and the last, the 'lake of fire,' is, manifestly (xvi), a figure introduced with distinct reference to the Dead Sea; and, accordingly, in the same connection, we find 'the angels, which left not their first estate,' coupled with 'Sodom and Gomorrha and the cities about them,' Jude 7, which are spoken of as 'going after strange flesh,' like those angels, and being 'set for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.' Nay, those awful

words spoken of Judas, 'It had been good for that man if he had never been born,' find their counterpart also in the language of this book.

14. This fact is of great importance. For it shows that these were *popular* expressions, which were in common use in the mouths of devout men of that time; and must, therefore, be interpreted according to their general spirit, and not be pressed too far in their literal meaning. To the Jews of those days, acquainted with the Book of Enoch, these images would be quite familiar, like those which speak of the 'stars falling,' the 'Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory,' or those again, which were evidently current in the popular talk, about 'Abraham's bosom,' the 'torments of hell,' and the 'great gulf fixed.'

15. It is possible that the Book of Enoch, as it now exists, may contain some Christian interpolations of a later date, as we know to be the case with another famous apocryphal book, the 'Sibylline Oracles.' But, however this may be, the Epistle of Jude seems plainly to recognise some portions, at least, of the Book of Enoch, as already existing, and as authentic and authoritative. Hence, even should any critics propose to place the composition of the *whole* 'Book' at a later date than that assigned to it by Archbp. LAURENCE and GFRÖRER,* the age of the Epistle would have to be depressed with it, to a time far later than that of the Apostles,—to a time, when the real origin of the 'Book' had been forgotten, and its contents could be confidently quoted, as the veritable words of the antediluvian Patriarch. And, generally, the occurrence of such expressions;

* Mr. WESTCOTT says on this point, SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible*, i. p. 547: 'Notwithstanding the arguments of HILGENFELD and JOST, the whole book appears to be distinctly of Jewish origin. Some inconsiderable interpolations may have been made in successive translations, and large fragments of a much *earlier* date were undoubtedly incorporated into the work. But, as a whole, it may be regarded as *describing an important phase of Jewish opinion, shortly before the coming of Christ.*'

as we have quoted above, common to the Book of Enoch and to so many of the apostolical writings, shews plainly the forms of thought and language, which were prevalent among the Jews in the first age of Christianity.

16. We must remember, therefore, from what sources such expressions as these were drawn, and not suppose that they are meant to convey to us accurate information about the details of the invisible world. The substantial truth, which underlies these figures, is the fact,—the belief in which is deep-seated, by the gift of God, in our nature,—of the everlasting distinction between right and wrong, and of a Perfect Justice, presiding over the universe of moral being, which, as it is not always manifested clearly in this life, we believe with undoubting confidence, will be revealed assuredly hereafter. Truths, such as these, which underlie the figures of the N.T., are not less true, nor is their authority less binding, because we are able to trace their historical growth, just as the excellence of the Lord's Prayer is not diminished, because we know that it is made up of petitions, which were current already among the Jews.* Rather, this very growth among men, of the recognition of a great Eternal Truth, gives us the comforting assurance of the Presence of a Living God in History,—not only advancing continually the intellectual development of mankind, but—enlightening and inspiring, with ever increasing Light and Life, the *hearts* of His children.

* On this point GFRÖRER writes, vol.i, Part ii, *p.*149: 'I have, as it is seen, developed out of the books of the Jews the principles, according to which the 'Lord's Prayer' is composed. Not only is its character Jewish, but so also are the separate clauses, which occur in different Jewish prayers, (see LIGHTFOOT, SCHÖTTGEN, WETSTEIN on Matt.vi.9, WITSIUS.) It may be that it was a prayer already in use before the time of Jesus: probably, however, it was then first put together out of earlier prayers. Though, generally, the portions of it agree verbally with already existing Jewish prayers, yet I have nowhere found the *whole* among Jewish writers, though they have, however, many similar prayers.'

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